



HISTORY OF EUROPE

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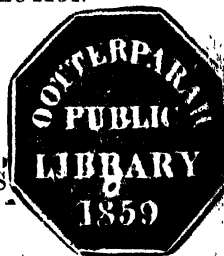
COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN MDCCLXXXIX.

TO THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN MDCCCXY.



BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VII.

CHAPTER XLVI.—CAMPAIGN OF FRIEDLAND, AND PEACE OF TILSIT.

Treaties between the Allies for the prosecution of the war, 1.—Austria strives to mediate, *ib.*—Negotiations of Napoleon; auxiliary forces obtained from Spain, 3.—Operations in Pomerania, 4.—Armistice between the Swedes and French, 5.—Army of reserve on the Elbe, 6.—Negotiations with Turkey and Persia, *ib.*—Jealousy excited in the Divan by the summoning of Parga, 7.—Measures to organise the military strength of Poland, 8.—Winter quarters, *ib.*—Combat of Guttstadt, 9.—Designs of Napoleon for the interior of his empire, 10.—Finances of France, 12.—Statutes of the Grand Sanhedrim of the Jews, 14.—Napoleon's efforts to feed his troops; sieges in Silesia, *ib.*—Siege of Dantzic, 16.—Progress of the siege, 18.—Reinforcements to the Russian army, 20.—The French army, 21.—Designs of the Russians on Ney's corps, 23.—Napoleon concentrates, and the Russians fall back, 24.—Battle of Heilsberg, 27.—Fresh attack by Lannes, which also proves unsuccessful, 28.—Violent explosion of Lannes, Murat, and Napoleon in consequence, *ib.*, *note.*—Frightful appearance of the slain after the battle, 29.—Napoleon turns their flank, and compels them to evacuate Heilsberg, *ib.*—Movements before the battle of Friedland, *ib.*—Battle of Friedland, 34.—Capture of Königsberg, 38.—Retreat of the Russians to the Niemen, 39.—Conclusion of an armistice, 41.—Interview on the raft at Tilsit, 42.—The negotiations at Tilsit, 43.—Napoleon's interview with the Queen of Prussia, *ib.*—Treaty of Tilsit; creation of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and kingdom of Westphalia, 45.—Treaty with Prussia, 46.—Secret treaty for the partition of Turkey, 48.—Secret articles, *ib.*—Measures of Napoleon to secure his anticipated Turkish acquisitions, 50.—Convention regarding the payment of the French contribution on Prussia, 51.—Losses sustained by the French, 52.—Retribution that was approaching to France, 53.—Consequences of the treaty of Tilsit in the end to Napoleon, 54.—Perfidy of Napoleon towards the Turks, 55.—Projects of the Emperors for the spoliation of the other European powers, 56.

CHAPTER XLVII.—GENERAL SKETCH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

Comparison of the Roman empire and British India, 58.—Physical description of the Indian Peninsula, 61.—Diplomatic ability with which India has been governed, 63.—Advantages of the British government to the Indian people, *ib.*—Police force established throughout Bengal, 66.—Indian taxation, *ib.*—The Zemindar system, *ib.*—The Ryotwar system, 67.—The Village system, 68.—System of toleration in India, 70.—Variety of national character, 71.—The sepoy force, 73.—Contrast of the Company's rule to the Mahomedan sway, 77.—Wonderful nature of this empire, 78.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—RISE OF INDIA UNDER OLIVE AND HASTINGS.—1750-1798.

The principal Indian powers when the British empire arose, 81.—The Marhatta confederacy, 82.—Early history of the East India Company, *ib.*—Rise and exploits of Clive, 83.—Cession of Bengal and Bahar to the English, 85.—The Madras Presidency, *ib.*—History of Clive, 86.—Rise and character of Hyder Ali, 88.—Hostilities with Hyder, *ib.*—Successes of Hyder in the Carnatic, 91.—Early history of Hastings, 92.—Further disasters stemmed by the energy of Hastings; death of Hyder, 93.—War with Tippoo, 94.—Change introduced by Tippoo in the Indian armies, 95.—Mr Hastings' prosecution, 97.—Injustice of this prosecution, 100.—Mr Fox's India Bill, 101.—Mr Pitt's India Bill, 102.—Fresh war with Tippoo Saib, 103.—Preparations for the siege of Seringapatam, 105.—Battle under the walls of Seringapatam, *ib.*—Treaty with Tippoo, 107.—Experienced necessity of further conquests in India, *ib.*—Administration of Sir John Shore, 108.—Its disastrous effects, *ib.*

CHAPTER XLIX.—ADMINISTRATION OF MARQUIS WELLESLEY, AND FIRST APPEARANCE OF WELLINGTON IN INDIA.

Birth of Wellington and Marquis Wellesley, 110.—Wellington's education and first military services, 111.—Colonel Wellesley sent to India, 112.—His character, 113.—Character of Marquis Wellesley, 115.—His Indian administration, 116.—Character of Lord Melville, 117.—Lord Wellesley's first objects of policy, 118.—Reduction of the French subsidiary force at Hyderabad, 121.—Army for the attack of Mysore, *ib.*—Tippoo's means of defence, 122.—Progress of General Harris, *ib.*—Siege of Seringapatam, 123.—Death of Tippoo, 126.—Appointment of Colonel Wellesley as governor of Seringapatam, 127.—Doondiah Waugh, 129.—His overthrow by Colonel Wellesley, 130.—Alliances with the Nizam, &c., *ib.*—Expedition from India to Egypt, 131.—Acquisition of territory from the Vizier of Oude, *ib.*—Assumption of the government of the Carnatic, 132.—Rupture with the Marhattas, *ib.*—Perron's French force, 134.—The Peishwa joins the British alliance, *ib.*—Delivery of Poonah by Colonel Wellesley, 135.—War declared, 136.—History of Lord Lake, *ib.*—Lord Wellesley's plan of operations, 137.—Defeat of Perron, and storming of Allighur, 138.—Battle of Delhi, *ib.*—Surrender of the French chiefs, 139.—Battle of Agra, *ib.*—Battle of Laswaree, 140.—Conquest of the Cuttack, 142.—Operations in the Deccan, *ib.*—Battle of Assaye, 143.—Battle of Argaum, 145.—Capture of Gawilghur, 146.—The confederates sue for peace, *ib.*—War with Holkar, 148.—Defeat of Mahomed Bog Khan, *ib.*—Campaign against Holkar, 149.—Defeat of Colonel Fawcett in Bundelcund, *ib.*—Disasters and defeat of Colonel Monson, 150.—Fermentation through India, 151.—Advance of Holkar to Delhi, 153.—His repulse, *ib.*—Battle of Dieg, *ib.*—Pursuit of Holkar to Furruckabad, 154.—Defeat of Holkar, 155.—Siege and capture of Dieg, *ib.*—Siege of Bhurt-pore, 156.—Peace with the Rajah of Bhurt-pore, 158.—Holkar joins Scindiah, *ib.*—Operations in Cuttack, Bundelcund, and against Meer Khan, *ib.*—Operations against Scindiah; Lord Wellesley returns to England, 159.—Second administration and death of Lord Cornwallis; arrival of Sir G. Barlow, 160.—Peace with Scindiah and Holkar, *ib.*—Review of Lord Wellesley's administration, 161.—Return of Wellington to Europe, 162.—Reflections on the rise of the British power in India, 165.

CHAPTER L.—CONTINENTAL SYSTEM, AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT OF NAPOLEON.

Change in Napoleon's projects for the subjugation of England, 168.—The Berlin decree, 170.—Orders in Council, 175.—Milan decree, 176.—Discussion on

CONTENTS.

v

the Orders in Council, *ib.*—Jesuit's bark bill in England, 183.—Effects of the Continental System, *ib.*—Introduction of the system of licenses, 184.—Evasion of the decrees on both sides, 185.—Joy at Napoleon's return to Paris, 186.—Fête in honour of the Grand Army, 187.—Suppression of the French Tribunal, 188.—Censorship of the press, 190.—Banishment of Madame de Stael, 192.—and of Madame Recamier, *ib.*—The judges rendered removable at pleasure, 193.—Decrees against connivance at English commerce, *ib.*—Thirst for public employment in France, *ib.*—Progress of the system of centralisation, 194.—Titles of honour re-established, 196.—Endowment of the new peers, 198.—Discontent of the French republicans, 200.—Progress of court etiquette, 202.—Internal prosperity of France under the empire, *ib.*—Great works in Paris and elsewhere, 205.—Finances of France, 206.—New law of high treason, 207.—State prisons under Napoleon, 208.—Rigour of the conscription laws, 211.—Imperial system of education, 212.—Transition from republican to despotic ideas, 214.—Alacrity with which slavery was hailed in France, 215.—The principles of freedom never attended to in the French Revolution, 216.—Corruption of public opinion which the French Revolution produced, 217.—Effects of centralisation, 219.—Despotic power ever since established in France, 220.

CHAPTER LI.—SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE AFTER THE TREATY OF TILSIT. JULY 1807—JANUARY 1808.

Suffering produced in Russia by the treaty of Tilsit, 222.—Despondence in Great Britain, 223.—Constitution of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, 224.—and of the kingdom of Westphalia, *ib.*—Military government of the Confederation of the Rhine and Hanse Towns, 225.—Fresh requisitions on Prussia, and limitation of its regular forces, 226.—Internal measures of the Prussian government, *ib.*—Baron Stein, 227.—Reforms which he introduced, 228.—Stein is exiled, 229.—History, character, and reforms of Scharnhorst, *ib.*—The Tugendbund and secret societies, 230.—Austria, 231.—She joins the Continental System, 232.—Affairs of Sweden, 233.—Siege of Stralsund, *ib.*—Capture of the islands of Danholm and Rugen, 234.—Reasons which led to the Copenhagen expedition, *ib.*—Bombardment of Copenhagen, 238.—Surrender of the fleet, *ib.*—Arguments on the Copenhagen expedition, 240.—Napoleon's secret opinion regarding it, 244, *note.*—Satisfaction with which it was viewed by Alexander, 245, *note.*—Mediation of Russia, 244.—Rupture of that power with England, 246.—The Russians declare war against Sweden, 248.—Conquest of Finland by Russia, *ib.*—Denmark enters into the war, 249.—Affairs of Russia and Turkey, *ib.*—Alienation of the Turks from the French, 250.—Union of Parma and Placentia to France; great works at Milan; state of Italy, 252.—Encroachments of France on Holland, Germany, and Italy; occupation of Rome, 253.

CHAPTER LII.—PROXIMATE CAUSES OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.

Views of Napoleon with reference to the Spanish peninsula, 256.—Irritation produced at Madrid, 257.—Proclamation by the Prince of Peace, 258.—Dis-simulation and address of Napoleon regarding it, *ib.*—Measures arranged at Tilsit against Spain and Portugal, 259.—Measures of the Portuguese government, 260.—Character of the Prince of Peace, Charles IV., and the Queen, 261.—The Prince of Asturias, and Escoiquiz, 262.—The Prince of Asturias writes to Napoleon, 264.—Treaty of Fontainebleau, *ib.*—Napoleon's perfidious designs, 265.—Instructions to Junot in his invasion of Portugal, 266.—Conduct of the Portuguese government, 268.—Embarkation of the royal family for Brazil, 269.—Arrival of the French, 270.—The regency dis-

solved, 272.—Occupation of the kingdom, *ib.*—Arrest of Ferdinand, 273.—Proclamation of the King, 274.—Pardon of the Prince of Asturias, 275.—Entrance of the French troops into Spain, 276.—Seizure of Pampeluna, &c., 277.—Napoleon demands the cession of the provinces north of the Ebro, 280, *note.*—Tumult at Aranjuez, 281.—Fall of the Prince of the Peace, 282.—Abdication of Charles IV., 283.—Entry of Murat into Madrid, 284.—Murat declines to recognise Ferdinand, *ib.*—Napoleon offers the crown to Louis Buonaparte, 286.—Savary's secret instructions, *ib.*—He persuades Ferdinand to go to Bayonne, 288.—Assurances of his safety given by Savary, 289.—Godoy, Charles IV., and the Queen are sent by Murat to Bayonne, 291.—Embarrassment of Napoleon, 292.—Conduct of Murat, 294.—Commotion at Madrid on 2d May, 295.—Massacres by Murat, 296.—Indignation which this massacre excited in Spain, 297.—Ferdinand is told he must resign the crown, 298.—Ferdinand forced to resign the crown, 302.—Napoleon makes his brother Joseph king of Spain, 306.—Reflections on unparalleled chain of frauds, 307.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE SPANISH PENINSULA AT THE OPENING OF THE WAR.

Events of which the Spanish peninsula has been the theatre, 311.—Its guerilla warfare, 312.—Conformation of the country, *ib.*—Statistics, 313.—The nobility, 317.—The peasantry, *ib.*—The church, 318.—The French army at this period, 320.—The British army, 321.—Position of the British troops, 326.—Military force of Spain, 327.—Of Portugal, *ib.*—The French army in Spain, 328.—Progress of the insurrection, 329.—Disorders, 330.—Proceedings of the Junta of Seville, 332.—Capture of the French fleet at Cadiz, 334.—Insurrection in Asturias, Galicia, Catalonia, and Aragon, *ib.*—Measures of Napoleon, 335.—Proceedings of the Notables, *ib.*—Constitution given by Napoleon to the Spaniards, 336.—New ministry of Joseph, and his reception at Madrid, 338.—Joy with which the news of the insurrection is received in England, 339.—Budget for 1808, 342.—Supplies sent out to Spain, *ib.*—Preparations of Napoleon against England, 343.

CHAPTER LIV.—NAPOLEON'S FIRST DISASTERS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Measures of Napoleon against the insurrection, 344.—Operations in Old Castile and Leon, 345.—First siege of Saragossa, *ib.*—Operations in Valencia, 350.—Advance of Cuesta on the French communications, 352.—Operations against Blake and Cuesta, 353.—Battle of Rio Seco, 354.—March of Dupont into Andalusia, 356.—Sack of Cordova, *ib.*—Accumulation of forces round the invaders, 357.—Retreat of Dupont, 358.—Battle of Baylen, 361.—Capitulation, 362.—Violation of the capitulation, 364.—Departure of Joseph from Madrid, 365.—Campaign in Catalonia, 366.—Defeat of Schwartz, 367.—Spread of the insurrection, *ib.*—Defeat of an attempt against Gerona, *ib.*—Expedition against Rosas, 368.—Siege of Gerona, 369.—Entry of the Spanish troops into the capital, 370.—Affairs of Portugal, *ib.*—Operations of Loison in the Alentejo, 372.—The English cabinet resolve on sending succours to Portugal, *ib.*—Proclamation by Sir A. Wellesley, 374.—Landing of the army, 375.—Combat of Roliça, 376.—Sir A. Wellesley's plans overruled by Sir H. Burrard, 377.—Battle of Vimeira, 379.—Armistice, 381.—Convention of Cintra, 382.—Clamour in England on the subject, 383.—Plunder by all ranks in the French army, 385.—The British placed under Sir John Moore, 387.—Their advance into Spain, 388.—Appointment of a central junta, *ib.*—Condition of the central government and armies, 389.—Escape of the Marquis Romana and his troops, 390.—APPENDIX, 391.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CAMPAIGN OF FRIEDLAND AND PEACE OF TILSIT. APRIL—JULY 1807.

1. THE change of ministry in England was attended with an immediate alteration in the policy pursued by that power with respect to Continental affairs. The men who now succeeded to the direction of its foreign relations had been educated in the school of Mr Pitt, and had early imbibed the ardent feelings of hostility with which he was animated towards the French Revolution. They were fully alive to the insatiable spirit of foreign aggrandisement to which the passions springing from its convulsions had led. Mr Canning and Lord Castlereagh were strongly impressed with the disastrous effects which had resulted from the economical system of their predecessors, and the ill-judged parsimony which had led them to starve the war at the decisive moment, and hold back at a time when, by a vigorous application of their resources, it might at once have been brought to a triumphant conclusion. No sooner, therefore, were they in possession of the reigns of power than they hastened to supply the defect, and take measures for bringing the might of England to bear on the contest in a manner worthy of its present greatness and ancient renown. An immediate advance of £100,000 was made to the King of Prussia; arms and military stores were furnished for the use of the troops to the amount of

£200,000; and negotiations were set on foot for concluding, with the cabinets of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Stockholm, conventions for concerted operations and a vigorous prosecution of the war.

2. In April, the cabinet of Vienna interposed its good offices to effect an adjustment of the differences of the allied powers; but Mr Canning, while he accepted the offer of a mediation, did so under the express condition of its being communicated to the other belligerent powers, and of their accession to its conditions. But as they had already concluded engagements for the active prosecution of the contest, the proposed negotiations never took place; and England, under the guidance of its new administration, instead of entering into terms with France, reverted, in the most decided manner, to Mr Pitt's system of uncompromising hostility to its ambition. A treaty was signed at Bartenstein, in East Prussia, in the end of the same month, between Russia and Prussia, for the future prosecution of the war. By this convention it was stipulated that neither of the contracting parties should make peace without the concurrence of the other; that the Confederation of the Rhine, which had proved so fatal to the liberties of Germany, should be dissolved, and a new confederacy, for

the protection of its interests, formed, under the auspices of its natural protectors, Austria and Prussia; that the latter power should recover the dominions which it had held in September 1805, and that Austria should be requested to accede to this treaty in order to regain its possessions in the Tyrol and the Venetian provinces, and to extend its frontier to the Mincio. Finally, Great Britain was formally invited to unite with the contracting powers, by furnishing succours in arms, ammunition, and money to them, and by the debarkation of a strong auxiliary force at the mouth of the Elbe, to co-operate with the Swedes in the rear of the enemy, while Austria should menace his communications, and the combined Russian and Prussian armies should attack him in front.

3. To this convention Sweden had already given its adhesion by the signature of a treaty, six days before, for the employment of an auxiliary force of twelve thousand men in Pomerania; and England hastened to unite itself to the confederacy. By a convention signed at London on the 17th June, England gave in its accession to the treaty of Bartenstein, and engaged to support the Swedish force in Pomerania by a corps of twenty thousand British soldiers, to act against the rear and left flank of the French army; while, by a relative agreement on the 23d, the Swedish auxiliary force in British pay was to be raised to eighteen thousand men, and the provisions of the fundamental treaty of alliance in April 1805, were again declared in force against the common enemy. Shortly after, a treaty was signed at London between Great Britain and Prussia, by which a subsidy of a million sterling was promised to the latter power for the campaign of 1807; and a secret article stipulated for succours yet more considerable, if necessary, to carry into full effect the purposes of the convention of Bartenstein. Thus, by the return of England to the principles of Mr Pitt's foreign policy, were the provisions of the great confederacy of 1805 again revived on the

part of the northern powers; and to Great Britain it is not the least honourable part of these transactions, as Mr Canning justly observed, that the treaty with Prussia was signed when that power was almost entirely bereft of its possessions, and agreed to by Frederick-William in the only large town that remained to him of his once extensive dominions.

4. But it was all in vain: the succours of England came too late to counterbalance the disasters which had been incurred; the change of system was too tardy to assuage the irritation which had been produced. By withholding these succours at an earlier period, the former ministry had not only seriously weakened the strength of the Russian forces, by preventing the arming of the numerous militia corps which were crowding to the Imperial standards, but left the seeds of intense dissatisfaction in the breast of the Czar, who, not aware of the total change of policy which the accession of the Whig ministry had produced in the cabinet of St James's, and the complete revolution in that policy which had resulted from their dismissal, was actuated by the strongest resentment against the British government, and loudly complained that he was deserted by the ancient ally of Russia at the very moment when, for its interests even more than his own, he was risking his empire in a mortal struggle with the French Emperor.* Such was

* These angry feelings are very clearly evinced in General Budberg's answer to Lord Leveson Gower's (the British ambassador at St Petersburg) remonstrance on the conclusion at Tilsit of a separate peace by Russia with France. "The firmness and perseverance with which his Majesty, during eight months, maintained and defended a cause common to all sovereigns, are the most certain pledges of the intentions which animated him, as well as of the loyalty and purity of his principles. Never would his Imperial Majesty have thought of deviating from that system which he has hitherto pursued, if he had been supported by a real assistance on the part of his allies. But having, from the separation of Austria and England, found himself reduced to his own resources, having to combat with his own means the immense military forces which France had at her disposal, he was authorised in believing that, in continuing to

the state of destitution to which the ill-judged parsimony of the late administration had reduced the British arsenals, and such the effect of their total dismissal of transports from the royal service, that it was found impossible by their successors to fit out an expedition for the shores of the Baltic for several months after their accession to office; and, in consequence, the formidable armament under Lord Cathcart, which afterwards achieved the conquest of Copenhagen, and might have appeared with decisive effect on the shores of the Elbe or the Vistula at the opening of the campaign, was not able to leave the shores of Britain till the end of July—a fortnight after the treaty of Tilsit had been signed, and the subjugation of the Continent, to all appearance, irrevocably effected.*

sacrifice himself for others, he might ultimately come to compromise the fate of his own empire. The conduct of the British government in later times has been of a kind completely to justify the determination which his Majesty has now taken. The diversion on the Continent which England so long promised, has not to this day taken place; and even if, as the latest advices from London show, the British government has at length resolved on sending ten thousand men to Pomerania, that succour is noways proportioned either to the hopes we were authorised to entertain, or the importance of the object to which these troops were destined. Pecuniary succours might, in some degree, have compensated the want of English troops; but not only did the British government decline facilitating the loan the imperial court had intended to negotiate in London, but when it did at length resolve upon making some advances, it appeared that the sum destined for this purpose, so far from meeting the exigencies of the Allies, would not even have covered the indispensable expenses of Prussia. In fine, the use which, instead of co-operating in the common cause, the British government, during this period, has made of its forces in South America and in Egypt, the latter of which was not even communicated to the imperial cabinet, and was entirely at variance with its interests, at a time when, by giving them a different destination, the necessity of maintaining a Russian army on the Danube might have been prevented, and the disposable force on the Vistula proportionally increased, sufficiently demonstrates that the Emperor of Russia was virtually released from his engagements, and had no course left but to attend to the security of his own dominions." It is impossible to dispute the justice of these observations.—*Note.* GENERAL BUDBERG to

5. While the Allies were thus drawing closer the bonds which united their confederacy, and England, rousing from its unworthy slumber, was preparing to resume its place at the head of the alliance, Napoleon on his side was not idle, and from his camp at Finkenstein carried on an active negotiation with all the powers in Europe. In his addresses to the French senate, calling out the additional conscription of eighty thousand men, which has been already mentioned, he publicly held out the olive branch; the surest proof of the magnitude of the disaster sustained at Eylau, and the critical situation in which he felt himself placed, with Austria hanging in dubious strength in his rear on one side, and Great Britain preparing to organise a formidable force on the other. "Our policy is fixed," said he: "we have of-

LORD LEVESON GOWER, *Tilsit*, 30th June 1807; *Parl. Deb.* v. 111, 112.

* "When the present ministers came into office," said Mr Canning, then foreign minister, on July 31, 1807, "they found the transport department totally dismantled. This originated in the economical system of Lord H. Petty; but it was a false parsimony, evidently calculated, at no distant period, to render necessary a profuse expenditure. The mandate of dismissal came from the treasury, and was applicable to all transports but those necessary to maintain the communication with Ireland, Jersey, and Guernsey. The saving produced by this order did not amount to more than £4000 a-month, and it dispersed 60,000 tons of shipping which was left to the late ministry by their predecessors. Ministers thus, in the beginning of April last, had not a transport at their disposal; and from the active state of trade at the same time, it required several months before they could be collected. If they had existed, a military force would in that very month have been sent out, and twenty thousand British troops would have turned the scale at Friedland. This ill-judged economy was the more criminal, that, by having a fleet of transports constantly at command, and threatening various points, 20,000 men could easily paralyse three times that force on the part of the enemy. The Whigs had apparently parted with this transport force for no other purpose but that of registering their abandonment of the Continent." The

forces to the Continent; which required no reply."—A curious argument from so able a man, when it is recollected that the nation was on the verge of Wellington's career.—*Parl. Deb.* ix. 1035-1038.

ferred to England peace before the fourth coalition; we repeat the offer; we are ready to conclude a treaty with Russia on the terms which her ambassador subscribed at Paris: we are prepared to restore its eight millions of inhabitants, and its capital, conquered by our arms, to Prussia." There was nothing said now about making the Prussian nobility so poor that they should have to beg their bread; nor of the queen, like another Helen, having lighted the fires of another Troy. But amidst these tardy and extorted expressions of moderation, the Emperor had no thing less at his heart than to come to an accommodation; and his indefatigable activity was incessantly engaged in strengthening his hands by fresh alliances, and collecting from all quarters additional troops to overwhelm his enemies. The imprudent and premature proclamation has been already mentioned, [*Aufc.* Chap. XLIII. §. 19], by which the Prince of the Peace announced, on the eve of the battle of Jena, his preparations to combat an enemy which no one could doubt was France. Napoleon dissembled for a while his resentment, but resolved to make this hostile demonstration the ground for demanding fresh supplies from Spain; and accordingly great numbers of the Prussian prisoners were sent into the Peninsula to be fed and clothed at the expense of the court of Madrid, while an auxiliary force was peremptorily demanded from that power to co-operate in the contest in the north of Europe. Trembling for its existence, the Spanish government had no alternative but submission; and accordingly sixteen thousand of the best troops of the monarchy, under a leader destined to future celebrity, the MARQUIS DE ROMANA, crossed the Pyrenees early in March, and arrived on the banks of the Elbe in the middle of May. Thus was the double object gained of obtaining an important auxiliary force for the Grand Army, and of securing, as hostages for the fidelity of the court of Madrid, the flower of its troops in a remote situation, entirely at the mercy of his forces.

6. Sweden was another power which

Napoleon was not without hopes, notwithstanding the hostile disposition of its sovereign, of detaching, through dread of Russia, from the coalition. Immediately after the battle of Eylau, he began to take measures to excite the court of Stockholm against the alliance.* "Should Swedish blood," said he, in the bulletin on the 23d April, "flow for the defence of the Ottoman empire, or its ruin? should it be shed to establish the freedom of the seas, or to subvert it? What has Sweden to fear from France? Nothing. What from Russia? Everything. A peace, or even a truce with Sweden, would accomplish the dearest wish of his Majesty's heart, who has always beheld with pain the hostilities in which he was engaged with a nation generous and brave, linked alike by its historic recollections and geographical position to the alliance with France." In pursuance of instructions framed on these principles, Mortier inclined with the bulk of his forces towards Colberg, to prosecute the siege of that town, leaving only General Grandjean with a weak division before Stralsund. Informed of that circumstance, General Essen, the governor of the fortress, conceived hopes of capturing or destroying the presumptuous commander who maintained a sort of blockade with a force inferior to that which was assembled within its walls. Early in April, accordingly, he issued from the fortress, and attacked the French with such superior numbers, that they were compelled to retire, first to Anklam, where they sustained a severe defeat, and

* In furtherance of this design, early in March, he explained to Marshal Mortier, who was intrusted with the prosecution of the war in Pomerania, that the real object of hostilities in that quarter was not to take Stralsund, nor inflict any serious injury on Sweden, but to observe Hamburg and Berlin, and defend the mouths of the Oder. "I regret much what has already happened," said he, "and most of all that the fine suburbs of Stralsund have been burned. It is not our interest to inflict injury on Sweden, but to protect that power from it. Hasten to propose an armistice to the governor of Stralsund, or even a suspension of arms, in order to lighten the sufferings of a war which I regard as criminal, because it is contrary to the real interests of that monarchy."—72d Bulletin, *Camp. en Suze et Pologne*, iv. 243-246.

ultimately to Stettin, with the loss of above two thousand men. No sooner did he hear of this check, than Mortier assembled the bulk of his troops, about fourteen thousand strong, under the cannon of that fortress, and prepared for a serious attack upon the enemy. The Swedes, though nearly equal in number, were not prepared for a conflict with force so formidable, and retired to Stralsund with the loss of above a thousand prisoners, and three hundred killed and wounded; among the latter of whom was General Arnfeldt, the most uncompromising enemy of France in their councils.

7. After this repulse, Mortier renewed his secret proposals for a separate accommodation to the Swedish generals; and on this occasion he found them more inclined to enter into his views. The Swedish government at this period was actuated by a strong feeling of irritation towards Great Britain for the long delay which had occurred, under the administration of the Whigs, in the remittance of the stipulated subsidies; and its generals at Stralsund were ignorant of the steps which were in progress, since the change of ministry in England, to remedy the defect. Deeming themselves, therefore, deserted by their natural allies, and left alone to sustain a contest in which they had only a subordinate interest, they lent a willing ear to Mortier's proposals, and concluded an armistice, by which it was stipulated that hostilities should cease between the two armies—that the islands of Usedom and Wollin should be occupied by the French troops—the lines of the Peene and the Trebel separate the two armies—no succours, direct or indi-

* In the letter of Napoleon, which Mortier despatched to Essen on that occasion, he said,—“I have nothing more at heart than to re-establish peace with Sweden. Political passion may have divided us; but state interest, which ought to rule the determinations of sovereigns, should reunite our policy. Sweden cannot be ignorant that, in the present contest, she is as much interested in the success of our arms as France itself. She will speedily feel the consequence of Russian aggrandisement. Is it for the destruction of the empire of Constantinople that the Swedes are fighting? Sweden is not less interested than France in the diminution of the enormous maritime power of

rect, should be forwarded through the Swedish lines either to Dantzic or Colberg—and no debarkation of troops hostile to France take place at Stralsund.* The armistice was not to be broken without ten days' previous notice, which period was, by a supplementary convention on the 29th April, extended to a month. No sooner was this last agreement signed, than Mortier in person resumed the blockade of Colberg, while a large part of his forces was despatched to aid Lefebvre in the operations against Dantzic, and took an important part in the siege of that fortress, and the brief but decisive campaign which immediately ensued. The conditions of the new treaty between England and Sweden, signed at London on the 17th June, came too late to remedy these serious evils. And thus, while the previous ill-timed defection of the cabinet of London from the great confederacy for the deliverance of Europe, had sown the seeds of irreconcilable enmity in the breast of the Emperor Alexander, it entirely paralysed the valuable array in the rear of Napoleon, which, if thrown into the scale at the decisive moment, and with the support of a powerful British auxiliary force, could hardly have failed to have had the most important effects, both upon the movements of Austria and the general issue of the campaign.

8. In justice to the Swedish monarch, however, who, though eccentric and rash, was animated with the highest and most romantic principles of honour, it must be noticed, that no sooner was he informed of the change of policy on the part of the cabinet of London, consequent on the accession of England. Accustomed by the traditions of our fathers to regard each other as friends, our bonds are drawn closer together by the partition of Poland and the dangers of the Ottoman empire; our political interests are the same; why, then, are we at variance? And in the event of the Swedish general acceding to those propositions, the instructions of Mortier were—“instantly to send to Dantzic and Thorn all the regiments of foot and horse which can be spared; to resume without delay the siege of Colberg, and at the same time to hold himself in readiness to start with the whole blockading force, at a moment's warning, either for the Vistula or the Elbe.”—JOMINI, 389, 391.

the new administration, and even before the conclusion of the treaty of 17th June, by which efficacious succours were at length promised on the part of Great Britain, than he manifested the firm resolution to abide by the confederacy, and even pointed to the restoration of the Bourbons as the condition on which alone peace appeared practicable to Europe, or a curb could be imposed on the ambition of France. Early in June, he wrote to the King of Prussia with these views, and soon after refused to ratify the convention of 29th April for the extension of the period allowed for the denouncing the armistice with France, in a conversation with Marshal Brune, successor to Mortier, so curious and characteristic as to deserve a place in general history.*

9. Not content with thus drawing to the northern contest, the troops of the monarchy of Charles V., and neutralising the whole forces of Sweden and the important *point d'appui* for British co-operation in his rear, Napoleon at the same time directed the formation of a new and respectable army on the banks of the Elbe. The change

* "Nothing," said he, in his letter of 2d June to the King of Prussia, "would gratify me more than to be able to contribute with you to the establishment of general order and the independence of Europe; but to attain that end, I think a public declaration should be made in favour of the legitimate cause of the Bourbons, by openly espousing their interest, which is plainly that of all established governments. My opinion on this point is fixed and unalterable, as well as on the events which are passing before our eyes." And two days afterwards the following conversation passed between the King of Sweden and Marshal Brune:—"Do you forget, Marshal, that you have a lawful sovereign, though he is now in misfortune?"—"I know that he exists," replied the Marshal.—"He is exiled," rejoined the King; "he is unfortunate; his rights are sacred; he desires only to see Frenchmen around that standard."—"Where is that standard?"—"You will find it wherever mine is raised."—"Your Majesty then regards the Pretender as your brother?"—"The French should know their duties without waiting till I set them an example."—"Will your Majesty then consent to the notification of ten days before breaking the armistice?"—"Yes."—"But if a month should be secretly agreed on?"—"You know me little if you deem me capable of such a deception."—HARD. ix. 411, 412; and DUMAS, xix. 139.

of ministry in England had led him to expect a much more vigorous prosecution of the war by that power; the descent of a large body of English troops in the north of Germany was known to be in contemplation; and with his advanced and critical position in Poland, the preservation of his long line of communication with France was an object of vital importance. To counteract any such attempt as might threaten it, two French divisions, under Boudet and Molitor, were summoned from Italy; and, united with Romana's corps of Spaniards and the Dutch troops with which Louis Buonaparte had effected the reduction of the fortresses of Hanover, formed an army of observation on the Elbe, which it was hoped would be sufficient at once to avert any danger in that quarter, overawe Hamburg and Berlin, and keep up the important communications of the Grand Army with the banks of the Rhine.

10. With a view still further to strengthen himself in the formidable contest which he foresaw was approaching, Napoleon, from his headquarters at Finkenstein, opened negotiations both with Turkey and Persia, in the hope of rousing these irreconcilable enemies of the Muscovite empire to powerful diversions in his favour on the Danube and the Caucasus. Early in March, magnificent embassies were received by the Emperor at Warsaw from the Sublime Porte and the King of Persia. A treaty, offensive and defensive, was speedily concluded between the courts of Paris and Teheran, by which mutual aid and succour was stipulated by the two contracting parties; and the better to consolidate their relations, and turn to useful account the military resources of the Persian monarchy, it was agreed that a Persian legation should reside at Paris; and General Gardanne, accompanied by a body of skilful engineers, set out for the distant capital of Teheran. Napoleon received the Turkish ambassador, who represented a power whose forces might more immediately affect the issue of the combat, with the utmost distinction, and lavished on him

the most flattering expressions of regard. In a public audience given to that functionary at Warsaw on the 28th May, he said, "that his right hand was not more inseparable from his left than the Sultan Selign should ever be to him." Memorable words! and highly characteristic of the Emperor, when his total desertion of that potentate two months afterwards, by the treaty of Tilsit, is taken into consideration. In pursuance, however, of his design, at that time at least sincerely conceived, of engaging Turkey and Persia in active hostilities with Russia, he wrote to the minister of marine:—"The Emperor of Persia has requested four thousand men, ten thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of cannon—when can they be embarked, and from whence? They would form a rallying point, give consistency to eighty thousand horse, and would force the Russians to a considerable diversion. Send me without delay a memoir on the best means of fitting out an expedition to Persia." At the same time he conceived the idea of maritime operations in the Black Sea, in conjunction with the Ottoman fleet; and in a long letter to the minister of marine enumerated all the naval forces at his disposal and on the stocks, in order to impress him with the facility with which a powerful squadron might be sent to the Bosphorus, in order to co-operate in an attack upon Sebastopol.

11. Still more extensive operations were in contemplation with land forces. Orders were sent to Marmont to prepare for the transmission of twenty-five thousand men across the northern provinces of Turkey to the Danube; and a formal application was made at Constantinople for liberty to march there through Bosnia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. In these great designs, especially the mission of General Gardanne to the court of Teheran, more important objects than even a diversion to the war in Poland, vital as it was to his interests, were in the contemplation of the Emperor. The appearance of the ambassadors of Turkey and Persia at his headquarters, when five hundred leagues from Paris,

on the road to Asia, had strongly excited his imagination; his early visions of Oriental conquest were revived, and the project was already far advanced to maturity, of striking through Persia, a mortal stroke at England in her Indian possessions.

12. These extensive projects, however, which the rapid succession of events on the Vistula prevented from being carried into execution, were well-nigh interrupted by a precipitate and ill-timed step on the part of the governor of the Ionian Islands, Caesar Balthier. The consent of the Divan had just been given to the march of the French troops across the northern provinces of the empire, when intelligence was received that the towns of Parga, Previso, and Butrin, on the coast of the Adriatic, though then in the possession of the Turks, had been summoned in the most peremptory manner by that officer as dependencies of the Venetian States, out of which the modern republic of the Seven Islands had been framed, with the threat to employ force if they were not immediately surrendered. This intelligence excited the utmost alarm at Constantinople. The Turks recollected the perfidious attack which, under the mask of friendship, the French had made on their valuable possessions in Egypt, and anticipated a similar seizure of their European dominions from the force for which entrance was sought on the footing of forwarding succours to the Danube. Napoleon, though this step was taken in pursuance of orders emanating from himself, expressed the utmost dissatisfaction at their literal execution at so untimely a crisis; the governor was recalled, and the utmost protestations of friendship for the Sultan were made. But the evil was done, and was irreparable: Turkish honesty had conceived serious suspicions of French fidelity; the passage of the troops was refused, and the foundation laid of that well-founded distrust which, confirmed by Napoleon's desertion of their interests in the treaty of Tilsit, subsequently led to the conclusion of a separate peace by the Osmanlis with Russia in 1812,

and the horrors of the Beresina to the Grand Army.

13. A nearer and more efficacious ally was presented to Napoleon in the Polish provinces. The continuance of the war in their neighbourhood, the sight of the Russian prisoners, the certainty of the advance of the French troops, and the exaggerated reports everywhere diffused of their successes, had, notwithstanding the measured reserve of his language, excited the utmost enthusiasm for the French Emperor in the gallant inhabitants of that ill-fated monarchy. Of this disposition, so far as it could be done without embroiling him with Austria, he resolved to take advantage. His policy towards that country uniformly had been, to derive the utmost aid from the military spirit of its subjects which could be obtained, without openly proclaiming its independence, and thereby irrevocably embroiling him with the partitioning powers. In addition to the Polish forces organised under former decrees, and which now amounted to above twenty thousand men, he took into his pay a regiment of light horse raised by Prince John Sulkowski; subsequently decreed the formation of a Polish-Italian legion, and the incorporation of one of their regiments of hussars with his Guards; and authorised the provisional government at Warsaw to dispose of royal domains in Polish Prussia to the extent of eighteen millions of francs, and Prussian stock to the extent of six millions. His cautious policy, however, shortly after appeared in a decree, by which the commissary-general at Warsaw was enjoined to limit his requisitions to the territory described by the original decree establishing his powers, which confined them to Prussian Poland. By these means, though he avoided giving any direct encouragement to rebellion in the Russian and Austrian provinces of the partitioned territory, he succeeded in generally diffusing an enthusiastic spirit, which, before the campaign opened, had brought above thirty thousand gallant recruits to his standards. This disposition was strongly increased

by two decrees which appeared early in June, on the eve of the resumption of hostilities,—by the first of which Prince Poniatowski was reinstated in a starosty, or government, of which he had been dispossessed by the Prussian cabinet; while, by the second, the provisional government at Warsaw was directed to set apart twenty millions of francs (£800,000) as a fund to recompense those who should distinguish themselves in the approaching campaign.

14. The headquarters of Napoleon, in the first instance, had been fixed at Osterode, on the margin of one of the lakes which form the feeders of the Drewenz; but, on the representations of the learned and humane Larrey, that that situation was low and unhealthy for the troops, he moved to Finkenstein, where all the important negotiations which ensued during the cessation of active hostilities were conducted. The Guard were disposed around the Emperor's residence; and not only that select corps, but the whole army, were lodged in a more comfortable manner than could have been anticipated in that severe climate. After a sharp conflict in the end of February, the important fortified post of Braunsberg, at the entrance of the river Passarge into the Frische-Haff, was wrested from the Prussians by Bernadotte, and the *tête-de-pont* there established secured all the left of the army from the incursions of the enemy. On the left bank of that river no less than four corps of the army were cantoned, while all the points of passage over it were occupied in such strength as to render any attempt at a surprise impossible. Secure behind this protecting screen, the French army constructed comfortable huts for their winter quarters, and all the admirable arrangements of the camp at Boulogne were again put in force amidst the severity of a Polish winter. The streets, in which they were disposed, resembled in regularity and cleanliness those of a metropolis. Constant exercises, rural labours, warlike games, and reviews, both confirmed the health and diverted the minds of the soldiers;

while the inexhaustible agricultural riches of Old Prussia kept even the enormous multitude, which was concentrated within a space of twenty leagues, amply supplied with provisions. Immense convoys constantly defiling on all the roads from the Rhine, Silesia, and the Elbe, provided all that was necessary for warlike operations; while the numerous conscripts, both from France and the allied states, and the great numbers of wounded and sick who on the return of spring were discharged from the hospitals, both swelled the ranks and reassured the minds of the soldiers. The magnitude of the requisitions by which these ample supplies were obtained, and the inflexible severity with which they were levied from the conquered states, were indeed spreading the seeds of inextinguishable animosity in his rear. But the effects of that feeling were remote and contingent, the present benefits certain and immediate; and the Russians had too much reason to feel their importance in the numbers and incomparable discipline of the troops by whom they were assailed upon the opening of the campaign. The marauders, still above fifty thousand in number, whom the excessive severity of the preceding campaign had caused to leave their colours, in an especial manner fixed the attention of the Emperor, the more especially as they lived at free quarters on the inhabitants, and caused unbounded exasperation, by the magnitude and rapacity of their exactions. To repress this enormous evil, he employed at first the whole Polish gendarmerie, and ultimately that of the Imperial Guard, as the only one whose uniform commanded general respect. By their exertions the number of these stragglers was greatly diminished; but the evil could never be entirely eradicated while the war lasted, and was at length suppressed only during the tranquillity which followed the peace of Tilsit. The comforts of the common soldiers were tolerably provided for by the incessant efforts of the Emperor, but the labours of the officers were overwhelming; and Napoleon with reason com-

pared the warfare in which he had been engaged during the last winter, to that waged by the legions with the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire.*

15. The Russian army was far from being equally well situated, and the resources at its disposal were by no means commensurate to those which were in possession of the French Emperor. The bulk of the allied army was cantoned between the Sense and the Alle, around Heilsberg, where a formidable intrenched camp had been constructed. The only contest of any moment which took place while the army occupied this position, was in the beginning of March at Guttstadt, which was attacked and carried by Marshal Ney, with the magazines which it contained; but the French troops having imprudently advanced into the plain beyond that town, several regiments were surrounded by the Cossacks, pierced through, and broken; so that both parties were glad to resume their quarters without boasting of any considerable advantage. Headquarters were at Bartonstein, and the advanced posts approached to those of Marshal Ney, on the right bank of the Passarge. Their cantonments, with the great commercial city of Königsberg in their rear, were very comfortable, and the army was daily receiving important accessions of strength from the sick and wounded who were leav-

* "The officers of the staff have not had their clothes off for two, some even for four months; I myself have not had my boots off for fifteen days. We are in the midst of snow and mud, without wine, brandy, or bread, eating potatoes and flesh, making long marches and counter-marches without the slightest repose, and usually fighting at the point of the bayonet under a storm of grape-shot, while the wounded are necessarily carried to the rear, a distance of fifty leagues, on uncovered trucks. After having overturned the Prussian monarchy, we are fighting against the remains of its forces, against the Russians, the Cossacks, the Calmucks, and those hordes of the North who of old overwhelmed the Roman empire. We are engaged in war in all its might and horror. In the midst of these terrible fatigues every one has been more or less invalided: as for myself, I never felt stronger, and have even got fatter."—*Napoleon to King Joseph: Osterode, 1st March 1807. THIERS, Consulat et l'Empire, vii. 417.*

ing the hospitals. Thirty thousand fresh troops also, including the Grand-duke Constantine, with the remainder of the Guard, and several batteries of light artillery, joined the army while they lay in their winter quarters; and in the end of March the Emperor Alexander left St Petersburg and arrived at Bartenstein, where the King of Prussia had already taken up his headquarters, and where the imperial and royal courts were established. But although the Russian and Prussian governments both made the utmost efforts to recruit their forces and bring up supplies from their rear,* yet the succour which they were enabled to draw from their exhausted provinces was very different from what Napoleon extracted from the opulent German states which he held in subjection; and the additions to the respective forces which the cessation of hostilities secured, were in consequence widely different. Now was seen how immense was the advantage which the French Emperor had gained by having overrun and turned to his own account the richest part of Europe; as well as the magnitude of the error which the British government had committed, in refusing to the northern powers, now reduced to their own resources, and with nine-tenths of Prussia in the

hands of the enemy, the supplies by which alone they could be expected to maintain the contest.*

16. During the pause in military operations which took place for the three succeeding months, the active mind of Napoleon resumed the projects which he had formed for the internal amelioration of his immense empire. Early in March he wrote to the minister of the interior as to the expedience of granting a loan, without interest, to the mercantile classes who were labouring under distress, on the footing of advancing one-half of the value of the goods they could give security over; and he announced his design of establishing a great bank in connection with the state for the purpose of lending sums to manufacturers or merchants in difficulties, on the security of their unsold property. The utmost pains were at the same time taken to neutralise the effect of the gloomy reports sent to Paris from the army as to the losses and disasters of the campaign; and Napoleon wrote to the minister of police that they were all exaggerations or falsehoods, and that the position of France was never more prosperous.† But although he made these representations to his ministers, Napoleon was not the less aware himself of the imminence of the danger.

* While occupying these cantonments, a truce in hostilities, as usual in such cases, took place between the advanced posts of the two armies, and this led to an incident equally characteristic of the gallantry and honourable feelings of both. The Russian and French outposts being stationed on the opposite banks of a river, some firing, contrary to the usual custom, took place, and a French officer advancing, reproached the Russians with the discharge, and a Russian officer approaching him, requested him to stop the firing of his people, in order that, if necessary, they might determine by single combat who was most courageous. The officer assented, and was in the act of commanding his men to cease firing, when a ball pierced him to the heart. The Russian officer instantly rushed forward, and cried out to the French soldiers—"My life shall make reparation for this accident—let three marksmen fire at me as I stand here;" and turning to his own soldiers, ordered them "to cease firing upon the enemy, whatever might be his fate, unless they attempted to cross the river." Already a Frenchman had levelled his piece, when the subaltern next

in command struck it down with his sword, and, running to the Russian, took him by the hand, declaring that no man worthy of the name of Frenchman would be the executioner of so brave a man. His soldiers felt the justice of the sentiment, and confirmed the feeling by a general acclamation.—WILSON, 120. With truth did Montesquieu say, that honour was, under a monarchical government, the prevailing feeling of mankind.

† "My officers," said he, "know as much of what passes in my army, as the idlers in the Tuilleries gardens of the deliberations of the cabinet. Besides, exaggeration is ever agreeable to the human mind. The glaring pictures which have been drawn to you of our position have for their authors the gossips of Paris. *The position of France never was greater or more imposing.* As to Eylau, I have stated again and again that the bulletin exaggerated the loss; and what are two or three thousand men killed in a great battle? When I bring back my army to France and to the Rhine, it will be seen how few are deficient on the muster roll."—*Napoleon to Fouché*: 13th April 1807. THIERS' *Consulat et l'Empire*, vii. 420.

Orders were given to "put all the fortresses on the Rhine in a posture of defence, and "*train battalions*," as he called them—that is, battalions of waggoners—were organised in Paris, and forwarded to the army, which it was calculated they would reach in two months. Nor were diplomatic efforts overlooked. Orders were sent to the French ambassadors at the courts of Madrid and Constantinople to use their endeavours to obtain the removal of certain restrictions which existed on French manufactures, and which, in the mortal commercial struggle between France and England, it might be of importance to have recalled. The bridge recently built in front of the Champ-de-Mars received the name of Jena—an appellation destined to bring that beautiful structure to the verge of destruction in future times; a statue was ordered to be erected to d'Alémbert, in the hall of the Institute; the prize formerly promised to the ablest treatise on galvanism was directed to be paid to the author who had deserved

it; the important and difficult subject of the liberty of the press occupied his serious thoughts, and engrossed much of his correspondence with the minister of the interior.*

17. His projects for political improvements were still more important. The project for establishing a university for literary and political information was discussed;† a prize of twelve thousand francs (£480) was announced for the best treatise on the means of curing the croup, which at that period was committing very serious ravages on the infants of France, and of which the child of the Queen of Holland had recently died; a daily correspondence was carried on with the minister of finance, and long calculations, often erroneous, but always intended to support an ingenious opinion, were transmitted to test the accuracy and stimulate the activity of the functionaries in that important department. In that department the great improvement of keeping accounts by double entry was adopted from the example

* "An effective mode of encouraging literature," said Napoleon, "would be to establish a journal, of which the criticism is enlightened, actuated by good intentions, and free of that coarse brutality which characterises the existing newspapers, and is so contrary to the true interests of the nation. Journals now never criticise with the intention of repressing mediocrity, guiding inexperience, or encouraging rising merit; all their endeavour is to wither, to destroy. I am not insensible to the danger, that in avoiding one rock you may strike upon another. It may doubtless happen, that if they dare not criticise, they may fall into the still greater abuse of indiscriminate panegyric; and that the authors of those books with which the world is inundated, seeing themselves praised in journals which all are obliged to read, should believe themselves heaven-born geniuses, and, by the facility of their triumphs, encourage still more despicable imitation. Articles should be selected for the journals where reasoning is mingled with eloquence; where praise for deserved merit is tempered with censure for faults. Merit, however inconsiderable, should be sought for and rewarded. A young man who has written an ode worthy of praise, and which has attracted the notice of the minister, has already emerged from obscurity; the public is fixed; it is his part to do the rest."—*Napoleon to the Minister of the Interior*: 19th April 1807. BIGNON, vi. 262, 264.

† "You should occupy yourself with the project of establishing a university for literature, understanding by that word, not

merely the belles-lettres, but history and geography. It should consist of at least thirty chairs so linked together as to exhibit a living picture of instruction and direction, where every one who wishes to study a particular age should know at once whom to consult, what books, monuments or chronicles to examine; where every one who wishes to travel should know where to receive positive instructions, both as to the government, literature, and physical productions of the country which he is about to visit. It is a lamentable truth, that in this great country a young man who wishes to study, or is desirous of signalling himself in any department, is obliged for long to grope in the dark, and literally lose years in fruitless researches before he discovers the true repositories of the information for which he seeks. It is a lamentable fact, that in this great country we have no depot for the preservation of knowledge, on the situation, government, and present state of different portions of the globe; but the student must have recourse either to the office of foreign affairs, where the collections are far from complete, or to the office of the minister of marine, where he will with difficulty find any one who knows anything of what is asked. I desire such institutions; they have long formed the subject of my meditation, because in the course of my various labours I have repeatedly experienced their want."—*Napoleon to the Minister of the Interior*: 19th April 1807. BIGNON, vi. 267, 269.

of commerce, first by the recommendation of the Emperor,* and, after its advantages had been fully demonstrated by experience, formally enforced by a decree of the Government. Nor, amidst weightier cares, were the fine arts neglected. The designs for the Temple of Glory ordered by the decree of 9th November from Posen, were submitted to the Emperor's consideration, and that one selected which has since been realised in the beautiful peristyle of the Madeleine; while all the departments of France were ordered to be searched for quarries of granite and marble capable of furnishing materials of durability and elegance for its interior decorations, worthy of a monument designed for immortal duration.†

18. The official exposition of the finances of France during this year exhibited the most flattering prospect in the accounts published; but the picture was entirely fallacious, so far as the total expenditure was concerned,

* "The gold order which you have established in the affairs of the treasury, and the emancipation which you have effected of its operations from the control of bankers, is an advantage of the most important kind, which will eminently redound to the benefit of our commerce and manufactures."—*Napoleon to the Minister of Finance*: Osterode, 24th March 1807. In truth, however, what the Emperor here called the emancipation of the treasury from the bankers, arose not so much from the regulations of the minister of that department, as from the extraneous sources from whence the chief supplies for the army were now derived, and which rendered the anticipation of revenue by discounting long-dated treasury bills at the bank of France unnecessary. He admitted this himself in the same letter—"I am now discharging the arrears of the army from the beginning of October 1806, to the end of February 1807; we shall see hereafter how this will be arranged with the treasury: in the mean time, the payment comes from Prussia, and that will put us greatly at ease." The pay thus extracted from the conquered states amounted to the enormous sum of 3,300,000 francs, or £132,000 a-month, supposing 150,000 men only so maintained, which for those five months alone was no less than 16,500,000 fr., or £660,000 sterling.—*BIGNON*, iv. 274, 276.

† "After having attentively considered," said Napoleon, "the different plans submitted to my examination, I have not felt the smallest doubt on that which I should adopt. That of M. Vignon alone fulfils my wishes. It is a temple which I desire, and not a church. What could you erect as a church which could keep its ground against the Pan-

theon, Notre-Dame, or, above all, St Peter's at Rome? Everything in the temple should be in a chaste, severe, and durable style; it should be fitted for solemnities at all times, at all hours; the imperial throne should be a curule chair of marble, seats of marble for the persons invited, an amphitheatre of marble for the performers. No furniture should be admitted but cushions for the seats; all should be of granite, of marble, and of iron. With this view, searches should be made in all the provinces for quarries of marble and granite. They will be useful, not merely for this monument, but for others, which I have it in view to construct at future times, and which by their nature will require thirty, forty, or fifty years for their construction. Not more than 3,000,000 of francs (£120,000) should be required, the temples of Athens having not cost much more than the half of that sum; fifteen millions have been absorbed, I know not how, in the Pantheon, but I should not object to an expenditure of five or six millions for the construction of a temple worthy of the first city of the world."—*Napoleon to the Minister of the Interior*: Finkensteen, 18th April 1807. *BIGNON*, vi. 270, 272. It was from this determination of the Emperor that the present exquisite structure of the Madeleine took its rise; but his real design in the formation, on so durable and gigantic a scale, of this noble monument, was, as already mentioned, still more extensive than the honour of the Grand Army; and he in secret intended it as an expiatory monument to Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the other victims of the Revolution.—*Ante*, Chap. XLV. § 17, note; and *LAS CASES*, i. 370, 371.

subsidies extracted from Spain and Portugal, in virtue of the treaty of St Ildefonso, were above £3,500,000 yearly; finally, that the Grand Army, two hundred thousand strong, had, since it broke up from the heights of Boulogne, in September 1805, been exclusively fed, clothed, lodged, and paid at the expense of the German states. Napoleon made it an invariable rule, when application was made to him for money for any other purpose but those of beneficence, to say he had got none—a system which had the effect of habituating his lieutenants to extracting all the supplies they required out of the country they occupied—the thing of all others which he most ardently desired.* The revenues of France, therefore, did not furnish more than half the total sum required by the expensive and gigantic military establishment of the Emperor; while its inhabitants received almost the whole bene-

fit from its expenditure—a state of things which at once explains the necessity under which he lay of continually advancing to fresh conquests; the extraordinary attachment which the French so long felt to his government; the vast internal prosperity with which it was attended, and the grinding misery, as well as the inextinguishable hatred, with which it soon came to be regarded in foreign states.†

19. Early in March, a grand convocation of the Jews assembled in Paris, in pursuance of the commands of Napoleon, issued in the July preceding. Seventy-one doctors and chiefs of that ancient nation attended this great assembly—the first meeting of the kind which had occurred since the dispersion of the Israelites on the capture of Jerusalem. For seventeen hundred years the children of Israel had sojourned as strangers in foreign realms; reviled, oppressed, persecuted, without

* THIERS, *Consulat et l'Empire*, viii. 633.

† The receipts and expenditure of France, as exhibited in the budget of the Minister of Finance for this year, were as follows:—

<i>Receipts.</i>			
		Francs.	£
Direct taxes,	311,810,685 or	12,500,000	
Register and crown			
lands,	172,227,000	6,900,000	
Customs,	90,115,726	3,600,000	
Lottery,	12,233,837	480,000	
Post-Office,	9,968,134	400,000	
Excise,	75,808,358	3,032,000	
Salt and tobacco,	6,900,000	276,000	
Salt mines of gov-			
ernment,	3,230,000	130,000	
	682,323,740	£27,318,000	

<i>Expenditure.</i>			
		Francs.	£
Public debt,	105,959,000 or	4,240,000	
Civil list,	28,000,000	1,120,000	
Public justice,	22,042,000	880,000	
Foreign ministers,	10,379,000	420,000	
Interior, do.	54,902,000	2,200,000	
Finance, do.	25,624,000	1,025,000	
Public treasury,	8,571,000	343,000	
War,	195,895,000	7,850,000	
Ordnance,	147,654,000	5,900,000	
Marine,	117,307,000	4,700,000	
Public worship,	12,342,000	490,000	
General police,	708,000	28,000	
Roads and bridges,	38,215,000	1,500,000	
Incidental charges,	10,252,000	410,000	
	777,850,000	£31,106,000	

But as the Grand Army, 200,000 strong, was solely maintained, paid, and equipped, at the

expense of Germany, this table exhibited a most fallacious view of the real expenditure and receipts of Napoleon during the year. Without mentioning lesser contributions, the following table exhibits the enormous sums which, by public or private plunder—for it deserves no better name—he was enabled, during the same period, to extract from the tributary or conquered states, and their application to the expenses of the war or otherwise:—

<i>Foreign Receipts.</i>			
		Francs.	£
War contribution levied on Germany, from October 1806 to July 1807,	604,227,922	24,200,000	
Tribute from Italy,	30,000,000	1,200,000	
Do. from Spain,	72,000,000	2,880,000	
Do. from Portugal,	16,000,000	640,000	
War contributions from Austria, arrears of 1805,	50,000,000	2,000,000	
	772,227,922	£30,920,000	

<i>Expenditure.</i>			
		Francs.	£
Cost of the Grand Army from October 1806 to July 1807,	228,944,363	9,160,000	
Leaving of plunder levied to be applied to the internal service of France in this or succeeding years,	543,283,559	21,760,000	
	772,228,922	£30,920,000	

—DARR'S *Report of the Finances of 1806*; DUMAS, xix. 464, 465; BIGNON, vii. 279, 280; GAETA, i. 305.

a capital, without a government, without a home; far from the tombs of their forefathers, banished from the land of their ancestors; but preserving unimpaired, amidst all their calamities, their traditions, their usages, their faith; exhibiting in every nation of the earth a lasting miracle to attest the verity of the Christian prophecies. On this occasion the great Sanhedrim, or assembly, published the result of their deliberations in a variety of statutes and declarations, calculated to remove from the Israelites a portion of that odium under which they had so long laboured in all the nations of Christendom; and Napoleon, in return, took them under his protection, and, under certain modifications, admitted them to the privileges of his empire.

20. This first approach to a reunion and settlement of the Jews, impossible under any other circumstances but the rule of a great conqueror as Napoleon, is very remarkable. The immediate cause of it, doubtless, was the desire of the Emperor to secure the support of so numerous and opulent a body as the Jews of Old Prussia, Poland, and the southern provinces of Russia, which was of great importance in the contest in which he was engaged; but it is impossible not to see in its result a step in the development of Christian prophecy. And thus, from the mysterious manner in which the wisdom of Providence makes the wickedness and passions of men to work out its great designs for the government of human affairs, did the French Revolution, which, nursed in infidelity and crime, set out with the abolition of Christian worship, and the open denial of God by a whole nation, in its secondary results lead to the first great step which had occurred in modern Europe to the reassembling of the Jews, so early foretold by our Saviour. And it will appear in the sequel that in its ultimate effects it is destined, to all human appearance, by the irresistible strength which it has given to the British navy, and the vast impulse which it has communicated to the Russian army, to lead to the wrest-

ing of Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels, and the spread of the Christian faith alike over the forests of the New, and the deserts of the Old World.

21. The two grand armies, in their respective positions on the Passarge and the Alle, remained for nearly four months after the sanguinary fight at Eylau in a state of tranquillity, interrupted only by skirmishes at the outposts, followed by no material results, and too inconsiderable to deserve the attention of the general historian. Both parties were actively engaged in measures to repair the wide chasms which that conflict had occasioned in their ranks, and preparing for the coming struggle which was to decide the great contest for the empire of Europe. Napoleon, during this respite from active operations, was indefatigable in his endeavours to provide for the vast multitude which was assembled round his standards. He soon had three hundred thousand rations of biscuit at Warsaw; but he ordered fifty thousand additional to be forwarded daily to Osterode from that capital, and two thousand pints of brandy. "The fate of Europe," said he, "now depends on procuring subsistence. To beat the Russians, if I have bread enough, is mere child's play. Biscuit and brandy are all I require: they will defeat all the efforts of our enemies."* But in

* "I have 300,000 rations of biscuit at Warsaw. It is eight days' journey from Warsaw to Osterode; you must work miracles, but, at all events, let 50,000 rations be forwarded to me daily. Endeavour also to send me daily 2000 pints of brandy. The fate of Europe, and all our vast calculations, hinge upon the means of subsistence. It is child's play for me to beat the Russians if I have provisions. I have millions; I shall not spare them. Everything you do will be well done, but on receipt of this letter you must despatch to me 50,000 rations and 2000 pints of spirits. It may be done by eighty carriages a-day, paying them in gold. If the patriotism of the Poles is not equal to this effort, they are good for very little. The instructions I now give you are more important than all the negotiations in the world. Give money; I shall sanction all you do. Biscuits and brandy are all we want. These 300,000 rations, and 18,000 or 20,000 pints, which may reach us in a few days, will defeat the machinations of all the powers."—*Napoleon to Talleyrand, March 12, 1807.*
THIERS, Consulat et l'Empire, vii. 412, 413.

addition to these preparations for the use of the troops under his immediate command, Napoleon felt too strongly the imminent risk which he had run of total ruin by a defeat on the frontiers of Russia, before the fortresses in his rear were all subdued, to incur it a second time—until his right flank was secured by the reduction of the remainder of the powerful chain of strongholds in Silesia, which still hoisted the Prussian colours, and his left by the surrender of the great fortified emporium of Dantzic. To these two objects accordingly his attention was directed during the cessation of active hostilities in the front of the Grand Army; and his operations in these quarters were not only great in themselves, but had the most important effect upon the future fortunes of the campaign.

22. Schweidnitz and Neisse were invested about the same time, in the end of January; but serious operations were not attempted against the latter fortress, which was the chief stronghold of the province, till the former was reduced. The siege of Schweidnitz accordingly was carried on with great activity, and with such success, that it capitulated, after a feeble resistance, in the middle of February. This reduction of the capital of Silesia was of the highest importance, not merely as putting at the disposal of Napoleon a powerful fortress, commanding a rich territory, but giving him a supply of extensive stores in ammunition and artillery, which were forthwith forwarded to Dantzic and Neisse, and proved of the utmost service in the sieges of both these towns. The resources of the province, now almost entirely in the hands of Vandamme, were turned to the very best account by that indefatigable and rapacious commander. Heavy requisitions for horses, provisions, and forage, followed each other in rapid succession; besides grievous contributions in money which were so considerable, and levied with such severity on that opulent province, that before the end of March 1,500,000 francs (£60,000) were regularly transmitted *once a week* to the headquar-

ters of Napoleon, and this plentiful supply continued undiminished till the end of the war.

23. No sooner was the besieging force before Neisse strengthened by the artillery and reinforcements which were forwarded from Schweidnitz, than the operations of the French for its reduction were conducted with more activity. This fortress, originally situated exclusively on the right bank of the river which bears the same name, was extended by Frederick the Great to the left bank, where the principal arsenals and military establishments were placed. The works surrounding the whole were extensive, though in some places not entirely armed or clothed with masonry; but a garrison of six thousand men, great part of which occupied an intrenched camp without the fortress, promised to present a formidable resistance. Finding, however, that the trenches had been opened, and that the place was hard pressed, an attempt to relieve it was made by General Kleist with four thousand men, drawn from the garrison of Glatz. Their efforts, which took place on the night of the 20th, were combined with a vigorous sortie from the walls of the place; but though the attack at first was attended with some success, it was finally defeated by the opportune arrival of Jerome Buonaparte with a powerful reinforcement, who had received intelligence of the projected operation, and came up in time to render it totally abortive. The defeated troops took refuge in Glatz, after sustaining a loss of seven hundred men. Immediately after, the bombardment was resumed with fresh vigour; the town was repeatedly set on fire in many different places; the outwork of the Blockhausen was carried by assault; already the rampart was beginning to be shaken by the breaching batteries; and the explosion of one of their magazines spread consternation through the garrison; when the governor offered to capitulate on the same conditions as the other fortresses of Prussia. This offer was agreed to; and on the 6th June, this great stronghold, with three hundred

and twenty pieces of cannon, two hundred thousand pounds of powder, a garrison still above five thousand strong, but entirely destitute of provisions, fell into the hands of the enemy.

24. Glatz alone remained to complete the reduction of the province, and it did not long survive its unfortunate compeers. Prince Jerome commanded the attacking force; and though the garrison was numerous, it was so much discouraged by the bad success of the besieged in all the other fortresses of the province, that it made but a feeble resistance. The intrenched camp, which communicated with the town, having been attacked and carried, this last stronghold of Silesia capitulated on the 14th June, the very day on which the battle of Friedland was fought. Thus were all the fortresses of this province, so long the bulwark of Prussia, reduced by a force hardly equal to the united strength of their garrisons; and Vandamme, with a corps not exceeding twenty-five thousand men, had the glory of wresting from the enemy six first-rate fortified towns, containing about twelve hundred pieces of cannon. The defence which they made did little credit to the Prussian arms, as not one of them had resolution enough to stand an assault, and almost all lowered their colours while the rampart was still unbreached.

25. The siege of Dantzic was an operation of more difficulty, and of much more immediate influence upon the fate of the campaign. Napoleon felt the imminent danger which he would have run if Benningsen's army, during the disruption which preceded the battle of Eylau, had succeeded in throwing a powerful reinforcement into that fortress. Thirty thousand men, resting on its formidable ramparts, and amply supplied with every necessary from the sea, would have paralysed all the movements of the Grand Army. This important city, formerly one of the most flourishing of the Hanse Towns, had fallen to the lot of Prussia on occasion of the last partition of Poland in 1794; and though it had much declined in wealth and

population since the disastrous era when it lost its independence, yet it was still a place of great importance and strength. Its situation at the mouth of the Vistula gave it a monopoly of all the commerce of Poland; it served as the great emporium of the noble wheat crops, which in every age have constituted almost exclusively the wealth of that kingdom, and imported, in return, the wines, fruits, dress, and other luxuries which contributed to the splendour of its haughty nobles, and the rude garments which clothed the limbs of its unhappy peasantry. The river Moltaw, a branch of the Vistula, traverses the whole extent of the city, and serves as a canal for the transport of its bulk in merchandise, while its waters fill the wet ditches, and contribute much to the strength of the place.

26. Previous to the war the fortifications had been much neglected, as its remote situation seemed to afford little likelihood of its being destined to undergo a siege; but after the battle of Jena, General Manstein, the governor, had laboured indefatigably to put the works in a good posture of defence; and such had been the success of his efforts, that they were in March all armed and in a condition to undergo a siege. It was surrounded in all places by a rampart, wet ditch, and strong palisades, in most by formidable outworks; the fort of Weichselmünde, in its vicinity, commanding the opening of the Vistula into the sea, required a separate siege for itself, and was connected with the town, from which it was distant four miles, by a chain of fortified posts. But the principal defence of the place consisted in the marshy nature of the ground in its vicinity, which could be traversed only on a few dikes or chaussées, and the power which the besieged had, by the command of the sluices of the Vistula—the waters of which, from their communication with the Baltic, where there are scarcely any tides, are almost always at the same level—of inundating the country for several miles in breadth round two-thirds of the circumference of the walls. Beyond this marshy circle rose a series of sandy

hills like a great exterior mound of defence, batteries on which commanded any part of the city, and from which in former times all the principal attacks on Dantzic had been directed. They were now covered with outworks, which presented a serious obstacle to the progress of the besiegers. The works of the place were not formed of scarps in masonry, but of steep slopes with enormous palisades, each fifteen inches in diameter, at their feet; and at all the inner angles of the works, block-houses of wood had been constructed, of such strength as almost to bid defiance to cannon-balls or bombs. The fortress was amply stored with ammunition, and provisions both for the garrison and citizens for a twelve-month. The garrison consisted of twelve thousand Prussians and six thousand Russians, under the command of Field-marshal Kalkreuth, a veteran whose intrepid character was a sufficient guarantee for a gallant defence.

27. To form the besieging force, Napoleon had drawn together a large body of Italians, Saxons, Hessians, troops of Baden, with a division of Polish levies, and two divisions of French—in all twenty-seven thousand men. The most inefficient part of this motley group was employed in the blockade of Colberg and Graudenz; and the flower of the troops, consisting of the French divisions, a Saxon brigade, and the Baden and Polish hussars, amounting to about twenty thousand men, was destined to the more arduous undertaking of the siege of Dantzic. The artillery was commanded by the gallant General Lariboisière; the engineers were under the able directions of General Chasseloup; Marshal Lannes, with the grenadiers of the Guard, formerly under Oudinot, who was confined by sickness, formed in the rear of the Grand Army the covering force; and he was in communication with Massena, who had superseded Savary in the command of the corps which had combated at Ostrolenka, and was reinforced by the warlike Bavarian grenadiers of Wrede.

Thus, while twenty thousand men were assembled for the siege, thirty thousand, under the most experienced marshals of France, were stationed so as to protect the operations against any incursions of the enemy.

28. So early as the middle of February, the advanced posts of the besiegers had begun to invest the place, and, on the 22d of that month, a sanguinary conflict ensued between the Polish hussars, who composed their vanguard, and a body of fifteen hundred Prussians, at Dirschau, which terminated after a severe loss on both sides, in the retreat of the latter under the cannon of the ramparts. After this check, General Manstein no longer endeavoured to maintain himself on the outside of the walls; and as the French troops successively came up, the investment of the fortress was completed. The first serious conflict took place on the island or peninsula of Nehrung, the well-known tongue of land which separates the waters of the salt lake, called the Frische-haff, and of the Vistula, from the Baltic sea. It is twelve leagues in length, but seldom more than a mile or two in breadth, composed of sand-hills thrown up by the meeting of the river with the ocean, in one part of which the waves have broken in and overflowed the level space in its rear, which now forms the Frische-haff. As it communicates with Dantzic, which stands on the other side of the Vistula, opposite its western extremity, the approaches to the town on that side could not be effected until it was cleared of the enemy. Sensible of its value, the besieged had spared no pains to strengthen themselves on this important neck of land; and the besiegers were equally resolute to dislodge them from it, and thereby complete the investment of the fortress. Early in the morning of the 20th March, a French detachment crossed the Frische-haff in boats, and surprised the Prussian posts on the opposite shore; fresh troops were ferried over in rapid succession, and the besiegers, before evening, established themselves in such force in the island, that though

Kalkreuth despatched a body of four thousand men out of the place to reinforce his posts in that quarter, they were unable to dislodge the enemy. On the contrary, they not only kept their ground, but, progressively advancing two days afterwards, entirely cleared the peninsula of the Prussians, and completed the investment of the town on that side. By this success the communication of Dantzic with the land was entirely cut off. But the besieged, by means of the island of Holm and fort of Weichselmünde, with the intrenched camp of Neufahrwasser, which commands the entrance of the Vistula into the Baltic, had still the means of receiving succour by sea.

29. After full deliberation among the French engineers, it was determined to commence the siege by an attack on the fort of Hagelsberg, which stands on an eminence without the ramparts on the western side of the town, which was the only one entirely free from inundation. The first parallel having been completed, a heavy fire was opened on the works in that quarter on the night of the 1st of April, though at the distance of eight hundred toises. A fortnight after, the second parallel was also finished, notwithstanding several vigorous sorties from the garrison; and by the 23d, amidst snow and sleet, the batteries were all armed and ready to play on the ramparts at the distance only of sixty toises. On the following night, a tremendous fire was opened from fifty-six pieces of heavy cannon and twelve mortars, which, notwithstanding the utmost efforts on the part of the garrison, soon acquired a marked superiority over the batteries of the besieged. For a week together this cannonade continued, without intermission, night and day; a brave sortie was unable to arrest it more than a few hours; but although the city was already on fire in several places, and the artillery on the ramparts in part dismounted, yet, as the exterior works were faced with earth, not masonry, little progress was made in injuring them, and no practical breach had been as yet effected. Finding themselves

foiled in this species of attack, the French engineers had recourse to the more certain, but tedious method of approach by sap; the besieged countermined with indefatigable perseverance, but notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the mines of the French were pushed to within eighteen yards of the salient angle of the outermost works of Hagelsberg. At the same time a separate expedition against the island of Holm, which formed the western extremity of the peninsula of Nehrung, from whence it was separated only by one of the arms of the Vistula, proved successful: the garrison, consisting of five hundred men with fifteen pieces of cannon, were made prisoners, and the city was by that means deprived of all the succour which it had hitherto obtained by the mouths of that river.*

30. Invested now on all sides, with its garrison weakened by the casualties of the siege, and the enemy's mines ready to blow its outworks on the side assailed into the air, Dantzic could not be expected to hold out for any length of time. Not deeming himself in sufficient strength to attempt the raising of the siege by a direct attack upon the enemy's cantonments on the Passarge, Benningsen, with the concurrence of the Emperor Alexander, had resolved to attempt the relief of the fortress by a combined attack by land and sea from the peninsula of Nehrung and the mouths of the Vistula. The preparations made with this view were of the most formidable kind, and had well-nigh been crowned with success. General Kamenskoi, with five thousand men, was embarked at Pillau, under

* A remarkable incident occurred on this occasion, highly characteristic of the heroic spirit with which both parties were animated. A chasseur of the 12th regiment of French light infantry, named Fortunat, transported by the ardour of the attack, fell in the dark into the midst of a Russian detachment, and in a few minutes that detachment itself was surprised by the company to which the French soldier belonged. The Russian officers exclaimed, "Do not fire, we are French!" and threatened the chasseur with instant death if he betrayed them. "Fire instantly!" exclaimed the brave Fortunat, "they are Russians!" and fell pierced by the balls of his comrades.—DUMAS, xviii. 180.

convoy of a Swedish and an English man-of-war, and landed at Neufahrwasser, the fortified port at the mouth of the Vistula, distant four miles from Dantzic; while two thousand Prussians were to co-operate in the attack, by advancing along the peninsula of Nehrung, and the Grand Army was to be disquieted and hindered from sending succours by a feigned attack on Marshal Ney's corps. At the same time General Touchkoff, who had succeeded Essen in the command of the troops on the Narew and the Bug, was to engage the attention of Massena's corps in that quarter. All these operations took place, and, but for an accidental circumstance, would, to all appearance, have proved successful. The proposed feints were made with the desired effects on the side of Guttstadt and the Narew; but unfortunately the delay of the Swedish man-of-war, which had twelve hundred men on board, rendered it impossible for Kamenskoi to commence his attack before the 15th instant. In the meanwhile Napoleon, who had received intelligence of what was in preparation, and was fully aware of the imminent danger to which Lefebvre was exposed, had time to draw a large body of troops from Lannes' covering corps by the bridge of Marienwerder to the scene of danger.

31. This great reinforcement, comprising among other troops the grenadiers of the Guard under Oudinot, turned the scale, which at that period quivered on the beam. Early on the morning of the 15th, Kamenskoi marched out of the trenches of Neufahrwasser, and, after defiling over the bridge of the Vistula into the peninsula of Nehrung, advanced with the utmost intrepidity to the attack of the strong fortifications which the enemy had erected to bar their advance among the hills and copsewoods of that sandy peninsula. The first onset was irresistible. The intrenchments were carried in the most gallant style, and all their cannon taken: success appeared certain, as the defeated Saxons and Poles were flying in great disorder out of the woods into the sandy hills

which lay between them and the town of Dantzic, when the victors were suddenly assailed in flank, when disordered by success, by Marshal Lannes, at the head of Oudinot's formidable grenadiers of the Guard. Unable to resist so vehement an onset, the Russians were in their turn driven back, and lost the intrenchments; but rallying again with admirable discipline, they renewed the assault and regained the works. Again they were expelled with great slaughter. A third time, stimulated by desperation, they returned to the charge, and routed the French grenadiers with such vigour, that Oudinot had a horse shot under him, and fell upon Marshal Lannes, and both these valiant chiefs thereafter combated on foot in the midst of their faithful grenadiers. But fresh reinforcements from the left bank were every moment received by the enemy; Kalkreuth, confining himself to a heavy cannonade, had made no sortie to aid this gallant effort to cut through the lines; and to complete Kamenskoi's misfortune, he received intelligence, during the action, that the Prussian corps of two thousand men, which was advancing along the Nehrung to co-operate in the attack, had been assailed by superior forces at Kahlberg, and routed with the loss of six hundred men and two pieces of cannon. Finding the undertaking, in these circumstances, hopeless, the brave Russian, at eight at night, ordered his heroic troops to retire, and they regained the shelter of the cannon of Weichselmünde without being pursued, but after sustaining a loss of seventeen hundred soldiers; while the French had to lament nearly as great a number of brave men who had fallen in this desperate conflict.

32. No other serious effort was made by the Allies for the relief of Dantzic. The besieged had provisions enough, but it was well known that their ammunition was almost exhausted, and that, without a speedy supply of that indispensable article, the place must ere long capitulate. An English brig of twenty-two guns, under Captain Strachey, with one hundred and fifty barrels of powder on board, made a

brave attempt to force its way up the river, though the Vistula is a rapid stream, not more in general than sixty yards broad, and the passage was both defended by numerous batteries and a boom thrown across the channel. She made her way up the river for a considerable way, with surprising success; but at length a cannon-shot having struck the rudder, and her rigging being almost entirely cut to pieces by the French fire, she was forced to surrender. Meanwhile the operations against the Hagelsberg were continued without intermission. The springing of several mines, though not attended with all the damage which was expected by the besiegers, had the effect of ruining and laying open the outworks, and preparations were already made for blowing the counterscarp into the ditch. In vain a sortie from the ramparts was made, and at first attended with some success, to destroy these threatening advanced works of the enemy; the besieged were at length driven back, and on the next day the arrival of Marshal Mortier with a large part of his corps from the neighbourhood of Stralsund and Colberg, nearly doubled the effective strength of the enemy. Kalkreuth, however, was still unsubdued, and the most vigorous preparations had been made on the breaches of the ramparts to repel the assault which was hourly expected, when a summons from Lefebvre offered him honourable terms of capitulation. The situation of the brave veteran left him no alternative; though his courage was unsubdued, his ammunition was exhausted, and nothing remained but submission. The terms of capitulation were without difficulty arranged; the garrison was permitted to retire with their arms and the honours of war, on condition of not serving against France or its allies for a year, or till regularly exchanged; and on the 27th this great fortress, containing nine hundred pieces of cannon, but hardly any ammunition, was taken possession of by the French troops. The garrison, now reduced to seven thousand men, was marched through the peninsula of Nehrung to

Königsberg. No less than 2700 had perished during the siege, and 3400 been wounded. Eight hundred had been made prisoners, and 4300 deserted. These figures are sufficient to demonstrate the gallant nature of the defence, and how worthy the governor, Kalkreuth, was of the school of the Great Frederick, in which he had been brought up. After the fall of the place, Kamenskoi, unable to render any assistance, set sail from Fort Weichselmünde with his own division, and its original garrison and a few invalids only remained on the 26th to open its gates to the enemy.

33. While this desperate struggle was going on round Dantzic, the Russians were making the utmost efforts to reinforce their principal army; but the time which they had was not sufficient to bring up from its immense extent the distant resources of their empire, and though men were in abundance in the nearer provinces, both money and arms were wanting to equip them for the field. In the end of March and beginning of April, however, reinforcements to a considerable amount arrived on the Alle, among which the most important were the superb corps of the Guards under the Grand-duke Constantine, consisting of thirty battalions and thirty-four squadrons, full twenty thousand men, the flower of the Imperial army. A powerful reserve, drawn from the depots in the interior of the empire, of thirty thousand men, was also advancing under Prince Labanoff; but it was so far in the rear that it could not arrive at the scene of action before the end of June, and was therefore not to be relied on for the early operations of the campaign. The whole army which Benningsen had at his command, on the resumption of hostilities, was only one hundred and twenty thousand men, including in that force the detached corps of eighteen thousand Prussians and Russians in front of Königsberg under Lestocq, and the left wing on the Narew under Tolstoy, which was fifteen thousand strong; so that the force to be trusted to for the immediate shock on the Alle or the

Passarge was scarcely ninety thousand. These were, however, all veterans inured to war, and animated in the highest degree both by their recent success at Eylau, and by the presence of their beloved Emperor, who, since the end of March, had been at the headquarters of the army.*

§4. By incredible exertions Napoleon had succeeded in assembling a much greater force. Notwithstanding the immense losses of his bloody winter campaign in Poland, such had been the vigour of his measures for recruiting his army, and such the efficacy of the combined influence of terror, coercion, military ardour, and patriotic spirit, which he had contrived to bring to bear upon the warlike population of France, Germany, and Poland, that a greater host than had ever yet been witnessed together in modern Europe was now assembled round his eagles. Exclusive of the army of observation on the Elbe, and the garrisons and blockading corps in his rear, no less than a hundred and fifty thousand infantry, and thirty-five thousand horse,

were ready for immediate action on the Passarge and the Narew.† Immense efforts had been made by the Emperor to augment, by every possible means, his cavalry, an arm on which he always so much relied in war. His orders were to raise this force with the Grand Army to eighty thousand men. For this purpose, besides the horses which he had seized in Prussia and the north of Germany, and those taken in battle, he bought, during the cessation of hostilities, seventeen thousand horses in Germany, and twelve thousand in France, all of which were without a moment's delay, hurried off to the Vistula. In addition to this, the fortifications of Praga, Modlin, and Sierock, had been put in the best possible state of defence, and even the cantonments on the Passarge strengthened with *têtes-de-pont* and stout palisades. Nor was it merely from its nominal strength that this immense force was formidable; its discipline and equipment had attained the very highest perfection. The requisitions enforced by the terrors of military exe-

* The Russian army, when the campaign opened, was as follows:—

Centre under Benningsen on the All at Arensdorf, Neuhoft, Bergfried, and Bevern,	88,000
Right wing under Lesocq, near Königsberg and at Pillau,	18,000
Left wing on the Narew under Tolstoy,	15,000

—DUMAS, xviii. 220, 221; and WILSON, 136.

121,000

The militia, which the patriotic ardour of the Russians led them to raise, were unable to march from want of arms and ammunition, which the ill-timed parsimony of England withheld. One hundred and sixty thousand muskets, sent out in haste by the British government after the change of ministry, arrived at Königsberg in the end of June, after the contest had been terminated in the field of Friedland, and escaped seizure by the French only by not being landed.—HARD, iv. 417.

† The composition and distribution of this force, previous to the resumption of hostilities, was as follows:—

	Present. Infantry.	Present. Cavalry.	Stationed at
First corps, Bernadotte,	23,547	8,744	Braunsberg and Spanden.
Fourth do., Soult,	30,199	1,366	Liebstadt and Altkn.
Sixth do., Ney,	15,883	1,117	Guttstadt and the right of the Passarge.
Third do., Davoust,	28,445	1,125	Osterode and Allenstein.
Imperial Guard, Bessières,	7,319	1,808	Finkenstein.
Reserve cavalry, Murat,		21,428	Passarge and Lower Vistula.
Reserve corps, Lannes,	15,000	250	Marienburg.
Eighth corps, Mortier,	14,000	1,000	Lower Vistula.
Second corps, Massena,	17,680	2,604	Narew.
	152,063	34,442	

Exclusive of officers, which made the force at least 155,000 infantry and 35,000 cavalry. The corps of Lefebvre, after the capture of Dantzic, was broken up and divided between those of Lannes and Mortier and the garrison of the place; another was in Dalmatia, under Marmont; the ninth in Silesia, under Vandamme. Augereau's corps was divided among the others after its terrific losses in the battle of Eylau.—DUMAS, xviii. 222, 223; *Pièces Just.* No. 8; and JOMINI, ii. 403.

cution, had extorted from Germany all the supplies of which it stood in need. The cavalry were remounted, the artillery waggons and carriages repaired and in the best condition; the reserve parks and pontoon trains fully supplied; the return of spring had restored numbers of the veterans to their ranks—the never-failing conscription filled up the chasms produced by Pultusk and Eylau; while the recent successes in Silesia and at Dantzic had revived in the warlike multitude that confidence in themselves and in their renowned leader, which the disasters of the winter campaign had much impaired, but which has ever been found, even more than numbers or skill, to contribute to military success. Nor were the roar and the communications forgotten; on the contrary, it was in them that the provident care and enormous resources of the Emperor shone most conspicuous. Marshal Brune had an army of eighty thousand men in the north of Germany, composed of fifteen thousand Dutch, a like number of Spaniards, sixteen thousand Würtembergers, sixteen thousand French of Boudet's and Molitor's divisions, and the reserve contingents of the Confederation of the Rhine—in all, nearly four hundred thousand men were collected between the Rhine and the Niemen. But of this immense force, only one hundred and sixty thousand could be relied on for the actual shock of war on the Passarge. Such is the dilapidation of armies occasioned by distant offensive war! Such as it was, however, it was much greater than Alexander could collect to resist it. Vast as the resources of Russia undoubtedly are when time has been afforded to collect into one focus its unwieldy strength, it was now fairly overmatched by the banded strength of Western Europe on its own frontier; and though the Czar might possibly have combated on equal terms with Napoleon on the Wolga or the Dniester, he was inadequate to the encounter on the Alle or the Narew.

35. The Emperor Alexander had arrived at the headquarters of his army on the 28th March, and resided since

that time with the King of Prussia at Bartenstein, a little in the rear of the cantonments of the soldiers. There they had, for two months, carried on a sort of negotiations with the French Emperor by means of confidential agents; but this show of pacific overtures, which were only intended on either side to give time and propitiate Austria, by seeming to listen to her offers of mediation, was abandoned in the middle of May, and both parties prepared to determine the contest by the sword. To compensate for his inferiority of force, and provide a point of support for his troops, even in the first line, Bennigsen had, with great care, constructed a formidable intrenched camp, composed of six great works regularly fortified, and sixteen lunettes or armed ravelins, astride on the opposite banks of the river Alle. Thither he proposed to retire, in the event of the enemy bringing an overwhelming force to bear against his columns; but he did not conceive himself sufficiently strong until the reinforcements under Prince Labanoff arrived, to commence any serious offensive movement against the French army, and in consequence allowed the siege of Dantzic, as already mentioned, to be brought to a successful issue, without any other demonstration for its relief than the cannonade against Ney's corps, intended as a diversion in favour of Kamenskoï's attack. The army, though so much inferior in numerical strength to the French, was animated with the best spirit, and the great magazines and harbour of Königsberg supplied it with every necessary. But the situation of that city, without fortifications, and with its back to the Curische-haff, from whence retreat was impossible, rendered it a situation extremely ill adapted, as the event proved, for the security of the stores on which the operations of the army depended.

36. After the fall of Dantzic, and when the French army was reinforced by full thirty thousand men from the covering and besieging force, Napoleon drew his troops from their cantonments into camps, which were strength-

ened with palisades to guard against surprise, and he had a grand review of his reserve cavalry in the plains of Elbing. They presented a most magnificent spectacle. Eighteen thousand horsemen, admirably mounted and perfectly disciplined, there obeyed, with parade precision, the orders of Murat. Accustomed as Napoleon was to military spectacles, his eyes were almost dazzled by the splendour of this; and he wrote an hour after to his ministers, that he could not but feel proud of the sight he had just witnessed. Meanwhile Benningsen was seduced, by the exposed situation of Marshal Ney's corps at Guttstadt, midway between the two armies, to hazard an attack on that insulated body. He had been stationed there by Napoleon expressly in order to serve as a bait to draw the Russian generals into that perilous encounter; and, as the event proved, with perfect success. Early in June all the corps of their army were put in motion, in order to envelop the French marshal. For this purpose, Benningsen proposed to make a feint of forcing the passage of the Passarge at the two points of Spanden and Lomitten, and at the same time assail Ney in his advanced position at Guttstadt, in front and both flanks—the front by Altkirch, and the flanks by Wolfsdorf and Guttstadt. If, by these means, the corps which he commanded could be destroyed, it was intended on the following day to renew the attack on the bridges in good earnest, and fall with the whole centre of the Russian army on the corps of Soult, cantoned behind the Passarge, and at such a distance from that of Davoust, as to afford some ground for hope that it, too, might be seriously injured before the remainder of the French troops could advance to its relief. Should this daring attack fail, it was always in their power to retire to the fortified central position of Heilsberg, and there endeavour to arrest the enemy, as Kray had done with Moreau at Ulm, till the great reinforcements, under Labanoff, should enable them to resume the offensive.

37. Early on the morning of the 5th

June, the whole Russian army was put in motion for the execution of this well-conceived enterprise. The feigned attacks, intended to distract the enemy's attention on the two fortified bridges of Spanden and Lomitten, took place at the prescribed time, and perfectly answered the object in view. The Prussians at the former point, and the Russians at the latter, pressed the enemy so severely, and with forces so considerable, that they supposed the forcing of the bridges was really intended, and in consequence, when the enemy drew off in the evening, with the loss of several hundred killed and wounded, from each of these places, represented their retreat as evidence of a repulse. Bernadotte, who commanded at Spanden, and had collected his whole corps to defend that important passage, was wounded by a musket-ball on the head, during the heat of the action, and was replaced in command by General Dupont. Meanwhile the real attack was directed against Ney's corps in its advanced position at Guttstadt on the Alle, full seven miles to the right of the Passarge, and so completely in the midst of the Russian army, now that their advanced columns were assailing the bridges over that river, that its capture appeared inevitable. In effect, the marshal was taken so completely by surprise, that if Benningsen had pressed the retiring columns with anything like the vigour which Napoleon would have exerted on a similar occasion, they must inevitably have been destroyed. He had thirty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand horse against Ney, who could not muster half that force.

38. But, unfortunately, orders had been issued for the different corps to delay the onset till they were in a condition to render assistance to each other; and as some were impeded in the march by unforeseen accidents, the serious attack on Guttstadt did not take place till two o'clock in the afternoon. It was then carried by assault, and four hundred prisoners, with considerable magazines and several guns, were taken; but after having thus made themselves masters of his headquarters,

the Russians, though more than double in number to the enemy, exerted so little activity in following up their success, that Ney, who displayed on this trying occasion all his wonted skill and firmness, was enabled to effect his retreat, with comparatively little loss, to Ankendorf, where he passed the night. On the following morning he resumed his march, though pressed on all sides by greatly superior forces. It was only by prodigies of discipline and valour, however, that his retreat was effected. Surrounded and repeatedly charged by the immense masses of the enemy's horse, his troops retired over a level plain in echelons of squares, each delivering its fire, opening out and retiring on either side of the square in rear, which stood firm and performed a similar evolution, while the entire formation of the first was again effected. In this way they retired for several miles with parade precision, repeatedly charged, but never broken. In the course of the retreat, he boldly imposed on the enemy, when their forces were divided by a lake, by a bold and well-conceived advance, which gave time for his artillery and horse to defile over the bridge in his rear; and at length passed the Passarge at Deppen, with the loss, in the whole of his retreat, of only a thousand killed and wounded, and an equal number made prisoners. On arriving at the heights of Deppen, as the rear-guard of Ney was defiling over, the Russians had the mortification of discovering that the bridge was not only altogether unprotected by a *tête-de-pont*, but completely commanded by the heights on which they stood on the right bank; so that, if they had exerted ordinary vigour in the attack of the preceding day, the negligence of Napoleon had given them the means of totally de-

stroying the exposed corps of his gallant lieutenant.

39. This sudden though unfortunate attack on the centre of his position, very much disconcerted the Emperor Napoleon, the more especially as he received intelligence, the same day, of the passage of the Alle at Bergfried by Platoff at the head of his Cossacks, and the surprise of five hundred men, who were made prisoners,* and also of a regiment of Cossacks having swam the Passarge, and cut to pieces an escort of cavalry, and captured some artillery and baggage. He instantly commenced the concentration of his army. The corps of Ney, which, although it had escaped from so serious a danger, was seriously weakened and much disorganised, was united to that of Lannes, which had suffered no loss; the Guard and reserve cavalry under Murat were commanded to assemble and support him with the utmost expedition; Mortier was ordered up by forced marches by Mohrunge; the corps of Bernadotte, which, since his wound, was intrusted to the direction of Victor, was directed to concentrate itself for the protection of Elbing; and Soult, who had assembled his corps at Liebstadt, was enjoined to force the passage of the Passarge at Wolfsdorf, in order to threaten the communications of the enemy with their intrenched camp at Heilsberg; while Davoust connected himself by the right with Ney, and formed an imposing mass behind the Passarge, against which, it was hoped, all the efforts of the enemy would be shattered. But these great preparations were suitable rather to the confidence which Napoleon felt in himself than that with which his adversaries were inspired. Having failed in his original and well-conceived project of cutting off the corps of Marshal Ney in

* The French officer in command owed his life to the fortunate incident of his giving the Russian commander the freemasons' sign when seizing his hand just as a lance was about to pierce his breast.—Wilson, 138. In reviewing Sir Robert Wilson's work, the *Edinburgh Review* says, this is an anecdote so incredible, that no amount of testimony could make them believe it; but this only shows the critic's ignorance. The same for-

fortunate presence of mind, in making use of the freemasons' sign, saved the life of a gallant officer, the author's father-in-law, Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, during the American war, who, by giving one of the enemy's officers the freemasons' grip, when he lay on the ground with a bayonet at his breast, succeeded in interesting the generous American in his behalf, and thus escaped death.

its advanced position close to his cantonments, Benningsen had no intention of hazarding his army by commencing offensive operations against a force so greatly superior, with a few bridges over the Alle, for his only retreat in case of disaster. On the morning of the 8th, the increasing forces which the enemy displayed at Deppen, and the vivacity of their cannonade at that point, prognosticated some decisive movement; and about noon the loud shouts of the soldiers announced the arrival of Napoleon in person. Soon after, General Havoiski, with a body of Cossacks, part of the army opposed to Spult, surprised three regiments of horse, the advanced guard of Soult's corps, which had obeyed its orders, and crossed the river at Wolfsdorf, and made three hundred prisoners, besides killing a still greater number. But these partial successes were insufficient to arrest the progress of the enemy, whose masses, now rapidly arriving on its banks, gave them a decided superiority; and Benningsen resolved to fall back to the intrenched camp at Heilsberg, while Bagrathion covered the retreat on the left with five thousand foot and two thousand horse, and Platoff with three thousand Cossacks on the right.

40. The retreat, however, which was now commenced, was far more hazardous than that which Ney had just effected with such skill; for it was to be made in presence of Napoleon and a hundred thousand men. No sooner had the Russian carriages begun to defile to the rear, than the French, crossed the Passage in great strength at all points; the Guards and cavalry and the main body, with the Emperor at their head, at Deppen, Soult at Elditten, and Davoust at Haorsenberg. Their immense masses converged from all these different points towards Guttstadt and Altkirch, whither the Russian army had retired in one compact body, following the direct road to their intrenchments at Heilsberg. The great bulk of the army was so far advanced as to be beyond the reach of danger; but the rear-guard, under Bagrathion and Platoff, was ex-

posed to the most imminent hazard, especially when, towards evening, it became necessary to halt and arrest the enemy, in order to give time for the numerous carriages and guns in their rear to defile over the Alle by the four bridges by which alone Heilsberg could be reached. Bagrathion, however, took post at Glottau, and sent forth the cavalry of the Imperial Guard and Cossacks into the plain to check the advance of his pursuers. The French infantry instantly halted and formed squares; while twelve thousand of Murat's dragoons rushed upon the rear-guard at full speed, threatening to annihilate them by their thundering charge. Such, however, was the steadiness and intrepidity of the Russian horse, that they successfully combated against the fearful odds by which they were assailed. Several brilliant charges took place without any decisive result on either side. But not one square of the retreating rearguard was broken, not one squadron dispersed; and after a sanguinary conflict, Bagrathion, having gained time for the whole artillery and carriages in his rear to defile over the bridge, withdrew to the other side of the Alle, abandoning Guttstadt, with no greater loss in killed and wounded than he had inflicted upon the enemy—a rare example of intrepidity and skill in such trying circumstances, even more remarkable than the retreat of Marshal Ney two days before, as his own force was much less, and the pursuing host incomparably greater. At the same time, Platoff, on his side, also gained the river, and crossed the bridges in safety, having, in order to give an example of coolness to his men, dismounted from his horse, and, with the tranquillity of parade exercise, withdrawn his forces in small bodies, with large intervals between them, which so effectually imposed upon the enemy, that he sustained no serious molestation in his retreat.

41. Having thus succeeded in throwing the river Alle between themselves and the French army, and broken down all the bridges over that river, the Russians were enabled, without fur-

ther molestation, to withdraw all their troops by the right bank of the river into the intrenched camp at Heilsberg, where they stood firm under the cover of most formidable fieldworks. Napoleon had now one of two courses to follow. * In his front was the great fortified camp of the enemy, by storming which he might hope to terminate the war in a single bloody battle; a little to his left was the city of Königsberg, containing the whole magazines and reserve stores of their army. The most obvious course would have been to have executed a general movement with the right in front, passing Heilsberg, so as to establish the French lines between that place and Bischofsstein, with the right extending towards Bartenstein, and the left reaching to Guttstadt; repeating thereby the circuitous sweep round the enemy's position, which his great numerical superiority gave him the means of so easily effecting, and which had proved so fatal to the Austrians at Ulm, and the Prussians at Jena. The second was to advance with the main body of the army along the left bank of the Alle, straight against their intrenchments at Heilsberg, and in the event of their proving so strong as to defy open force, threatening to turn them by the advance of fifty thousand men on the left towards Eylau, so as to menace the communications of the enemy with his magazines at Königsberg. The first plan offered the most decisive results, as the Russian army, if cut off from its own frontier, by being turned on the right, would have been exposed to total destruction in the event of being thrown, after a defeat, upon Königsberg, and the *cul-de-sac* of the Curische-hoff. But the second was most easy of immediate execution, from its avoiding the difficult and intricate country into which an advance upon Bischofsstein would have led the army; and, notwithstanding the obvious risk to which his left wing would be exposed by advancing between a superior mass of the enemy and the sea, Napoleon flattered himself that he would so engage his attention in front as to prevent him from

taking advantage of the chances thus offered in his favour.

42. On the 10th June, accordingly, preparations were made for a front attack upon the intrenched camp of Heilsberg, while Davoust and Mortier moved forward on the French left to turn its right flank, and menace the enemy's communication with Königsberg. For this purpose, the cavalry of Murat led the advance down the left bank of the Alle against the Russian intrenchments, which were about ten miles distant, and he was immediately followed by the corps of Soult, Lannes, Ney, and the infantry of the Guard. Bagrathion, who was retiring down the right bank, upon finding that the French were moving along the left, crossed the river in order to retard their advance as much as possible. As long as he was pursuing his way through the broken ground, he was able to keep the enemy tolerably at bay: but when he was obliged to evacuate that favourable cover, and enter upon the open plain, which extended on both sides of the Alle to Heilsberg, his task of covering the retreat became much more difficult. In vain the Russian horse, by repeated charges, strove to retard the advance of their indefatigable pursuers; in vain the infantry retired by echelon in alternate lines, to sustain by continued fire their retrograde movements. The French cavalry and horse-artillery incessantly pressed on: by degrees the losses of the Russians became more severe, and they at length began to fall into confusion. At this critical moment, the opportune arrival of fifteen squadrons of Prussian cavalry, with a troop of horse-artillery, which Benningesen sent to their succour, gave great relief; and these brave troops, by their gallant bearing, enabled Bagrathion to maintain the fight, though with serious loss, till six at night, when the whole allied army had got within its lines. Then, on the word being given, the Russian and Prussian cavalry withdrew by their flanks, exposing to view within half cannon-shot the formidable intrenchments, bristling with bayonets, and armed in this part with

one hundred and fifty pieces of heavy artillery. Instantly a fire of grape of extraordinary severity was opened upon the enemy, which speedily swept off all the squadrons who could not escape from its fury; and though Murat brought up several batteries of cannon, and swarms of tirailleurs occupied every thicket, and kept up an incessant rattle along the whole front of the lines, yet they produced no impression, and the superiority of the Russian fire was very apparent.

43. The position of Heilsberg, however, was too important for Napoleon to relinquish the prospect of making himself master of it by main force without a struggle. Situated on a cluster of heights on both banks of the Alle, of which the town covered a part, it commanded the three roads of Wormditt, Mehlsack, and Landsberg, which intersected each other within the intrenched camp, and in this way blocked up the access to Eylau and Königsberg. As long as the Russians held this important position, and at the same time maintained the course of the Lower Passarge towards Braunschweig, their lines might be considered unassailable. But from the moment that they were driven from the latter ground, and the enemy's columns began to interpose between the intrenched camp and the sea, threatening Eylau and Friedland, its advantages were at an end, because it was cut off from its own communication with the very depots which it was designed to protect. Its weakest side was that on the left bank of the Alle, which was connected with the redoubts on the other side by four bridges. Nearly eighty thousand men were here assembled, under the cover of above five hundred pieces of cannon, in nine divisions, of which seven under the Grand-duke Constantine, occupied the left bank of the river, and two, under Prince Gortchakoff, the right bank; while Kamenskoi was stationed in the redoubts which covered the front of the position on the left bank.

44. Napoleon having collected forty pieces of artillery, under the command of General Dulaioy, on his left, pushed

them forward, and, by the vivacity of their fire, in some degree weakened that of the enemy to which they were opposed. The divisions of St Cyr, Legrand, and St Hilaire, part of Soult's corps, with Murat's cavalry, advanced about seven in the evening, by the villages of Lawden, Langwiese, and Bewernicken, to the attack of the enemy's redoubts on the left bank of the river. These brave men had no sooner quitted the cover of the ravine which for some time sheltered them from the enemy's fire, than they rushed forward with such vigour, that in the first onset they carried the principal redoubt of the Russians in that quarter, with all the guns which it contained; while St Hilaire, with his division, penetrated between that intrenchment and the neighbouring works. The moment was critical, and the least wavering would have exposed the Russians to total ruin; for a line of redoubts, broken in upon at one point, is well-nigh lost. But Benningsen was at the head of men who were equal to any emergency. General Warneck, who commanded part of the Russian reserve, instantly ordered the regiment of Kalouga to charge: the animating hurrahs of his men demonstrated that he had not calculated in vain on their intrepidity at that trying crisis. On they rushed with fixed bayonets; the two regiments which had captured the redoubt were totally destroyed, and their eagles taken. Following up their success, the Russians burst out into the plain between the wood and the redoubts, and forced Soult's divisions to give ground. With the steadiness of discipline, however, the latter retired in hollow squares by echelon, all of which vomited forth an incessant rolling fire upon their pursuers; the approach of night gave these moving citadels the appearance of being encircled with flame, while the intrenchments resembled a line of volcanoes in vehement eruption. At length, however, the retreat of Legrand and St Cyr obliged St Hilaire, who had penetrated to the very foot of the redoubts, and had borne without finching their terrible discharge of grape, also to re-

tire. Savary, with two regiments of the Guard and twelve guns, came up to cover his retreat: he, in his turn, however, was surrounded. The French at all points retired to the cover of the woods, and narrowly escaped being made prisoners by the allied cavalry; and at length, also grievously shattered, the victorious Russians were again withdrawn into their intrenchments.*

45. The vehement cannonade which had so long illuminated the heavens now ceased, and the cries of the wounded, in the plain at the foot of the intrenchments, began to be heard above the declining roar of the musketry. At eleven, at night, however, a deserter came into the Russian lines, and announced that a fresh attack was preparing. Suitable arrangements were accordingly made; and hardly were they completed, when dark masses of the enemy were seen, by the uncertain twilight of a midsummer night, to issue from the woods, and advance with a swift pace across the bloody plain which separated them from the redoubts. Instantly the batteries opened

* "I had on this occasion," says Savary, "an exceedingly warm altercation with the Grand-duke of Berg, (Murat), who sent to me, in the very thickest of the action, orders to move forward and attack. I bade the officer who brought the order go to the devil, asking, at the same time, if he did not see how we were engaged. That prince, who would have commanded everywhere, wished that I should cease firing at the hottest period of the fight, to march forward: he would not see, that if I had done so, I should infallibly have been destroyed before reaching the enemy. For a quarter of an hour I exchanged grape with the enemy—nothing enabled me to keep my ground but the rapidity of my fire. The coming on of night was most fortunate. While every one slumbered, the Emperor sent for me. He was content with my charge, but scolded me for having failed in the support of Murat. When defending myself, I had the boldness to say he was a fool, who would some day cause us to lose a great battle; and that it would be better for us if he was less brave and had more common sense. The Emperor bade me be silent, saying, I was in a passion, but did not think the less of what I had said. Next day he was in a very bad humour: our wounded were as numerous as in a pitched battle."—SAVARY, iii. 54.—"He was particularly angry at the cavalry, saying they had done nothing he had ordered."—WILSON, 140.

on the moving masses: they staggered under the discharge, but still pressed on, without returning a shot. But when they arrived within reach of the musketry, the fire became so vehement that the heads of the columns were entirely swept away, and the remainder driven back in great disorder, after sustaining a frightful loss.† At length, at midnight, after twelve hours' incessant fighting, in the retreat and round the intrenchments, the firing entirely ceased, and nothing was heard in the narrow space which separated the two armies but the groans of the wounded, who, anticipating a renewal of the combat in the morning, and tortured by pain, implored removal, relief, or

† The bad success of the attack on Heilsberg gave rise to a furious altercation between Lannes and Murat, and an explosion of the former, who was subject to ungovernable fits of passion, even with the Emperor himself. It is thus narrated, with dramatic power, by the Duchess of Abrantes:—"Your brother-in-law is a mountebank, sire; a tight-rope dancer, with his white dancing plume."—"Come, now, you are joking," answered Napoleon in good humour: "is he not brave?"—"And who is not so in France? We point with the finger at a coward. Soult and I have done our duty: we refuse to allow the honour of the day to your brother-in-law—to his Serene and Imperial Highness Prince Murat! Truly these titles make one shrug his shoulders! The mania of royalty has seized him also; and it is to tack his mantle to your own that you wish to rob us of our glory. You have only to speak: we have enough remaining—we will willingly give it to him."—"Yes!" exclaimed Napoleon, no longer able to contain himself; "I will bestow or take away glory as I please: for hear ye! it is I ALONE who give you both glory and success."—"On this Lannes became pale with rage; and with a voice quivering with passion he exclaimed, 'Yes! yes! because you have marched up to the ankles in gore on this bloody field, you think yourself a great man; and your fine emplumed brother-in-law crowns on his own dunghill. I will have no more of this. And this fine victory of yours—a great triumph truly!—twelve thousand corpses lying on the plain to keep the field for your honour, where you can only trace the French uniform by fractures and mutilation: and yet to deny to me—to me, Lannes—my due share in the honours of the day!'"—D'ABRANTES, ix. 369, 372. The lively duchess, with her usual inaccuracy in military details, recounts this scene as relating to the battle of Eylau; but that is impossible, as Lannes was not in that battle at all, but sick in the rear.—*Vide Ante*, Chap. XLV. § 64.

even death itself, to put a period to their sufferings.

46. Heavy rain fell in the early part of the night, which, though it severely distressed the soldiers who were unhurt in their bivouacs, assuaged the thirst and diminished the sufferings of the host of wounded of both armies who lay mingled together on the plain. With the first dawn of day the Russians again stood to their arms, expecting every moment to be attacked; but the morning passed over without any movement on the part of the enemy. As the light broke, the French were descried on the skirts of the wood in order of battle: but, more even than by their well-appointed battalions and squadrons, the eyes of all were riveted on a spectacle inconceivably frightful between their lines and the redoubts. This space, about a quarter of a mile broad and above a mile in length, presented a sheet of naked human bodies—the greater part dead, but some showing by their motions that they preserved consciousness or implored relief. Six thousand corpses were there lying together as close as they had stood in their ranks, stripped during the night of every rag of garment by the cupidity of the camp-followers of either army, ghastly pale, or purple with the blood which was still oozing from their wounds. How inured soever to the horrors of a campaign, the soldiers of both armies, even while they loathed it, felt their eyes fascinated by this harrowing spectacle, which exhibited war, stripped of all its pomp, in its native barbarity; and, by common consent, the interval of hostilities was employed in burying the dead, and removing the shivering wounded to the rear of the armies.

47. Napoleon was extremely disconcerted by this repulse, and vented his ill-humour in violent sallies of passion against his generals. The butchery had been worse than useless—it had been hurtful. The Russians still held, in unshaken strength, their intrenchments; twelve thousand French had fallen around their redoubts, without having gained, at the close of the day, the mastery of one of them; the ditches

were filled with their dead bodies, but no part of them had been crossed. Eight thousand Russians, also, were killed or wounded; and this loss, though less than that of their opponents, from their having fought in part under cover, was equally great, in proportion to the relative strength of their army. The French Emperor, however, had felt too severely the strength of the enemy's position to venture upon a renewal of the attack, and therefore he resolved to compel the Russians to evacuate it by manœuvring on their flank. For this purpose, he took advantage of the arrival of Marshal Davoust's corps to push it forward at noon on the Landsberg road toward Eylau and Königsberg. This movement alarmed Benningsen, who, though not apprehensive of being forced in his intrenched position, was extremely afraid of being cut off from his supplies at Königsberg, on which the army depended for its daily subsistence; and at the same time, an order of Napoleon to Victor was intercepted, which contained commands to attack Lestocq and the right wing of the Allies at all points, and push on for Königsberg. Seeing the movement of the enemy to turn his right flank and threaten his magazines now clearly pronounced, the Russian general gave orders to retreat. The intrenched camp was evacuated at nightfall, and the army marched all the night of the 11th, and established themselves, at break of day, in a position in front of Bartenstein, headquarters being transferred to that town. Though great part of this operation was performed after daybreak on the 12th, in sight of the enemy, yet such was the feeling, produced by the battle of Heilsberg, that they made no attempt whatever to molest the retreat.

48. No sooner was this retrograde movement perceived by the French Emperor, on the morning of the 12th, than he detached Murat's dragoons to follow upon the traces of the enemy; and he himself, moving forward his whole army, established his headquarters in the evening on the field of Preussisch-Eylau. It was no longer a shivering scene of ice and snow:

green fields were to be seen on all sides; clear and placid lakes gave variety and animation to the landscape; woods resplendent with the early green of summer, fringed the rising grounds; and numerous white villages, with handsome spires, rose above their summit, attesting the industry and prosperity of the inhabitants under the paternal government of Old Prussia. The French soldiers could hardly recognise, in the gay and smiling objects around them, the frightful scene of devastation and blood which was imprinted in such sombre colours in their recollection by the events of which it had been the theatre in the preceding winter. Meanwhile General Lestocq resolved to break up from Braunsberg and the Lower Passarge, and retire by the margin of the Frische-haff towards Königsberg—a measure which had become indispensable to prevent his being entirely cut off from his communication with the main army, and thrown back without resource on the margin of the sea. Kamenskoi was also directed by Benningsen to march upon Königsberg; but on arriving at Mühlhausen, on the road to that city, he found that place already occupied by the advanced guard of Davoust, and only reached the object of his destination by making a very long circuit. During the night of the 12th, the Russians resumed their march through Schippenbeil, and on the following morning they had reached the banks of the Alle. On arriving there, however, Benningsen received information that the French had, by the rapidity of their movements, and by following the chord of the arc which led to Königsberg, while his own troops were traversing the circumference, anticipated him in his march upon that city, and were already so far advanced on the road that they could not be overtaken. Murat and Davoust were in full advance from Eylau to Königsberg: Soult was marching on the same point by Kreutzburg: Victor, who had crossed the Passarge at Spanden, was moving on Eylau; Napoleon himself, at the head of the corps of Lannes, Ney, and Mortier, was approaching to FRIED-

LAND by Domnau, at which latter place the Imperial Guard was already arrived. A glance at the map must be sufficient to show that, by these different movements, not only was the bulk of the French army interposed between the Russian general and Königsberg, where all his magazines were placed, but Napoleon was in a situation, by a rapid advance upon Wehlau, to threaten his line of retreat to the Russian frontier. In these circumstances, no time was to be lost; and, though the troops were dreadfully fatigued, orders were given to continue the march all day, and by great exertions the army reached Friedland, where headquarters were established in the evening.

49. Friedland, which has acquired immortal celebrity by the memorable battle of which it was the theatre, is a considerable town situated on the left bank of the river Alle, which there flows in a northern direction towards the Baltic Sea. It is situated between the river and a large artificial lake or fish-pond, which lies to the north, and has been formed by damming up a rivulet called the Mill Stream, which flows from the high grounds to the westward near Posthnen into the Alle, and falls into it at right angles. The windings of the Alle serve as a natural wet ditch round Friedland on the south and east; the artificial lake protects it on the north: in a military point of view, therefore, it is only accessible on the western side, where it is approached by the road from Eylau, which the French were pursuing, and from which side also set out the roads to Königsberg to the north, and Wehlau and Tilsit on the north-west. In that direction there is a large open space dotted with villages and cultivated ground, neither hill nor plain, but an undulating surface, intersected only along its whole extent by the ravine formed by the Mill Stream, which is very deep, with rugged sides, and in many places, from the refluxence of the waters, scarcely fordable. At the distance of two miles from Friedland as a centre, the cultivated plain to the westward is bounded by a semicircle of woods,

which fringe the higher grounds, and form the horizon when looking in that direction from the town. The banks of the Alle on the eastward are very steep; and though there are three bridges over that river, two of which were formed by the Russians with pontons at the town itself, in other quarters it could be passed only at a few fords, which were unknown to the Allies till late in the evening, and at that period, from the recent heavy rains, were scarcely practicable.

In the light of the 13th, Bennigsen received information that the corps of Lannes, which had suffered so severely at Heilsberg, was lying at Posthenen, a village about three miles from Friedland on the road to Königsberg. The exposed situation of that corps, which formed the vanguard of the French army, and the well-known losses which it had sustained at Heilsberg, inspired the Russian general with the hope that, by a sudden attack, it might be destroyed before the main body of Napoleon's forces could advance to its relief. This resolution was taken at two in the morning of the 14th; orders were immediately despatched, and at four the Russian vanguard was already defiling over the bridge of Friedland. The opportunity was tempting, and to all appearance the corps of Lannes was placed in a situation of great danger. It consisted now of only twelve thousand infantry and three thousand horse; and though the corps of Mortier, Ney, and Victor, with great part of the cavalry of Murat, might be shortly expected to arrive at the scene of action, yet some hours must elapse before the foremost of these powerful auxiliaries could be relied on, and in the meanwhile this detached body was exposed to the shock of above fifty thousand veteran troops, who, by proper exertion, might be directed against it. Here, in short, as at Marengo, the French army was to be attacked when on a line of march in echelon, by the concentrated masses of the enemy, who fell first on the leading corps. But there was this essential distinction between its position on these two memorable days, that on

the former occasion the army was stationary or retreating, so that the distant corps could not arrive till late on the field of battle, whereas here it was advancing; and consequently, unless decisive success were gained in the outset, the assailants would have the whole hostile body upon their hands. In case too of defeat, they could retreat only by the bridges of the Alle, which were wholly inadequate to afford an issue to so large a force.*

51. No sooner were the advanced posts of the Russians descried by the videttes of Lannes' corps, than a sharp fire of musketry began, which was soon increased to a heavy cannonade as the dark masses of infantry and cavalry were seen swiftly advancing through the early dawn of the summer morning. The French tirailleurs fell back, skirmishing, however, sharply as they retired: the alarm was speedily communicated to the rear, and the whole corps stood to arms. A single Russian division had at first been passed over; but the enemy's troops were so constantly fed from the rear, and the resistance opposed was so considerable, that Bennigsen soon found himself under the necessity of passing over another to its support. Three pontoon bridges were constructed to facilitate the passage; and by degrees, as the increasing masses of the enemy showed that other corps had arrived to the support of Lannes, the whole army

* The following account of the French army which combated at Friedland is from a holograph note in Napoleon's handwriting:—

PRESENT IN ARMS.	
Imperial Guard, . . .	7,500
Lannes' corps, . . .	15,900
Ney's do., . . .	14,000
Mortier's do., . . .	10,000
Bernadotte's corps, commanded by Victor, . . .	22,000
Cavalry, . . .	11,500
Total at Friedland, . . .	80,900
DETACHEMENT.	
Davoust, . . .	23,000
Soult, . . .	27,000
Murat—cavalry, . . .	10,000
Total, . . .	60,000
Total, . . .	140,900

—*THIERS, Consulat et l'Empire*, vii. 606, 608.

was brought across. Thus was the Russian general, who at first contemplated only a partial operation, insensibly drawn into a general action; and that, too, in the most disadvantageous of all possible situations—with a superior force of the enemy in front, and a deep river, traversed only by a few bridges in his rear.

52. The corps of Mortier arrived to the support of Lannes in a short time after the firing commenced, and both corps withdrew to the heights stretching from Posthenen to Heinrichsdorf, about three miles to the westward of the river Alle. Deeming these the only forces with which he had to contend, and considering himself adequate to their destruction, Benningsen drew up his whole forces as they successively arrived on the field from the bridges in the narrow plain, backed by Friedland and the Alle, facing towards the westward, about half a mile in front of that town. The Mill Stream, flowing in a perpendicular direction to his line, nearly cut it in two equal parts; the right wing extended from the rivulet to the Alle, through the wood of Domnau; the left, which was less considerable in length, stretched in a southerly direction also to the Alle, across the wood of Sortlack, and barring the roads of Eylau, Bartenstein, and Schippenbeil, nearly at the point where they intersected each other. The whole army was drawn up in two lines facing to the west, the first and third battalions of each regiment, in battle array, composing the first line; the second battalion, in close columns behind the intervals between them, forming the second. Thus the Russians stood on the arc of the segment of a circle formed by the river Alle in their rear. Only one division remained on the right bank. Gortchakoff commanded the right wing, Bagrathion the left; Ouvaroff and Gallitzin the cavalry of the right, Kollagripoff the horse on the left. After taking into view the losses in the preceding actions, and the large detachment, under Kamenskoi, to the right to the support of Lestocq, the whole force of the Russians, on both sides of the river, did not exceed fifty-

five thousand men, of whom about ten thousand were cavalry. They were all brave and experienced soldiers, but exhausted by fatigue and want of sustenance for several days. Every man in the array was entirely exposed to fire, and every movement distinctly seen, while the enemy were for the most part concealed or sheltered by the woods and rising grounds which fringed the plain to the westward, and bounded the horizon on that side.

53. Even with this comparatively inconsiderable force, however, the Russian general might, at least in the earlier part of the day, have gained considerable, perhaps decisive success, against the corps of Lannes and Mortier, which alone had come up to the field of battle, had he acted at once with the vigour and decision which the opportunity afforded, and the critical circumstances in which he was placed imperatively required. But, unfortunately, he was so prepossessed with the idea that he had no other antagonist to expect than the two corps actually on the spot, that the precious hours, big with the fate of Europe, were allowed to elapse without any decided movement being attempted. Lannes gradually fell back from his ground in front of Friedland, as the successive divisions of the enemy crossed the bridges, and established themselves on the left bank of the river; skilfully availing himself, however, of every advantage which the inequalities of the ground afforded to retard the advance of the enemy, and covering his movements with a cloud of light troops, whose incessant fire concealed the real amount of his force. A severe action took place on the French left, where a body of thirty squadrons tried to turn the Russian position in front of Heinrichsdorf, and at first with some success; but the advance of some fresh regiments compelled the assailants to give ground in that quarter. Soon after a column of three thousand men advanced straight against Friedland. They were permitted to approach close to the Russian cannon without a single shot being fired, when suddenly the whole opened with grape, and with such

effect, that in a few minutes a thousand men were struck down, the column was routed, and an eagle taken. Encouraged by this success, the Russians advanced their left wing, and drove back the French right with such vigour, that it was thought they were retiring altogether towards Eylau. But this success was of short duration: fresh reinforcements arrived to the enemy; the lost ground was regained; and a tremendous cannonade along the whole line announced that the other corps were arriving, and that a general battle was at hand.

54. Napoleon was at Domnau, ten miles distant, when the first sound of distant cannon was heard. He immediately mounted on horseback, and rode rapidly forward to the front, where the increasing cannonade and the quick rattle of musketry announced that a serious conflict was already in progress, despatching, at the same time, orders for the corps in the rear to hasten their march. About one o'clock in the afternoon he arrived on the heights behind Heinrichsdorf, which overlooked the field of battle, and immediately sent out the officers of his staff in different directions to observe the motions of the enemy. Savary speedily returned with information that the march of troops over the bridge of Friedland was incessant; that none were retracing their steps; that three additional bridges had been constructed to facilitate the passage; and that the masses in front were every minute increasing and extending themselves. "Tis well!" replied the Emperor: "I am already prepared; I have gained an hour upon them, and, since they wish it, I will give them another. This is the anniversary of Marengo: the battle could not be fought on a more propitious day." Orders were despatched for all the corps of infantry, as they came up, to concentrate themselves in the immense woods behind Heinrichsdorf, on the skirts of which Marshal Lannes was combating; the artillery alone was placed on the great roads leading from Eylau and Domnau; the cavalry in the large apertures which had been cut for

the purposes of agriculture in these extensive forests. The firm countenance and dense masses of the enemy, who appeared even more numerous than they really were, as seen from the heights of Heinrichsdorf, at first made the Emperor doubtful whether he should not postpone the attack till the following day, when the remainder of the cavalry of Murat and the corps of Davoust might be expected to join from the direction of Königsberg.* But the successive arrival of the corps of Ney and Victor,† with the infantry and cavalry of the Guard, and part of Murat's dragoons, at two and three o'clock, joined to the obvious and flagrant disadvantages of the enemy's position, induced him not to lose a moment in bringing matters to a decisive issue.

55. Orders were accordingly despatched for all the troops to prepare for action in an hour. Meanwhile the soldiers were ordered to sit down and rest themselves; while the most minute inspection took place in the ranks to see that the firelocks were in good condition, and the cartridge-boxes amply supplied. The order of battle was soon fixed. Ney occupied the right, from the wood of Sortlack to Posthenen, directly in front of Friedland: Lannes stood in the centre, between Posthenen and Heinrichsdorf: Mortier

* Accordingly, at one o'clock, he wrote to that general from the field:—"The enemy is in battle array in front of Friedland, with all his army. At first he appeared desirous of moving on by Stocken on Königsberg; but now he appears only desirous of receiving battle on the ground he has chosen. I hope that by this time you have entered Königsberg; and as the corps of Spult is sufficient for the protection of that city, you will without doubt retrace your steps as rapidly as possible with the remainder of the cavalry and Davoust's corps towards Friedland. It is the more necessary that you should do so, as very possibly the affair may be protracted till to-morrow. Use your utmost efforts, therefore, to arrive here by one o'clock in the morning. If I perceive in the outset of the action that the enemy is in such strength as to render the result doubtful, it is possible that I may engage only in a cannonade to-day, and await your arrival before commencing serious operations."—JOMINI, ii. 414.

† Formerly commanded by Bernadotte, who had been wounded at Spanden.

was on the left, occupying Heinrichsdorf and the road to Königsberg. In the second line Victor's corps was stationed immediately behind Ney: the Imperial Guard, with a numerous brigade of fusileers, under the orders of Savary; and the cavalry, under Grouchy, Latour Maubourg, and Nan-souty, behind the centre and left. The whole army was directed to advance in echelon, with the right in front and the left slightly thrown back; thus Ney would be first engaged; and the artillery received orders to redouble their fire along the whole line as soon as the heads of his columns were seen emerging from the woods. By four o'clock seventy thousand infantry and ten thousand horse were assembled, in the highest spirits and the finest state of discipline and equipment; while Benningesen, who, from seeing the formidable accumulation of forces in his front, and the losses he had sustained, had deemed it necessary to detach six thousand men to his rear to secure the bridge of Wehlau over the Pregel, had not more than forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse to oppose their attack.

56. The cessation of any serious attack for some hours after noon, led the Russian general, who had long since abandoned his original project of surprising Lannes, and was desirous only of maintaining his ground till the approach of night gave him the means of regaining, without molestation, the right bank of the Alle, to indulge a hope that nothing further would be undertaken during that day; but he was soon painfully undeceived. At five o'clock, on a signal given by a discharge of twenty pieces of cannon from the French centre, the whole army stood to their arms, and immediately the heads of Marshal Ney's column were seen emerging from the woods behind Posthenen, and rapidly advancing straight upon Friedland. On all sides the enemy's forces at once were seen; from the steeples of Friedland, through the interstices of the trees, or in the openings of the forest, they were descried in masses of enormous power and depth. From the

plain, the horizon appeared to be bounded by a deep girdle of glittering steel. At one glance the most inexperienced could see the imminence and magnitude of the danger; for no preparations to cover the retreat over the Alle had been made, and the enemy's force appeared at least double that of the Russians. But there was no time for consultation or defensive measures. On came Ney's column with the fury of a tempest, driving before them, like foam before the waves, the Russian chasseurs of the Guard and several regiments of cavalry and Cossacks who were placed in advance, and had endeavoured to check their progress. Some regiments of militia, stationed on the low grounds near the Alle, also broke and fled towards the bridges, spreading confusion and alarm through the whole rear of the army. At the same time Victor's corps, placed at first in the second line, advanced to the ground originally occupied by Ney; and its artillery, consisting of forty pieces, under the command of General Senar-mont, pushed on four hundred paces further, and from a rising ground thundered over the whole Russian line, so as effectually to prevent any succours being sent to the distressed left. That portion of their army was now everywhere shaken; the loud shouts of Ney's column were heard along the whole line; their advanced guards were close to Friedland, and, encouraged by this rapid and splendid success, they were already preparing to storm the town and complete the ruin of the enemy by gaining possession of the bridges in his rear.

57. At this instant the Russian Imperial Guard, which was placed in reserve behind the artificial lake to the north of Friedland, was ordered to advance. Immediately these noble troops rushed forward with fixed bayonets, not in compact order, yet with such vigour, that the leading divisions of Ney's corps, assailed in front and flank, were pierced through, trodden down, and driven back with prodigious slaughter. Such was the change produced by this vehement onset, that the day seemed all but regained; the French

were repulsed to a considerable distance, and the Russian left wing in its turn became the assailants. Then it was that the six thousand men detached in the forenoon to Wehlau might have changed the destinies of Europe. But the Russian Guards, being unsupported by any further reserve, could not singly maintain the contest for a length of time, with the overwhelming odds which were speedily directed against them. As they hurried on in pursuit of Ney, they came upon the reserve under Victor, which had advanced to his support; and one of his divisions, under Dupont, charged them so opportunely in flank, while disordered by the vehemence of their pursuit, that they were in their turn repulsed to the edge of the town. Encouraged by this change of fortune, Ney's soldiers now returned to the charge. Dupont's division, emulating the deeds of its old comrades in the camp of Boulogne, pressed on in hot pursuit; Senarmont's terrific battery advanced, playing without intermission on the crowded ranks of the retreating Russians; and soon the confusion and press in Friedland appeared so great, that the leading French divisions were tempted to hazard an assault. After an obstinate resistance, the streets were forced; some of the principal buildings in the town took fire; in the first moments of consternation the fugitives applied the torch to the bridges over the river—in a few minutes they were wrapped in flames, and the volumes of smoke which rolled over the whole field of battle, spread a dismal feeling through the breasts of the soldiers.*

58. While this decisive success was gaining on the left, the centre and right of the Russians kept their ground with undaunted firmness under a dreadful cannonade, which told with fatal effect

on the dense masses which, from the limited extent of the ground, were there accumulated between the front and the river. They had even gained considerable success; for some French battalions, having broken their array in crossing the deep ravine of the Mill Stream, with which they were unacquainted, were charged before they could re-form by the Russian cavalry, and cut to pieces. But when the retreat of the left wing and the Guards had uncovered their flank, the infantry in the centre were exposed to the most serious danger, and must have given way, had not the Russian cavalry galloped forward at full speed and charged the corps who threatened them, who were the left of Oudinot's grenadiers, now forming part of Lannes' corps, with such vigour that they were in a few minutes trampled under foot and destroyed. Encouraged by this success, the infantry of the centre also moved forward, and threw in so destructive a flanking fire as effectually covered the retreat of their horse; but at this moment the flames of Friedland and the bridges were seen to arise, and the vast clouds of black smoke which darkened the atmosphere told too plainly that their retreat was cut off, and that success was hopeless. Then indeed their hopes fell, and despair took possession of every heart. Still, however, their courage was unshaken: uniting the fronts of battalions, closing the ranks of the soldiers, they presented, in circumstances which seemed well-nigh desperate, an unbroken front to the enemy. In vain the artillery, approaching to half cannon-shot distance, ploughed through their dense array—in vain the French infantry threw in a destructive fire with ceaseless vigour—in vain the grenadiers of their Guard charged repeatedly with the shouts and confidence of victory; not one square was broken—not one gun was taken. Slowly and in solid order they retired, leisurely retracing their steps towards the river, keeping up an incessant rolling fire from the rear, which faced the enemy, and charging with the bayonet whenever hard pressed by their pursuers. Whoever witnessed the con-

* As Napoleon, in the rear, eagerly watched these triumphant movements, a shell whirled over his head at the height of the top of the soldier's bayonets, and a soldier instinctively covered his head. "If that bomb had been destined for you," said he, smiling, "it would have found you, were you buried a hundred feet below the earth."—THIERS, *Consulat et l'Empire*, vol. 612.

duct of that devoted host during these trying hours, must have felt that Russia, if adequately directed, was destined in the end to take the lead in the deliverance of Europe.*

59. Benningsen, meanwhile, without losing his presence of mind in the general wreck, did all that prudence could suggest to repair the consequences of the error into which he had been drawn in the earlier part of the day. His first care was to discover a ford for the cannon, as Friedland was in the hands of the enemy, and the bridges were no longer passable by friend or foe. Happily some peasants pointed out one, where the great park of artillery might be got across. It was at once withdrawn, with the exception of a few pieces which fell into the enemy's hands, while the firm countenance of the infantry ward off the assault of his impetuous columns; but the water came up to the horses' middles, and what remained of the ammunition was utterly spoiled. A hundred guns were immediately after the passage planted on the right bank to retard the enemy; but so closely were the columns on the opposite sides intermingled, that it was

* "But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,

Though billmen ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;

Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.

No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,

As fearlessly and well;
Till utter darkness closed her wing
O'er their thift host and wounded king.

Then skill'd Napoleon's sage commands
Led back from strife his shatter'd bands;

And from the charge they drew,
As mountain-waves from wasted lands
Sweep back to ocean blue.

Then did their loss his foemen know;
Their chiefs, their lords, their mightiest
low,

They melted from the field as snow,
When streams are swollen and south winds
blow,

Dissolves in silent dew.
All's echoes heard the ceaseless plash,

While many a broken band
Disorder'd through her current dash,
To gain the Russian land."

Marmion, Canto vi.

dangerous to fire lest the balls should fall in the Russian lines. Meanwhile two of their divisions, impatient of the slow progress at the ford, and unable to endure any longer the incessant showers of musketry and grape, threw themselves, sword in hand, into Friedland, and endeavoured to open a passage with fixed bayonets to the bridges. A desperate struggle ensued with the troops of Ney and Victor in the streets; but the despair of the Russians prevailed over the enthusiasm of the French, and they made their way through the burning houses to the water's edge. There, however, they found the bridges destroyed; and these brave men, after having so heroically cut their way through the hostile ranks, found themselves stopped by an impassable barrier, while the increasing masses of the enemy now enclosed them, amidst fire and darkness, on every side. Still, however, no one thought, even in circumstances all but desperate, of surrender; with heroic courage they fought their way back, though with prodigious slaughter, to the ford, and during the darkness of the night plunged into the stream. The water was breast-high, and many, missing the fords, were drowned; several guns were abandoned, from the impossibility of dragging them through the press; but such was the unconquerable valour of the rear-guard to the very last, that not one battalion capitulated, and, with the exception of five thousand wounded, few prisoners fell into the enemy's hands.†

60. Such was the disastrous battle of Friedland, which at one blow dissolved the great confederacy which the genius and foresight of Mr Pitt had

† In describing this battle, Lord Hutchinson, who witnessed it, stated, in his official despatches to the British government:—"I want words sufficiently strong to describe the valour of the Russians, and which alone would have rendered their success undoubted, if courage alone could secure victory; but whatever may be the event, the officers and men of the Russian army have done their duty in the noblest manner, and are justly entitled to the praise and admiration of every person who was witness of their conduct."—*LORD HUTCHINSON'S Despatch, June 15, 1807; SIR ROBERT WILSON, 162.*

formed for the coercion of Napoleon's ambition, and left Great Britain alone to maintain the contest with nearly the whole forces of the Continent arrayed under his banners. Grievously, then, was felt the want of British aid, and woeful were the consequences of the ill-timed parsimony which had withheld all subsidies from Russia during this desperate struggle. Thirty thousand of the militia, whom even a small loan would have clothed and armed, might have averted the catastrophe; twenty thousand British auxiliaries would have converted it into a glorious victory, and thrown Napoleon back upon the Vistula and the Elbe. The losses of the Russians, though nothing like what they had experienced in the decisive overthrow of Austerlitz, were still very severe. Seventeen thousand men had fallen, either killed or wounded, and five thousand of the latter had been made prisoners; but of those unhurt not more than five hundred had become captives; no colours were taken, and only seventeen guns remained in the enemy's power. The French had lost ten thousand men, and two eagles wrested from them in fair combat. Nothing can illustrate more clearly the desperate resistance made by the Russians than the small number of guns taken, under circumstances when, with less steady troops, the whole artillery would have been abandoned.*

61. During the evening, the extreme right of the Russians and part of the cavalry retired by the left bank of the Alle, and crossed without molestation at the bridge of Allenburg. Thither, on the morning after the battle, the remainder of the army retired by the other bank, without being at all harassed on the march; indeed, it is a

* The French say in the bulletins, that they took eighty pieces of cannon; that the Russians had 18,000 killed, and that they lost on their own side only 500 killed and 3000 wounded. Berthier estimated the real loss at Tilsit to Sir R. Wilson at more than 8000; and that officer makes the Russian loss only 12,000 men. The latter estimate, however, is obviously too low, as the peace which immediately followed demonstrated; the account of the French loss in the bulletin was, as usual, from a third to a fourth of its real amount.—79th *Bulletin*, *Camp. de Saxe*, iv. 334; and WILSON, 168.

remarkable and unaccountable circumstance, that though fifteen thousand French horse were in the field, they were little engaged in the action after Napoleon arrived on the spot, nor once let loose in the pursuit.† On the day following they reached Wehlau, where the Alle and the Pregel unite in the midst of a marshy plain, traversed by a single chaussée. By that defile, not only the artillery and carriages of the main army, but the immense baggage and ammunition train, which had evacuated Königsberg, had to pass. Although no serious attack was made, yet such was the confusion produced by the enormous accumulation of cannon and chariots on a single chaussée, and such the apprehensions inspired by the evident dangers which would ensue if the rear-guard were attacked, that, on a few muskets being accidentally discharged, a general panic took place, and horse, foot, and cannon rushed tumultuously together to the bridge, and the strongest, throwing down and trampling under foot the weaker, broke through and spread in the wildest disorder into the town. Such was the uproar and consternation which ensued, that it was with the utmost difficulty that order could be restored by the personal efforts of Sir Robert Wilson and a few Russian officers who happened to be on the spot; and it inspired these gallant chiefs with the melancholy conviction, that if Napoleon had followed up his success with his wonted vigour,‡ the Russian host would have been ut-

† "The Russians had on their right twenty-two squadrons of cavalry, who covered the retreat; we had more than forty, with which we should have charged them, but, by a fatality without example, these forty squadrons received no orders, and never so much as mounted their horses; they remained during all the battle on foot behind our left. On seeing that, I lamented the Grand-duke of Berg had not been there: if he had, these forty squadrons would certainly have been employed, and not a Russian would have escaped."—SAVARY, iii. 60.

‡ "Et ad continuu victorem se cura subleat, Ultimis ille dies bello gentique fuisset."

In the first alarm, the Cossacks crowded down to the right bank of the Alle, and, swimming the river, advanced on the opposite side and discharged a volley of arrows with considerable effect at the enemy.—WILSON, 168, 165.

terly annihilated. But on this occasion, as on many others in the memorable campaign of 1812, it was apparent that the vigour of the Emperor in following up his victories was by no means equal either to what it had been in the German or Italian wars, or to the successes which he claimed at the moment—a circumstance for which his panegyrists find it impossible to offer any explanation, but which, in truth, is susceptible of a very easy solution, when the desperate nature of the resistance opposed to him in these northern latitudes, and the consequent magnitude of his losses, is taken into consideration.

62. The catastrophe at Friedland, and subsequent retreat of the Allies behind the Pregel, rendered the city of Königsberg, which was situated considerably in advance, near the mouth of that river, no longer tenable. General Lestocq had, with his wonted ability, conducted the retreat of his little army with very trifling loss, till he was joined on the 12th, in front of Königsberg, by the corps of Kamenskoi. Even their united forces, however, not more than twenty-four thousand strong, could hardly hope to save that town without the assistance of the main army, when they were attacked by the corps of Soult and Davoust, and the greater part of the cavalry under Murat, amounting to full fifty thousand men, of whom about twelve thousand were horse, in the finest condition. Notwithstanding this overwhelming odds, however, the Prussian general made the attempt, and by the firm countenance which he assumed, and the devoted heroism of his rear-guard in the retreat from the lower Passarge, succeeded in so far retarding the enemy as to gain time for the evacuation of almost all the magazines and stores in the city, even by the narrow and crowded defile of Wehlau. But this great object was not gained without sustaining a considerable loss. A battalion was surrounded and made prisoners, which had been left to defend the passage of the Frisching; and on the following day a column of twelve hundred men, which was enveloped by St Cyr's divi-

sion and Murat's cavalry, was, after a gallant resistance, compelled to surrender. Weakened by these losses, Lestocq, however, still maintained his ground in Königsberg, repeatedly repulsed the attempts to storm it which were made by the Brandenburg gate, and remained there all the day, putting the mouldering fortifications in a respectable posture of defence, and pressing the evacuation of the magazines. But on the following morning, having received accounts of the battle of Friedland, he ordered the garrison to be under arms, under pretence of making a sally; and when evening approached, the whole took the direction of Labiau, leaving General Sutterheim with two battalions of light infantry to man the walls. He also evacuated the place at midnight, and on the following day the magistrates sent the keys of the city to Marshal Soult. Three thousand sick or wounded fell into the hands of the enemy; but such was the activity of General Lestocq, and the skill with which Sutterheim conducted his measures, that no magazines or stores of any importance were taken, and the rear-guard, though frequently molested, effected their retreat without any serious loss to Wehlau, where they joined the main army as it was defiling over the bridge.*

* Napoleon, with his usual mendacious policy, gave out, in his 79th bulletin, that he had taken in Königsberg, not only twenty thousand prisoners and immense public magazines, but 160,000 stand of British arms! It appeared a happy stroke to make the Parisians believe that the tardy succours of Great Britain had arrived just in time to arm the French troops. "This assertion," Sir R. Wilson justly observes, "is a falsehood of the most extravagant character, and which finds no parallel but in the catalogue of their own compositions." In truth, the British arms escaped by a circumstance more discreditable to England than the falsehood which Napoleon asserted—they had not yet arrived. The cannon, ammunition, and arms for Prussia were sent by Lord Hutchinson, after the armistice, to a Swedish port; those for Russia were landed at Riga, and delivered to the Russian troops.—*Parl. Returns*, 1807; *Parl. Hist.* ix. App.; and *Wilson*, 167. The falsehood in regard to the stores taken at Königsberg appeared in the bulletin giving the details of the battle of Friedland, dated Wehlau, June 17, the very day on which that town was taken by the French troops. He there said:—"Marshal

63. Meanwhile Napoleon, after his usual custom, rode on the following morning over the field of battle. It presented a ghastly spectacle, second only to the terrific plain of Eylau in circumstances of horror. Then might be seen evident proofs of the stern and unconquerable valour with which the Russians had combated. The position of the squares of infantry could be distinctly traced by the dead bodies of the men, which, lying on their backs facing outwards, still preserved their regular array; the station of the cavalry was seen by the multitude of horses, which lay dead as they had stood in squadrons on the field. In the pursuit, however, he exerted none of his usual vigour, and threw away, in the prosecution of a minor object, the fairest opportunity he had ever enjoyed of destroying the Russian army. Intent only on cutting the enemy off from Königsberg, and securing to himself that noble prize of victory, he totally neglected to follow up with sufficient rapidity his success on the right bank of the Alle, and suffered the disorganised and shattered

Soult has entered Königsberg, where we found many hundred thousand quintals of wheat, more than twenty thousand Russians and Prussians wounded, and all the military stores which England had sent out; among the rest, 160,000 muskets, still on shipboard." This fabrication was made at Wehlau on the 17th, which is thirty miles from Königsberg, before it was possible that anything further than the bare capture of the city could have been heard of by the French Emperor. The falsehood in the first bulletin, which corresponded to his wishes rather than the reality, was so gross that it could not be repeated in the succeeding one, dated Tilsit, 19th June, which, after recapitulating the successes of Soult and the fall of Königsberg, said:—"In fine, the result of all these affairs has been, that four or five thousand prisoners, and fifteen pieces of cannon, have fallen into our hands. Two hundred Russian vessels, and great stores of subsistence, wine, and spirits, have been found in Königsberg." Yet so little do the French writers attend to accuracy in their detail, that the enormous falsehood in the first bulletin, even when abandoned in the second, has been adopted by all their historians, even Jomini and Dumas, whose accuracy is in general so praiseworthy.—See DUMAS, xiv. 33; and JOMINI, ii. 422; and 75th and 80th *Bulletins*, *Camp. de Saxe*, iv. 338, 342; and BIGNON, vi. 308; and NORVINS, iii. 27.

Russian army to retire without molestation through the narrow defile that traversed the marshes of Wehlau and over the single bridge of the Fregel, when a little additional vigour in the pursuit would at least have compelled them to abandon, at the entrance of these passes, the greater part of their baggage and artillery. On the evening of the 18th, the allied army, which had united at Wehlau with the troops under Kamenskoi and Lestocq, falling back from Königsberg, reached TILSIT on the Niemen, and early on the following morning the mighty array began to defile over the bridge. For forty hours successively the passage continued without intermission; horse, foot, cannon, baggage-waggons, stored-chariots, succeeding each other in endless array; it seemed as if the East was swallowing up the warlike brood which had so long contended with the west for the mastery of Europe. Still, though a hundred thousand men, flushed with victory, were hardly a day's march in the rear, no attempt was made by Napoleon to molest their passage. A few cannon-shots alone were exchanged between the Cossacks and the horse-artillery of Murat, which, on the morning of the 20th, approached the town of Tilsit, which was shortly after evacuated by Bagrathion with the Russian rear-guard, who withdrew without molestation across the river and burned the bridge.

64. In truth, hostilities were no longer either required or expedient. Disheartened by the defeat which he had experienced; chagrined at the refusal of succours either in men or money from England; irritated at the timid policy of Austria, when the fairest opportunity that ever yet had occurred was presented for her decisive interposition; foiled in the objects for which he had originally begun the war, and deserted by those for whose advantage, more than his own, it had been undertaken, the Emperor Alexander had taken his resolution. He deemed it unnecessary and improper to risk the independence of Russia in a quarrel not directly affecting its interests, and from which the parties immediately

concerned had withdrawn. On the 18th, therefore, General Benningsen wrote a letter to Prince Bagrathion, desiring him to make known to the French generals the Emperor's desire for an armistice. This was accordingly communicated to Murat on the forenoon of the following day, and orders were transmitted for hostilities to cease at all points. Thus was this mighty conflagration, which originally commenced on the banks of the Danube, finally stifled on the shores of the Niemen.*

65. These proposals on the part of the Russian Emperor gave the highest satisfaction to Napoleon. It had ever been his policy to offer peace to his enemies during the first tumult and consternation of defeat; and more than once, by such well-timed advances, he had extricated himself from situations of the utmost peril. To be anticipated in this manner in his desires, and have the public demonstration afforded of the reality of his victory by the enemy proposing an armistice, was a circumstance of all others the most gratifying, which raised him at once to the highest point of glory. He was not ignorant that here, as at Leoben and Austerlitz, a further continuance of the contest might be attended with very serious dangers. England, it is true, had hitherto, in an unaccountable manner, kept herself aloof from the struggle; but a change had taken place in her councils: a close alliance had been contracted with Prussia; powerful succours in arms and ammunition were on their way, and the greatest military expedition she had ever sent forth was preparing to hoist the flag of a national war on the banks of the Elbe. The

dubious policy of Austria rendered it more than probable that, in such an event, she would throw off the mask; and that eighty thousand armed mediators might suddenly make their appearance under the walls of Dresden, and totally intercept the communications of the Grand Army with France. Russia, it was true, was defeated—the army of Benningsen was little more than half its former amount; but thirty thousand men were advancing, under Prince Labanoff, to repair its losses; and if its frontiers were invaded, and a national resistance aroused, there were four hundred thousand militia enrolled, who would speedily fill the ranks of the regular army. Napoleon indeed could collect, notwithstanding the losses of the short campaign, a hundred and fifty thousand men on the Niemen: but even this mighty host appeared hardly adequate to the task of subduing an empire whose dominions on this side of the Ural Mountains equalled all the rest of Europe put together. How were the conquered provinces to be kept in subjection; the taken fortresses to be garrisoned; the immense lines of communication to be kept up, when the war was to commence at the distance of nearly a thousand miles from the Rhine, and the Scythian monarch, if resolute on preserving his independence, might retreat a thousand miles further without coming to the verge of his European dominions? †

66. Nor were the considerations less powerful which induced Alexander to desire an accommodation. By engaging in the war on this desperate principle, indeed, and drawing the enemy into the heart of his dominions, he had every chance of defeating the invasion

* During this desperate struggle on the Passarge, a conflict of some importance, but overlooked amidst the shock of such mighty hosts, took place on the banks of the Narew. Tolstoy had there gained some successes over Massena, and, in particular, made himself master of the entrenched camp of Borcken; but the French having attacked it some days after with increased forces, it again fell into their hands, and the Russians, following the retreat of their principal army, had retired from Ostrolenka towards Tloozin, when the armistice of Tilsit put a period to their operations.—See DUMAS, xix. 41, 43.

† The following regular forces, exclusive of 400,000 militia, were still at the command of the Russian government:—

Remains of the army which fought at Friedland.	Men.
Kamenskoi's corps.	9,000
Reinforcements which joined at Tilsit, or on the march.	9,000
Half of Labanoff's corps at Olita.	15,000
Prussians retired with Lestocq.	18,000
Tolstoy's corps on the Narew.	18,000
On march from Wilna.	15,000

Total regulars, 112,000

of this second Darius into the deserts of Scythia; but this could only be done by great sacrifices, and at the hazard of throwing back for a long period the internal improvement of his rising dominions. For what object were these sacrifices to be made? For the preservation of Prussia? She was already crushed, and a few inconsiderable forts, with the town of Graudenz, were all that remained to Frederick-William of the dominions of his illustrious ancestors. For the safety of England? She was sufficiently protected by her invincible fleets; and the interest she had evinced in the struggle had not been such as to render it imperative on the Czar, either in honour or policy, to continue the contest on her account.* For the sake of the balance of power? That was an object, however important, which could not be brought about by the unaided efforts of a single empire; and if Austria, whose interests were more immediately concerned in its preservation, was not inclined to draw the sword in the conflict, it did not appear that Russia, whose independence had never yet been seriously threatened, was called upon to continue it unaided, for its restoration. Now was an opportunity when the war might be terminated, if not with advantage, at least without dishonour. In the fields of Pultusk, Eylau, and

* The secret motives which induced the Emperor Alexander to conclude the treaty of Tilsit, were the refusal by Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey) to guarantee the Russian subsidies, and that too in a manner peculiarly painful to the feelings of the Emperor—a refusal the more inexplicable, as that minister was the very person who had, after the catastrophe of Jena, warmly solicited the Czar to fly to the succour of Prussia; the delay in the arrival of the troops promised by England in the Island of Rugen; the tardiness of the new administration in furnishing the promised supplies in money, arms, and ammunition—circumstances which had strongly irritated him against the English government; the refusal of Austria to accede to the convention of Bartenstein, or take any part in the contest; as well as the exhaustion of his own finances, the penury of arms and ammunition, the famishing state of the troops, and the risk of total overthrow to which they were exposed.—HARDENBERG, ix. 425; and LUTHERINI, i. 322, 323.

Heilsberg, the Russians had sufficiently vindicated their title to military glory; and objects of immediate importance were to be gained nearer home, both on the Danube and the Neva, amply sufficient to indemnify the empire for a temporary withdrawal from the general theatre of European strife.

67. When such were the dispositions on both sides, there was little difficulty in coming to an understanding. France had nothing to demand of Russia except that she should close her ports against England; Russia nothing to ask of France but that she would withdraw her armies from Poland, and permit the Emperor to pursue his long-cherished projects of conquest in Turkey.† The map of Europe lay before them, out of which these two mighty potentates might carve at pleasure ample indemnities for themselves, or acquisitions for their allies. No difficulty in consequence was experienced in settling the terms of the armistice. The Niemen separated the two armies; the headquarters of Napoleon were fixed at Tilsit, on the left bank of the river; those of Alexander at Piktupohen, a mile distant on the right bank. A friendly intercourse was immediately established between the officers and men of the two armies—they had felt each other's valour too strongly not to be inspired with sentiments of mutual respect; while Napoleon, in eloquent terms, addressed his soldiers on this glorious termination of their labours in one of those proclamations which made Europe thrill from side to side.‡

† "Soldiers!—On the 5th June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army; the enemy misunderstood the cause of our inactivity. He has learned, when it was too late, that our slumber was that of the lion; he now repents having forgotten it. In the days of Guttstadt, of Heilsberg, in the ever memorable field of Friedland, in a ten days' campaign in short, we have taken 120 pieces of cannon, 7 standards, killed or wounded 60,000 Russians, wrested from the enemy's army all its magazines and hospitals, the fortress of Königsberg, with three hundred vessels which it contained, loaded with munitions of war of all sorts, and especially 160,000 muskets sent by England to arm our enemies. From the shores of the

68. An armistice having been thus concluded, it was agreed that the two Emperors should meet to arrange, in a private conference, the destinies of the Continent. It took place, accordingly, on the 25th, under circumstances eminently calculated to impress the imagination of mankind. By the direction of the French general of engineers, Lariboissière, a raft of great dimensions was constructed on the river Niemen—the raft of *Tilsit*, which will be recollected as long as the cage of Bajazet or the phalanx of Alexander. It was moored in the centre of the stream, and on its surface stood a wooden apartment, surmounted by the eagles of France and Russia, framed with all the possible magnificence which the time and circumstances would admit. This was destined for the reception of the Emperors alone; at a little distance was stationed another raft, richly but less sumptuously adorned, for their respective suites. The shore on either side was covered with the Imperial Guard of the two monarchs, drawn up in triple lines, in the same firm and imposing array in which they had stood on the fields of Eylau and Friedland. At one o'clock precisely, amidst the thunder of artillery, each Emperor stepped into a boat on his own side of the river, accompanied by a few of his principal officers: Napoleon was attended by Murat, Berthier, Bessières, Duroc, and Caulaincourt; Alexander, by the Grand-duke Constantine, General Benningsen, Prince Labanoff, General Ouvaroff, and Count Lieven. The

Vistula we have arrived on those of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of my coronation; you have this year worthily commemorated that of Marengo, which terminated the war of the second coalition. Frenchmen, you are worthy of yourselves, and of me. You will return to your country covered with laurels, after having gained a peace which will be its own guarantee. It is time that our country should live in repose, sheltered from the malignant influence of England. My recompense to you shall testify the large measure of my gratitude, and the whole extent of the love which I bear you." Already was to be seen, not merely in Napoleon's thoughts, but in his words, a return to the celebrated maxim of Louis XIV., "*L'état—c'est moi.*"—BIGWON, vi. 311, 312.

numerous and splendid suite of each monarch followed in their boat immediately after.

69. The bark of Napoleon, rowed by the marines of his Guard, advanced with greater rapidity than that of Alexander. He arrived first at the raft, entered the apartment, and himself opened the door on the opposite side to receive the Czar, while the shouts of the soldiers on either shore drowned even the roar of the artillery. In a few seconds Alexander arrived, and was received by the conqueror at the door on his own side. Their meeting was friendly, and the very first words which the Russian Emperor uttered revealed both the lacerated feelings occasioned by the conduct of the government of Great Britain during the war, his deep penetration, and clear conception of the ruling passion of Napoleon—"I hate the English," said he, "as much as you do, and am ready to second you in all your enterprises against them." "In that case," replied Napoleon, "everything will be easily arranged, and peace is already made." The interview lasted two hours, during which Napoleon exercised all the ascendant which his extraordinary talents and fortune, as well as singular powers of fascination gave him; while the Russian Emperor gave proof of the tact and finesse, as well as diplomatic ability, with which his nation is gifted beyond any other in Europe. Before they parted, the outlines of the treaty were arranged between them;* it was not difficult to come to an understand-

* Savary, who had been nominated governor of Königsberg, received orders, when the French army first approached the Niemen, to get a pontoon train, which had been left in the arsenal of that city, ready for immediate operation. Next day, however, he received the following significant note from Talleyrand:—"Be in no hurry with your pontoons: what would we gain by passing the Niemen? what is there to be acquired beyond that river? The Emperor must abandon his ideas in regard to Poland; that nation is fit for nothing; disorder alone is to be organised among its inhabitants. We have another far more important matter to settle; here is a fair opportunity of terminating the present dispute; we must not let it escape." Already the Spanish invasion had entered into the calculations of the rulers of Europe on the Niemen.—SAVARY, iii. 76.

ing—the world afforded ample room for the aggrandisement of both.

70. On the day following, a second interview took place at the same town, at which the King of Prussia was present: the first had been arranged, and the preliminary terms agreed to, without any concert with that unhappy prince. He was no longer in a situation to stipulate any conditions. Bereft of his dominions, driven up into a corner of his territories, destitute of everything, he had no alternative but submission to the stern law of the conqueror.* As it was now evident that an accommodation was about to take place, arrangements were made, for conducting it with more convenience to the exalted personages concerned. Part of the town of Tilsit was declared neutral, and allotted to the accommodation of the Emperor of Russia and his suite; thither he repaired on the afternoon of the same day, and was received with all imaginable courtesy by Napoleon himself, upon landing on the left bank of the river from his boat. Amidst discharges of artillery, and the acclamations of a vast multitude of spectators, whom the extraordinary spectacle had collected together, did these two sovereigns, whose hostility had so lately dyed the fields of Poland with blood, ride side by side to the quarters prepared for the Czar, through a triple line of the French Imperial Guard. The attention of Napoleon descended to the most minute particulars. The furniture in the Emperor of Russia's rooms was all sent from the French headquarters; a sumptuous train of cooks and other attendants was in readiness to make him forget the luxuries of St Petersburg; even his couch was prepared in a camp-bed of the French Emperor's, which he had made use of in his campaigns. The

* At this period he wrote to the King of Sweden—"Immediately after the armistice, my imperial ally concluded peace on his own account alone. Abandoned in this manner, and left without support on the great theatre of war, I found myself forced, how painful soever to my feelings, to do the same, and to sign a peace, though its conditions were to the last degree hard and overwhelming."—SCHÖELL, viii. 410; and LUCCHESINI, i. 328

King of Prussia also arrived, two days after, in Tilsit, with his beautiful and unfortunate queen, and the ministers on both sides—Talleyrand on the part of France, Prince Kourakin on that of Russia, and Marshal Kalkreuth on that of Prussia. But they were of little service, for such was the extraordinary length to which the intimacy of the two Emperors had gone, that not only did they invariably dine and pass the evening together, but almost all the morning conferences, during which the destinies of the world were arranged, were conducted by themselves in person.

71. "Had the Queen of Prussia arrived earlier at our conferences," says Napoleon, "it might have had much influence on the result of the negotiations; but happily she did not make her appearance till all was settled, and I was in a situation to decide everything in twenty-four hours. As soon as she arrived I went to pay her a visit; she was very beautiful, but somewhat past the first flower of youth. She received me in despair, exclaiming, 'Justice! Justice!' and throwing herself back with loud lamentations. I at length prevailed on her to take a seat, but she continued, nevertheless, her pathetic entreaties. 'Prussia,' said she, 'was blinded in regard to her power; she ventured to enter the lists with a hero, oppose herself to the destinies of France, neglect its fortunate friendship! she has been well punished for her folly. The glory of the Great Frederick, the halo his name spread round our arms, had inflated the heart of Prussia—they have caused her ruin.'" Magdeburg, in an especial manner, was the object of her entreaties; and when Napoleon, before dinner, presented her with a beautiful rose, she at first refused it, but immediately after took it with a smile, adding at the same time, "Yes! but at least with Magdeburg."—"I must observe to your majesty," replied the Emperor, "that it is I who give, and you only who must receive." Napoleon had the talents of Cæsar, but not the chivalry of Henry IV. "After all," said he, "a fine woman and gallantry

are not to be weighed against affairs of state." He had frequently, during the repast, found himself hard pressed by the talent and grace of the Queen, and he resolved to cut the matter short. When she had retired, he sent for Talleyrând and Prince Kourakin, arranged the few remaining points of difference, and signed the treaty. The Queen was violently affected next day, when she learned that all was concluded; she refused to see the Emperor, and loudly protested she had been deceived by him—an assertion which he positively denies, and which his intellectual character, inaccessible to gallantry or female influence, though very warm so far as sense was concerned, rendered highly improbable. At length she was prevailed on by Alexander to be again present at dinner; and when Napoleon conducted her down stairs, after it was over, she stopped in the middle, pressed his hand as he bade her farewell, and said, "Is it possible that, after having had the good fortune to be so near to the Hero of the Age, he has not left me the satisfaction of being able to assure him that he has attached me to him for life?" "Madame," replied the Emperor, "I lament if it is so; it is the effect of my evil destiny." They separated, never again to meet in this world.

72. "The Queen of Prussia," said Napoleon, "unquestionably possessed talents, great information, and singular acquaintance with affairs; she was the real sovereign for fifteen years. In truth, in spite of my address and utmost efforts, she constantly led the conversation, returned at pleasure to her subject, and directed it as she chose; but still with so much tact and delicacy that it was impossible to take offence. And in truth it must be confessed, that the objects at stake were of infinite importance; the time short and precious. One of the high contracting parties frequently repeated to me, that I should forgive everything or nothing at all; but I answered that I had done everything in my power to put things in such a train. The King of Prussia requested an interview that very day to take leave; I put it off for

twenty-four hours, at the secret solicitation of Alexander: he never forgave me that postponement. I discovered in all our conversations that the violation of the territory of Anspach, during the advance to Ulm, had been the original cause of his irritation. In all our subsequent interviews, how great soever may have been the interests of the moment, he abandoned them without hesitation, to prove to me that I had really broken in upon his dominions, on that occasion. He was wrong; but still I must allow his indignation was that of an honest man." *

73. The Russians at Tilsit did not consider themselves as vanquished; on the contrary, they felt, after all their misfortunes, much of the exultation of victory. Proud of having so long arrested the progress of the conqueror of the world, glorying even in the amount of their losses and the chasms in the ranks, which told the desperate strife in which they had been engaged, they mingled with their recent enemies with feelings unlacerated by the humiliations of defeat. It was obvious that peace was equally neces-

* "Almost every day at Tilsit the two Emperors and the King of Prussia rode out together: but this mark of confidence led to no good result. The Prussians could not conceal how much they suffered at seeing it; Napoleon rode in the middle between the two sovereigns, but the King could hardly keep pace with the two Emperors, or deemed himself *de trop* in their *été-à-été*, and generally fell behind. When we returned, the two Emperors dismounted in a moment; but they had generally to wait till the King came up, which caused them to be frequently wet, to the great annoyance of the spectators, as the weather was rainy at the time. That incident was the more annoying, as Alexander's manners are full of grace, and fully on a level with the highest elegance which the saloons of Paris can exhibit. He was sometimes fatigued with his companion, whose chagrin was so evident that it damped our satisfaction. We broke up in consequence our dinner parties at an early hour under pretence of business at home; but Alexander and I remained behind to take tea together, and generally prolonged the conversation till past midnight."—LAS CASES, iv. 228, 230. Everything conspires to indicate, that at this period the Emperor Alexander was completely dazzled by the grandeur and fascination of Napoleon, and that, under the influence of these feelings, he entirely forgot the interests and misfortunes of his ally.—SAVARY, iv. 92, note.

sary to both Emperors; it was soon whispered that it was to be concluded on terms eminently favourable to the Russian empire. The utmost cordiality, in consequence, soon prevailed between the officers and soldiers of the two armies; fêtes and repasts were interchanged in rapid succession, given by the warriors so recently hostile to each other. In these entertainments the officers of the two Imperial Guards, and in particular Prince Murat and the Grand-duke Constantine, were peculiarly cordial and complimentary to each other. On one of these occasions, to such a length did the effusions of mutual respect and regard proceed, that the officers of the two Guards, amidst the fumes of wine and the enthusiasm of the moment, mutually exchanged their uniforms; French hearts beat under the decorations won amidst the snows of Eylau, and Russian bosoms warmed beneath the orders bestowed on the field of Austerlitz. Last and most singular effect of civilised life and military discipline, to strengthen at once the fierceness of national passions, and the bonds by which they are to be restrained, and join in fraternal brotherhood one day those hands which, on another, had been dyed by mutual slaughter, or lifted up in relentless hostility against each other!

74. In the course of their rides together, the two Emperors had frequent opportunities of observing the flower of their respective armies. Napoleon afterwards acknowledged that he had never seen anything which impressed him so much as the appearance of one of the regiments of the Russian Guard. Albeit noways an admirer of the rigid formality of German tactics, and trusting rather to the effect of proclamations on the spirits of his troops than the influence of discipline on their movements, he was inexpressibly struck with the military aspect of its soldiers, and could not avoid the conclusion, that an army thus constituted would be the first in the world, if, to the firmness and precision which it had already attained, it should come to unite the fire and enthusiasm of the French. The docility with which they

submitted to the orders they received, whatever they were, struck him as particularly admirable. "My soldiers," said he, "are as brave as it is possible to be, but they are too much addicted to reasoning on their position. If they had the impassible firmness and docility of the Russians, the world would be too small for their exploits. The French soldiers are too much attached to their country to play the part of the Macedonians."

75. After a fortnight of conference, the treaty of Tilsit, which had been agreed on to its leading articles in the first four days after the armistice, was formally signed and published to the world. The first treaty between France and Russia was signed on the 7th; the second between France and Prussia, on the 9th of July. By the first, the Emperor Napoleon, as a mark of his regard for the *Emperor of Russia*, agreed to restore to the King of Prussia, Sillesia and nearly all his German dominions on the right bank of the Elbe, with the fortresses on the Oder and in Pomerania. The provinces which, prior to the first partition in 1772, formed part of the kingdom of Poland, and had since been annexed to Prussia, were detached from that monarchy and erected into a separate principality, to be called the *GRAND-DUCHY OF WARSAW*, and bestowed on the King of Saxony, with the exception of the province of Bialystock, containing two hundred thousand souls, which was ceded to *Russia*, which thus participated, in the hour of misfortune, in a share, small indeed, but still a share, of the spoils of its ally. Dantzic, with a limited portion of territory around it, was declared a free and independent city, under the protection of the Kings of Prussia and Saxony, which was in effect declaring it, what it immediately after became, a frontier town of France. A right to a free military road was granted to the King of Saxony across the Prussian states, to connect his German with his Polish dominions; the navigation of the *Vistula* was declared free to Prussia, Saxony, and Dantzic; the Dukes of Oldenburg and Mecklenburg were rein-

stated in their dominions, but under the condition that their harbours should all be occupied by French troops, so as to prevent the introduction of English merchandise: the mediation of the Emperor of Russia was accepted with a view to the arrangement of a general peace; the Kings of Naples and Holland, with the Confederation of the Rhine, were recognised by the Emperor of Russia: a new kingdom, to be called the KINGDOM OF WESTPHALIA, was erected in favour of Jerome Buonaparte, the Emperor's brother, composed of the whole provinces ceded by Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe, which was also recognised by the Emperor. Hostilities were to cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, and the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia to be evacuated by the Russian troops, but not occupied by those of the Sultan till the ratification of a general peace; the Emperor of Russia accepted the mediation of Napoleon for the conclusion of his differences with Turkey; the Emperors of Russia and France mutually guaranteed their respective dominions, and agreed to establish commercial relations with each other on the footing allowed the most favoured nations.

76. By the second treaty, concluded two days after, between France and Prussia, the King of Prussia recognised the Kings of Naples, Holland, Westphalia, and the Confederation of the Rhine, and concluded peace with the sovereigns of those several states, as well as with the Emperor of France. He ceded to the kings or princes who should be designated by the Emperor Napoleon all the dominions which at the commencement of the war he possessed between the Rhine and the Elbe, and engaged to offer no opposition to any arrangement in regard to them which his Imperial Majesty might choose to adopt. The King of Prussia ceded, in addition, to the King of Saxony, the circle of Gotha in Lower Lusatia: he renounced all right to his acquisitions made in Poland subsequent to 1st January 1772, and to the city and surrounding territory of Dantzic; and consented to their erection into a sepa-

rate duchy in favour of the King of Saxony, as well as to the military road through his dominions to connect the Polish with the German possessions of that sovereign. He agreed to the extension of the frontiers of Russian Poland, by the cession of the province of Bialystock; consented, till the conclusion of a general maritime peace, to close his harbours without exception to the ships and commerce of Great Britain; and concurred in a separate convention, having for its object the restoration of the strongholds of Prussia at certain fixed periods, and the sums to be paid for their civil and military evacuation.

77. The losses of Prussia by this treaty were enormous. Between the states forming part of her possessions ceded to the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, and those acquired by the Kingdom of Westphalia, she lost 4,236,048 inhabitants, or nearly half of her dominions, for those retained contained only 5,034,504 souls. But, overwhelming as the losses were, they constituted but a small part of the calamities which fell on the ill-fated monarchy by this disastrous peace.* The fortresses left her, whether in Silesia or on the

* LOSSES OF PRUSSIA IN TERRITORY AND POPULATION.

On the east of the Elbe.

	Souls.
Circle of Coburg,	33,500
Western Prussia,	262,285
Southern Prussia, Old Poland,	1,282,189
New Eastern Prussia,	204,518
	<hr/> 2,482,493

On the west of the Elbe.

Circle of Old Munich and Prignitz,	112,000
Duchy of Magdeburg,	250,039
Halberstadt,	148,230
Hildesheim,	180,069
Beckesfeld, and Erfurth,	164,690
Maiden and Ravensberg,	150,776
Paderborn, Munster, Leugen, and Tecklenberg,	268,542
La Marche, Essen, Elten, and Wreden,	162,101
East Friesland,	110,803
Baireuth,	238,305

West of Elbe,	1,753,555
East of Elbe,	2,482,493

Total, 4,236,048

—BIGNON, vi. 835; and HARDENBERG, ix. 487.

Oder, remained in the hands of France, nominally as a security for payment of the war-contributions which were to be levied on the impoverished inhabitants, but really to overawe its government, and paralyse its military resources. A garrison of twenty thousand French soldiers was cantoned in Dantzic—a frontier station of immense importance, alike as hermetically closing the mouths of the Vistula, giving the French authorities the entire command of the commerce of Poland, and affording an advanced post which, in the event of future hostilities, would be highly serviceable in a war with Russia. The newly-established kingdoms of Westphalia and Saxony, with the military road through Prussia, terminating in the grand-duchy of Warsaw, gave the French Emperor the undisputed control of northern Germany; in effect, brought up the French frontier to the Niemen, and enabled him to commence any future war with the same advantage from that distant river as he had done the present from the

banks of the Rhine. At the same time enormous contributions, amounting to the stupendous, and, if not proved by authentic documents, incredible sum of *six hundred millions of francs*, or twenty-four millions sterling, were imposed on the countries which had been the seat of war between the Rhine and the Niemen; a sum equal to at least fifty millions sterling in Great Britain, when the difference in the value of money at that time, and the wealth of the two states, is taken into consideration. This grievous exaction completely paralysed the strength of Prussia, and rendered her for the next five years totally incapable of extricating herself from that iron net in which she was enveloped by the continued occupation of her fortresses by the French troops.*

78. Important as the changes introduced by these public treaties of Tilsit were to the political interests of Europe, they were far inferior in daring and magnitude to the provisions of the secret conventions concluded at

* This war-contribution on the north of Germany was so prodigious a burden, and in its first effects was so instrumental in increasing the power of France, and in its ultimate results in occasioning its overthrow, that the particulars of it are here given, taken from the authentic records of Count Darn, the chief commissioner intrusted by Napoleon with its collection, as one of the most instructive and curious monuments of the Revolutionary wars:—

	Francs.	£
Imposed since Oct. 15, 1806, and levied before Jan. 1, 1808,	474,352,650	or 19,000,000
Remaining still to recover,	39,391,750	„ 1,600,000
Contributions levied in kind,	90,483,511	„ 3,600,000
	604,227,920	24,200,000

—*Darn's Report to Napoleon, 1st Jan. 1808*: DUMAS, xix. 462, 465, *Pièces Just.*

In the Prussian estimate, the amount is stated considerably higher—even in so far as it was levied on the Prussian states alone. It stands thus:—

	Francs.	£
War contributions in specie,	220,000,000	or 8,800,000
Maintenance of the fortresses,	40,000,000	„ 1,600,000
In kind, without counting the billeting of soldiers,	346,800,000	„ 13,870,000

Carry over, 606,800,000 24,270,000

	Francs.	£
Brought over,	606,800,000	or 24,270,000
Miscellaneous losses,	8,000,000	„ 320,000
Losses sustained in the local taxes,	75,000,000	„ 3,000,000
Ditto in the general revenue,	50,000,000	„ 2,000,000
	739,800,000	29,590,000

—SCHÖELL, vi. 518.

When it is recollected that the whole revenues of Prussia were only about £6,000,000; that money at that period was at least of twice the value there that it was in England; and that the monarchy was already exhausted by the immense efforts made for the campaign of 1806, either of these estimates must appear amongst the most enormous instances of military exaction on record in history. It is the same thing as if three hundred millions sterling were at this moment to be levied, by the terrors of military execution, in a year and a half in Great Britain.

In addition to all this, Napoleon and his generals, with disgraceful rapacity, carried off from the different palaces in Prussia no less than 127 paintings, most of them by first-rate masters, and 238 marbles or statues, besides all the manuscripts, curiosities, and antiquities they could lay their hands on. The movables thus carried away, contrary to the laws of war, were worth above £300,000. They were all reclaimed and got back by the Prussians on the capture of Paris in 1815.—See the *Official List* in SCHÖELL, vi. 261, 289.

the same place between the French Emperor and the Russian autocrat. These two mighty potentates, who so lately had been actuated by the strongest hostility to each other, deeming themselves invincible when they had united their arms together, had conceived, beyond all question, the project of dividing the world between them. To Russia was assigned, with hardly any limitations, the empire of the East; France acquired absolute sway in all the kingdoms of the West: both united in cordial hostility against the maritime power of Great Britain. Turkey, in consequence, was abandoned almost without reserve to the Russian autocrat. To the cession of Constantinople alone Napoleon never would agree; and rivalry for the possession of that matchless capital, itself worth an empire, was one of the principal causes which afterwards led him into the desperate chances of the Moscow campaign. The clause on this subject was in the following terms:—"In like manner, if, in consequence of the changes which have recently taken place in the government of Constantinople, the Porte shall decline the intervention of France; or in case, having accepted it, the negotiations shall not have led to a satisfactory adjustment in the space of three months, France will make common cause with Russia against the Ottoman Porte, and the two high contracting parties will unite their efforts to wrest from the vexatious and oppressive government of the Turks all its provinces in Europe—Roumelia and Constantinople alone excepted."*

* "It was agreed at Tilsit, that the power of the Ottomans should be restricted to Asia, retaining in Europe only the city of Constantinople and Roumelia.—That the partition should result in the acquisition of Albania, the Morea, and the Isle of Candia, by the French Emperor.—That Wallachia and Moldavia should fall to the share of Russia, that empire having as its boundary the Danube, comprising Bessarabia, which is in fact a coast-line generally reckoned a part of Moldavia: if Bulgaria is thrown into the balance, the Emperor is willing to accede to the expedition to India."—*Note, M. Romanzoff à Napoleon, approuvée de vive voix par l'Empereur Alexandre à M. de Caulaincourt, l'ambassadeur Français à St Petersburg. Février 1808.*—*THIERS, Consulat et l'Empire, viii. 449, 450.*

79. The abandonment of all Turkey, with the exception of its capital and the small adjacent provinces, to the ambition of its hereditary and inveterate enemies, called for a similar concession to the leading objects of French ambition. This was provided for in the articles regarding the prosecution of the war against England, and the cession of the Spanish peninsula to the French Emperor. In regard to the first object, it was stipulated, that in case the proffered mediation of France to adjust the differences with the cabinet of St James's should not be accepted, Russia should make common cause with France against England, with all its forces, by sea and land; or, "if, having accepted it, peace was not concluded by the 1st November, on terms stipulating that the flags of every power should enjoy a perfect and entire equality on every sea, and that all the conquests made of French possessions since 1805 should be restored—in that case also, Russia shall demand a categorical answer by the 1st December, and the Russian ambassador shall receive a conditional order to quit London." In the event of the English government not having made a satisfactory answer to the Russian requisition, "France and Russia shall jointly summon the three courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, to close their harbours against English vessels, recall their ambassadors from London, and declare war against Great Britain." Hanover was to be restored to England in exchange for the whole colonies she had conquered during the war; Spain was to be compelled to remain in the alliance against Great Britain; and the Emperor of France engaged to do nothing tending to augment the power of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, or which might lead to the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy.†

† These secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which are of such moment, both as illustrating the general character of Napoleon's policy, and as affording an unanswerable vindication of the Copenhagen expedition, have been literally transcribed from Bignon's work. As that author was not only for long the French ambassador at Berlin, but was also nominated by Napoleon in his testament

80. This was the whole extent to which the formal secret treaty of Tilsit went; but, extensive as the changes which it contemplated were, they yet yielded in magnitude to those which were also agreed on, in a convention still more secret, between the two Emperors. "A thunderbolt from heaven," said Napoleon to Alexander, "has just disengaged me from the Porte. My ally and friend Sultaun Selim, has been cast down from his throne, and is in irons. I thought we could have made something of the Turks, but I see I was mistaken. We must be done with their empire, and take care that its spoils do not go to augment the power of England. Portugal and Sweden may perhaps hold out; let us understand each other in regard to them, as well as Turkey. Take you Finland as a compensation for the expense of the war. The King of Sweden is no doubt your brother-in-law and ally, but that is only an additional reason why he should conform to your policy. Sweden may be an ally, or connected by marriage at the moment, but it is geographically your enemy. Petersburg is too near Finland. It won't do to let your Russian beauties hear the sound of Swedish cannon. If the Turks resist, we must divide their dominions—and how? You may keep, besides Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria, to the foot of the Balkan. France should have the maritime provinces, such as Albania, Thessaly, the Morea, and Candia. The consent of Austria will easily be obtained, by giving her Bosnia and Servia." These ambitious projects ere long were reduced into secret, but formal articles. By this treaty, which may literally be called a spoliating agreement, the shares which the two imperial robbers

as the author to whom was committed, with a legacy of 100,000 francs, the task of writing a history of his diplomacy, which he has executed with great ability, it is impossible to quote them from a more unexceptionable authority; and he himself says he has given them "textuellement." They are not yet to be found in any diplomatic collection, but their authenticity is fully established by M. Thiers.—*Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, viii. 450.

VOL. VII.

were to have respectively in the partition of Europe were chalked out. The mouths of the Cattaro, which had been ostensibly at least the original cause of the rupture, were ceded by Russia to France, as well as the seven Ionian Islands. Joseph Buonaparte was to be secured in the possession of Sicily, as well as of Naples; Ferdinand IV., the reigning King of Sicily, was to receive an indemnity in the Isle of Candia, or some other part of the Turkish empire: the dominions of the Pope were to be ceded to France, as well as Malta and Egypt; the sovereigns of the houses of Bourbon and Braganza, in the Spanish peninsula, were to be replaced by princes of the family of Napoleon; and when the final partition of the Ottoman empire took place, Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, and Bulgaria, were to be allotted to Russia; while Greece, Macedonia, Dalmatia, and all the sea-coasts of the Adriatic, were to be enjoyed by France, which engaged in return to throw no obstacles in the way of the acquisition of Finland by the Russian Emperor.* And the consent of

* As the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit are given on the authority of M. Bignon and M. Thiers, as chosen partisans of Napoleon, and therefore valuable unwilling witnesses, it is proper to mention that Bignon does not admit the express signature of a convention regarding the dethroning of the Spanish and Portuguese sovereigns, and the partition of the Turkish empire, but says that "these projects were merely sketched out in the private conferences of the two Emperors, but without being actually reduced to writing."—while the author of Prince Hardenberg's Memoirs, whose accuracy and extent of secret information are in general equally remarkable, asserts that they were embodied in an express treaty.—BIGNON, vi. 345, and HARD, ix. 433. It is of little importance whether they were or were not embodied in a formal convention, since there was no doubt that they were verbally agreed on between the two Emperors. We have the authority of the Emperor Alexander that Napoleon said to him at Tilsit—"I lay no stress on the evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia by your troops; you may protect them if you desire. It is impossible any longer to endure the presence of the Turks in Europe; you are at liberty to chase them into Asia; but observe only, I rely upon it that Constantinople is not to fall into the hands of any European power."—HARD, ix. 432. Napoleon, in conversation with Es-

Austria was to be purchased by the cession of Serbia and Bosnia, as her share of the plunder. Alexander wished to go further, and repeatedly pressed on Napoleon the acceptance by Napoleon of the whole maritime provinces of Turkey, including Egypt and Candia, provided Roumelia and Constantinople were ceded to Russia; but the French Emperor never could be brought to yield the Queen of the East to his new apparently beloved, but secretly dreaded ally.

81. Napoleon was not long of taking steps to pave the way for the acquisition of his share of the Ottoman dominions. On the day after the secret treaty with Russia was signed, he despatched a letter to the King of Naples, informing him of the cession of Corfu to France, and directing him to assemble, in the most secret manner,

coquiza at Bayonne, in the following year, said, "The Emperor Alexander, to whom I revealed at Tilsit my designs against Spain, which were formed at that period, approved of them, and gave me his word of honour he would throw no obstacle in the way."—Escoeur. This coincides with what Savary affirms, who says,—“The Emperor Alexander frequently repeated to me, when I was afterwards ambassador at St Petersburg, that Napoleon had said to him that he was under no engagements with the new Sultan, and that the changes which had supervened in the world inevitably changed the relations of states to each other. I saw at once that this point had formed the subject of their secret conference at Tilsit; and I could not avoid the conviction that a mutual communication of their projects had taken place, because I could not believe that we would have abandoned the Turks without receiving some compensation in some other quarter. I have strong reasons for believing that the Spanish question was brought under discussion at Tilsit. The Emperor Napoleon had that affair strongly at heart, and nothing could be more natural than that he should frankly communicate it to the Czar—the more especially as he had on his side a project of aggrandisement, in the way of which, without previous concert, France might be disposed to throw obstacles. I was the more confirmed in this opinion by observing the conduct and language of the Emperor Alexander when the Spanish war broke out.”—SAVARY, iii. 98, 99. And Napoleon said at St Helena—“All the Emperor Alexander’s thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions about it, and at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would benefit the world to drive those brutes the Turks out of Europe. But when I reflected upon the consequences of

four thousand* men at Otranto and Tarentum, to take possession of that island, and of the mouths of the Cattaro. On the same day he enjoined Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, to send a force of six thousand men into Dalmatia, while Marshal Marmont, who commanded in that province, was directed, instead of attacking the Montenegrins, as he was preparing to do, to do everything in his power to make these mountaineers receive willingly the French government, beneath which they would soon be placed; and at the same time to transmit minute information as to the resources, population, and revenue of Bosnia, Thracæ, Albania, Macedonia, and Greece, and what direction two* European armies should follow—entering that country, one by the Cattaro, the other from Corfu.* At the same time Count

this step, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, on account of the number of Greeks in the Turkish dominions who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the islands, which would have been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained.”—O’MEARA, i. 382. “Was there,” says Bignon, “any express treaty assigning to each Emperor his share of the Turkish dominions? No: that there was an agreement on that subject between the two Emperors is beyond a doubt; but no formal treaty.” We shall find numberless proofs of this in the sequel of this work in the language used by the Emperor Alexander, and the actions of Napoleon. They had even gone so far as to assign a portion also to the Emperor Francis.—“Something,” in Alexander’s words, “to Austria, to soothe her vanity rather than satisfy her ambition.”—BIGNON, vi. 843.

* To Marmont, Napoleon wrote, on July 8, from Tilsit:—“Set to work as vigorously as possible to obtain, by officers whom you shall send forward with that view, or in any other way, and address directly to the Emperor, in order that he may know by confidential officers, both geographically and civilly, all the information you can acquire regarding Bosnia, Macedonia, Thracæ, Albania, &c.:—what is the amount of their population, what resources in clothing, provisions, or money those provinces would furnish to any European power which might possess them: in fine, what revenue could be drawn from them at the moment of their occupation, for the principles of their occupation are at present without any proper settlement. In a second mo-

Guilleminot was despatched from Tilsit on a double mission; the first, open and ostensible, to General Michelson's army on the Danube—the other, secret, to General Sebastiani at Constantinople; in the course of which he was to acquire all the information he could on the subject of the population, riches, and geographical position of the country through which he passed. Finally, to General Sebastiani himself, he fully explained the whole design, which was, as stated in his letters, that as no European power would be permitted to possess Constantinople and the Hellespont, the first thing to be done was "to draw a line from Burgas on the Black Sea, to the Gulf of Enos in the Archipelago—and all to the eastward of that line, including Adrianople, was to remain to Turkey; Russia was to obtain *Moldavia, Wallachia, and all Bulgaria*, as far as the left bank of the Hebrus; Servia was to be allotted to Austria; and *Bosnia, Albania, Epirus, the Peloponnesus, Attica, and Thessaly*, to France." Sebastiani at the same time received orders to prepare and transmit without delay to the French Emperor, a memorial, containing exact details, to define the geographical boundaries of the acquisitions of the three powers interested in the partition.

82. While Napoleon and Alexander were thus adjusting their differences at Tilsit, by the spoliation of all the weaker powers in Europe, partitioning Turkey, and providing for the dethronement of the sovereigns in the Spanish peninsula, the chains were moiré, state, in a military point of view, if two European armies should enter these provinces at once, the one by Cattaro and Dalmatia into Bosnia, the other by Corfu, what force would be required for each to insure success; what species of arms would be most advantageous; how could the artillery be transported; could horses for its transport be found in the country; could recruits be raised there; what would be the most favourable times for military operations. All these reports should be transmitted by confidential persons on whom you have perfect reliance. Keep on good terms with the Pasha of Bosnia; but, nevertheless, gradually let your relations with him become more cold and reserved than formerly."—*Napoleon to Marmont: Tilsit, July 8, 1807.*—DUMAS, xix. 341, 342.

drawn yet more closely round unhappy Prussia. In the treaty with that power, it had been provided that a subsidiary military convention should be concluded regarding the time of the evacuation of the fortresses by the French troops, and the sums of money to be paid for their ransom. Nominally, it was arranged that they should be evacuated by the 1st October, with the exception of Stettin, which was still to be garrisoned by French troops. But as it was expressly declared, as a *sine quâ non*, that the whole contributions imposed should be paid up before the evacuation commenced, that the King of Prussia should levy no revenue in his dominions till these exactions were fully satisfied, and that the Prussians, meanwhile, should feed, clothe, and lodge all the French troops within their bounds, the French Emperor had in reality the means of retaining possession of them as long as he chose, which he accordingly did. In addition to the enormous war contributions already mentioned, of which 513,744,000 francs, or £20,500,000 fell on Prussia alone, further and most burdensome commissions were forced on the same unhappy state in the end of the year, in virtue of which Count Daru, the French collector-general, demanded 154,000,000 fr. or £6,160,000 more from its now wasted and wretched provinces—an exaction so monstrous, and so utterly disproportioned to its scanty revenue, which did not, after its grievous losses, exceed £3,000,000 sterling, that it never was or could be fully discharged. And this gave the French a pretence for continuing the occupation of the fortresses, and wringing contributions from the country till five years afterwards, when the Moscow campaign commenced.

83. Bereft by this disastrous treaty of half his dominions, nothing remained to the King of Prussia but submission; and he won the hearts of all the really generous in Europe by the resignation and heroism with which he bore so extraordinary a reverse of fortune. In a dignified proclamation, which he addressed to the inhabitants of his lost provinces upon liberating

them from their allegiance to the Prussian throne, he observed—"Dear inhabitants of faithful provinces, districts, and towns! My arms have been unfortunate. The efforts of the relics of my forces have been of no avail. Driven to the extreme boundary of my empire, and having seen my powerful ally conclude an armistice and sign a peace, no choice remained to me but to follow his example. That peace imposed on me the most painful sacrifices. The bonds of treaties, the reciprocal ties of love and duty, the fruit of ages of labour, have been broken asunder. All my efforts, and they have been most strenuous, have proved in vain. Fate ordains it. A father is compelled to depart from his children. I hereby release you from your allegiance to me and my house. My most ardent prayers for your welfare will always attend you in your relations to your new sovereigns. Be to them what you have ever been to me. Neither force nor fate shall ever sever the remembrance of you from my heart."

84. Vast as had been the conquests, unbounded the triumphs of France, during the campaign, the consumption of life to the victors had been, if pos-

* The following are the details of this enormous catalogue of human suffering:—

In hospital of the army on 1st October 1806,	403
Admitted till 30th June 1807,	421,416

Total treated in the hospital, 421,819

Of whom died there,	31,916
Dismissed cured,	370,473
Sent back to France,	11,455
Remained in hospital on 17th October 1808,	7,957
	421,819

The average stay of each patient in the hospital was 29 days. The proportions of maladies out of 200 was as follows:—

Fevers,	105
Wounded,	47
Veneral,	31
Various,	17
	200

This is a striking proof how much greater the mortality occasioned by fever and the other diseases incident to a campaign is, than the actual number killed or wounded in the field. Applying these proportions to the total

sible, more than proportionate; and it was already apparent that war, conducted on this gigantic scale, was attended with such a sacrifice of human beings as, for any lengthened time, would be insupportable. The fearful and ominous call of eighty thousand conscripts, thrice repeated during the short period of eight months, had already told the French people at what cost of their best and bravest they followed the car of victory; and the official details which have since come to light, show that even the enormous levy of two hundred and forty thousand men, in that short period, was not disproportioned to the expenditure of the campaign. Authentic documents prove that the number of sick and wounded who were received into the French hospitals during the campaign,* from the banks of the Saale to those of the Niemen, amounted to the stupendous number of FOUR HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND; of whom, at an average, not more than a ninth were prisoners taken from the Allies! If such were the losses to the victors, it may readily be believed that those of the vanquished were still greater; and putting both together, it may fairly be concluded that, from the 1st October 1806

number of 420,000, we shall have the whole numbers nearly as follows:—

Fevers,	210,000
Wounded,	100,000
Veneral,	62,000
Miscellaneous,	48,000
	420,000

The immense number of wounded being at least five times what the bulletins admitted, demonstrates, if an additional proof were wanting, the total falsehood in the estimate of losses by which these reports were invariably distinguished. The great number of venereal patients is very curious, and highly characteristic of the French soldiers.—*Daru's Report to Napoleon*: DUMAS, xix. 486, 487.

It appears from Savary's report of the number of sick and wounded in the great hospital at Königsberg, of which city he received the command after the battle of Friedland, that at the end of June 1807, they amounted to the immense number of 27,376. Preparations were made for the reception of 57,000; but the sudden conclusion of the peace at Tilsit rendered them in a great degree unnecessary. Nevertheless, the whole hospitals of the army were again overflowing in spring 1808, in every part of the north of Germany.—SAVARY, iii. 66, 69.

to the 30th June 1807—that is, during a period of nine months—a million of human beings were consigned to military hospitals, of whom at least a hundred thousand perished, independent of those slain in battle, who were nearly as many more! The mind finds it impossible to apprehend such enormous calamities; like the calculated distances of the sun or the fixed stars, they elude the grasp of the most vivid imagination; but even in the bewildering impression which they produce, they tend to show how boundless was the suffering then occasioned by human ambition; how awful the judgment of the Almighty then executed upon the earth!

85. Nor is it difficult to discern what were the national sins which were thus visited with so terrible a punishment. Fourteen years before, Austria, Russia, and Prussia had united their armies to partition Poland, and Suwarroff had entered Warsaw while yet reeking with patriot blood. In the prosecution of this guilty object, they neglected the volcano which was bursting forth in the west of Europe; they starved the war on the Rhine to feed that on the Vistula, and opened the gates of Germany to French ambition, in order to master the bulwarks of Sarmatia for themselves. Prussia, in particular, first drew off from the European alliance; and after the great barrier of frontier fortresses had been broken through in 1793, and revolutionary France stood, as Napoleon admits, “on the verge of ruin,” allowed her to restore her tottering fortunes, and for ten long years stood by in dubious and selfish neutrality, anxious only to secure or increase her ill-gotten gains. And what was the result? Poland became the great theatre of punishment to the partitioning powers; her blood-stained fields beheld the writhing and the anguish of her spoilers. Pierced to the heart by hostile armies, driven up to a corner of her territory, within sight almost of the Sarmatian wilds, Austria saw her expiring efforts for independence overthrown on the field of Austerlitz. Left of her dominions, bound in chains for the insult of

the conqueror, with the iron driven into her soul, Prussia beheld her last hopes expire on the shores of the Vistula.

86. Banished almost from Europe, conquered in war, sullied, in fame, Russia was compelled to sue for peace on the banks of the Niemen, the frontier of her Lithuanian spoils. The measure of her retribution was not yet complete; the grand-duchy of Warsaw was to become the outwork of France against Muscovy; the tide of war was to roll on to Red Russia; the sacred towers of Smolensko were to be shaken by Polish battalions; the sack of Praga was to be expiated by the flames of Moscow. Thus Providence superintends the progress of human affairs; that the retributions of justice apply to political societies as well as to single men; and that nations, which have no immortality, are destined to undergo the punishment of their flagrant iniquities in this world, was long ago announced in thunders from Mount Sinai, and may be read on every subsequent page of civilised history. But it is often in the third and fourth generation that the retribution descends; and in the complicated thread of intervening events, it is sometimes difficult to trace the connection which we know exists between the guilty deeds and the deserved suffering. In the present instance, however, the connection was immediate and palpable; the actors in the iniquitous spoliation were themselves the sufferers by its effects: it was the partition of Poland which opened the gates of Europe to France; it was the partitioning powers that sank beneath the car of Napoleon’s ambition.

87. And was France, then, the instrument of these terrible dispensations, herself to escape the punishment of her sins? Was she, stained with the blood of the righteous, wrapt in the flames of the church, marked with the sign of the miscreant, to be the besom of destruction to others, and to bask only in the sunshine of glory herself? No! the dread hour of her retribution was steadily approaching; swift as was the march of her trium-

phant host, swifter still was the advance of the calamities which were to presage her fall. Already to the discerning eye was visible the handwriting on the wall which foretold her doom. At Tilsit she reached the highest point of her ascendancy; every subsequent change was a step nearer to her ruin. True, the Continent had sunk beneath her arms; true, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had successively fallen in the conflict; true, she had advanced her eagles to the Niemen, and from the rock of Gibraltar to the Baltic Sea, no voice dared to breathe a whisper against her authority: still the seeds of destruction were implanted in her bosom. Her feet were of base and perishable clay. The resources of the empire were wasting away in the pursuit of the lurid phantoms which its people worshipped; its strength was melting under the incessant drains which the career of victory demanded; a hundred and fifty thousand men were annually sacrificed to the Moloch of its ambition. They saw it not—they felt it not: joyfully its youth “descended to the harvest of death.” “They REPENTED NOT of their sins, to give glory to the Lord.” But the effect was not the less certain, that the operation of the circumstances producing it was not perceived; and among the many concurring causes which at this period were preparing the fall of the French empire, a prominent place must be assigned to that very treaty of Tilsit, which apparently carried its fortunes to their highest elevation.

88. In this treaty were to be discerned no marks of great political capacity on the part of the conqueror; in the harshness and perfidy with which it was accompanied, the foundation was laid for the most powerful future allies to the vanquished. The formation of the kingdom of Westphalia, and the grand-duchy of Warsaw, with three or four millions of souls, each connected only by a military road across the impoverished and indignant remaining dominions of Frederick-William, could not be supposed to add, in any considerable degree, to the strength of the French empire. The indignities

offered to Prussia, the slights shown to her beautiful and high-spirited queen, the enormous contributions imposed on her inhabitants, the relentless rigour with which they were levied, the forcible retention of her fortresses, the tearing away of half her dominions, were injuries that could never be forgiven. Her people, in consequence, imbibed the most unbounded horror at French oppression; and though the fire did not burst forth for some years in open conflagration, it smouldered incessantly in all ranks, from the throne to the cottage, till at length its force became irresistible. This entire alienation of Prussia was one of the greatest errors ever committed by Napoleon in the course of his eventful career, and this is admitted even by his warmest panegyrists. “Frederick-William,” says Thiers, “who had a horror of war, and was dragged with so much reluctance into the coalition of 1813, when Napoleon, half conquered, appeared an easy prey, would never have deserted France but for this severity; and Napoleon, having only Russia and Austria to combat, would not have been overwhelmed.”*

89. And what allies did Napoleon rear up on the Vistula by the arrangement of Tilsit, to prove a counterpoise to the deadly hostility of Prussia thus gathering strength in his rear? None equal to the enemies whom he created. Saxony, indeed, was made a faithful friend, and proved herself such in the hour of disaster, as well as the day of triumph. But the hopes of the Poles were cruelly blighted,† and that confidence in the restoration of their empire

* THIERS, *Consulat et l'Empire*, vii. 638.

† “The treaty of Tilsit,” says Oginski, “spread consternation through all the Polish provinces. Numbers in Lithuania and Volhynia had left their homes to join the army raised under the auspices of Napoleon, and knew that their safety was compromised. Those who waited only for his passage of the Niemen to declare themselves, were disappointed. Universally, the treaty was regarded as the tomb of all the hopes which had been entertained of the restoration of the ancient monarchy; and from that moment, the confidence of all the Poles in the good intentions of the Emperor Napoleon was irrevocably weakened.”—OGINSKI, *Mém. sur la Pologne*, ii. 345.

by his assistance, which might have rendered their warlike bands so powerful an ally on the shores of the Vistula, for ever destroyed. Instead of seeing their nationality revive, the ancient line of their princes restored, and their lost provinces again reunited under one sceptre, they beheld only a fragment of their former empire wrested from Prussia, and handed over, too weak to defend itself, to the foreign government of the house of Saxony. The close alliance of Russia, and still more, the extraordinary intimacy which had sprung up between the two Emperors, precluded all hope that the vast provinces of Lithuania would ever again be restored to the domination of the Jagellons or the Sobieskis. The restoration of Poland thus seemed further removed than ever, in consequence of the successful efforts which a portion of its inhabitants had made for their liberation: they appeared to have now as much to fear from the triumphs of the French as of the Russian arms. Thus the treaty of Tilsit irrevocably alienated Prussia, and at the same time extinguished the rising ardour of Poland; and while it broke down the strength of all the intervening states, and presaged a future desperate strife between the despots of the East and West on the banks of the Niemen, it laid no foundation in the affections of mankind for the moral support by which its dangers were to be encountered.

90. But, if the treaty of Tilsit involved serious errors in policy, so far as Poland and Prussia were concerned, much more was it worthy of reprehension when the provisions for the immediate partition of Turkey are taken into consideration. Six months had not elapsed since he had written to Marmont, "to spare no protestations or assistance to Turkey, since she was the faithful ally of the French empire." Seven months had not elapsed since he had publicly declared at Posen, "that the full and complete independence of the Ottoman empire will ever be the object most at heart with the Emperor, as it is indispensable to the security of France and Italy: he would esteem

the successes of the present war of little value, if they did not give him the means of reinstating the Sublime Porte in complete independence." *One month* had not elapsed since he had said to the Turkish ambassador, in a public audience at Finkenstein, "that *his right hand was not more inseparable from his left* than the Sultan Selim should ever be to him." In consequence of these protestations, Turkey had thrown itself into the breach; she had braved the whole hostility of Russia, and defied the thunders of England when her fleets were anchored off the Seraglio Point. And ~~what~~ return did Napoleon make to these faithful allies for the exemplary fidelity with which they had stood by his fortunes when they were shaking in every quarter, and Europe, after the battle of Eylau, was ready to start up in fearful hostility in his rear?

91. The return he made was to sign a convention with Alexander for the partition of all their European dominions; and, not content with assuring the Czar that he was at perfect liberty to chase the Ottomans into Asia, provided only he did not lay violent hands on Constantinople, he stipulated for the largest share of the spoils, including *Thrace, Albania, Dalmatia, Epirus, and Greece, for himself*; while the consent of Austria was to be purchased by the acquisition of Servia! A more iniquitous and shameless instance of treachery is not to be found even in the dark annals of Italian perfidy: and it is sufficient to demonstrate, what so many other circumstances conspire to indicate, that this great man was as regardless of the sanctity of treaties as he was of the duty of veracity; that vows were made by him only to be broken, and oaths intended to be kept only till it was expedient to violate them; and that in prosperous, equally as adverse fortune, no reliance could be placed upon his feelings of gratitude or sense of obligation, if a present interest was to be served by forgetting them.

92. The excuse set up for this monstrous tergiversation by the French writers, viz., that a few weeks before

the battle of Friedland, an insurrection of the janizaries had taken place at Constantinople, and the ruling powers there had been overturned by open violence, is totally insufficient. The deposition of one sultan—no unusual occurrence in oriental dynasties—had made no change whatever in the amicable disposition of the Divan towards France, or their inveterate hostility to the ancient and hereditary rivals of the Mahomedan faith: on the contrary, the party of the janizaries which had now gained the ascendant, was precisely the one which had ever been inclined to prosecute hostilities with Russia with the most fanatical fervour. It ill became France to hold out a revolution in the Seraglio as a ground for considering all the existing obligations with Turkey as annulled, when her own changes of government since the Revolution had been so frequent, that Talleyrand had already sworn allegiance to ten in succession. And, in truth, this violation of public faith was as short-sighted as it was dishonourable. The secret articles soon came to the knowledge of the British government—they were communicated by their ambassador to the Divan, and produced an impression which was never forgotten. Honest and sincere, without foresight as without deceit, the Turks

* The perfidious conduct of Napoleon towards Turkey has been almost overlooked by the liberal writers of Europe, in the vehemence of their indignation at him for not re-establishing the kingdom of Poland. Without doubt, if that great act of injustice could have been repaired by his victorious arm, and a compact powerful empire of sixteen millions of souls re-established on the banks of the Vistula, it would have been alike grateful to every lover of freedom, and important as forming a barrier against Muscovite aggrandisement in Europe. But was it possible to construct such an empire, to form such a barrier out of the disjointed elements of Polish anarchy? That is the point for consideration; and if it was not, then the French Emperor would have thrown away all the advantages of victory, if, for a visionary and impracticable scheme of this description, he had incurred the lasting and indelible animosity of the partitioning powers. With the aid of two hundred thousand brave men, indeed, which Poland could with ease have sent into the field, he might, for a season, have withstood the united armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia; but could he rely on their tumultuary assemblies sustaining the

are as incapable of betraying an ally as they are of forgetting an act of treachery committed against themselves. The time will come in this history, when the moment of retribution arrives, when Napoleon, hard pressed by the storms of winter and the arms of Russia, is to feel the bitterness of an ally's desertion, and when the perfidy of Tilsit is to be awfully avenged on the shores of the Beresina.*

93. Towards the other powers of Europe the conduct of the two imperial despots was alike at variance with every principle of fidelity to their allies, or moderation towards their weaker neighbours. France abandoned Finland to Russia, and Alexander felt no scruples at accepting the project of rounding his territories in the neighbourhood of St Petersburg by wresting that important province from his faithful ally the King of Sweden, and even went the length of advancing his western frontier, by sharing in the spoils of his unhappy brother-in-arms the King of Prussia; while Russia surrendered Italy to France, and engaged to wink at the appropriation of the Papal States by Napoleon, who had resolved upon seizing them, in return for the condescension of the head of the church in recently travelling to Paris to place the imperial crown on his head. The rulers steady and durable efforts requisite for permanent success? What made Poland originally fall a victim to the coalesced powers, once little more than provinces of its mighty dominion? "The insane ambition," as John Sobieski said, "of a plebeian noblesse;" the jealousy of a hundred thousand electors incapable alike of governing themselves or of permitting the steady national government of others. Was this fatal element of discord eradicated from the Polish heart? Is it yet eradicated? Was it possible, by re-establishing Poland in 1807, to have done anything but, as Talleyrand well expressed it, "organised anarchy?" Those are the considerations which then presented, and still present, an invincible obstacle to a measure in other points of view recommended by so many considerations of justice and expedience. It is evident that the passions of the people, their insane desire for democratic equality, were so powerful, that, if re-established in its full original extent, Poland would speedily have again fallen under the dominion of its former conquerors: the same causes which formerly proved fatal to its independence would, without doubt, again have had the same effect.

of the Continent drew an imaginary line across Europe, and mutually gave each other *carte blanche* in regard to spoiliations, however unjustifiable, committed on their *own* side of the division. Napoleon surrendered half the European territories of Turkey to Alexander, and appropriated the other half to himself; while Alexander engaged to throw no obstacles in the way of the dethronement of the sovereigns of the Spanish peninsula, to make way for the elevation of princes of the Buonaparte family. Both appear to have conceived that, in thus suddenly closing their deadly strife, and turning their irresistible arms against the secondary states in their vicinity, they would gain important present objects, and mutually find room for the exercise of their future ambition, without encroaching on each other: forgetting that the desires of the human heart are insatiable; that the more powerful empires become, the more ardently do they pant after universal dominion; and that the same causes which arrayed Rome against Carthage in ancient, and brought Tamerlane and Bajazet into fierce collision in modern times, could not fail to become more powerful in their operation from the mutual aggrandisement which their gigantic empires received. "Nec mundus," said Alexander the Great, "duobus solibus regi potest, nec duo summa regna, salvo statu terrarum, potest habere."*

94. The great and ruling principle which actuated Napoleon in the negotiations at Tilsit, was the desire to combine all Europe into a cordial union against Britain.† For this end he was

* "Neither can the world," said Alexander the Great, "be ruled by two suns, nor contain two empires of the greatest magnitude, without destroying the peace of nations."—*QUINTUS CURTIUS*, iv. c. 11.

† "It cannot admit of a doubt," says Bignon, "that in the treaty of Tilsit, as in all the actions of his life, it was the desire to force England to conclude peace, that was the sole, the only principle of Napoleon's actions. A prolonged state of war with Russia, or even the conclusion of a treaty which would only have put a period to the bloodshed, would not have satisfied him. It was necessary, not merely that he should have an enemy the less—he required an ally the more. Russia, it is true, had ceased to com-

willing to forego, or postpone, his rivalry with Russia; to permit her to emerge, apparently crowned with the laurels of victory, from defeat, and derive greater advantages from the rout of Friedland than she had reaped even from the triumph of Pultowa or the sack of Ismael. All these sources of aggrandisement to his great Continental rival were to Napoleon as nothing, provided only they led to the overthrow of the maritime power of England. That accomplished, he anticipated little comparative difficulty even with the colossal strength of the Scythian monarch. In yielding to his seductions, Alexander appears to have been impressed with a belief that he was the man of destiny, and that, in continuing the combat, he was striving against fate.‡

95. Nor had England any great cause of complaint against him for violating his engagements to her, whatever Sweden or Turkey might have for the ambitious projects entertained at their expense. The cabinet of St James's had themselves receded from the spirit as well as the letter of the confederacy; the subsidies promised by Mr Pitt had disappeared; the cabinet of St Petersburg had been drawn into the contest for the interest of Germany and England, and both had withdrawn or been overthrown, leaving Russia alone to maintain it. So circumstanced, Great Britain had no reason to be surprised if Alexander took the first opportunity to extricate himself from a struggle in which the parties chiefly interested no longer appeared to take any share; nor could she complain if she was left alone to continue a contest which she seemed

bat his army, but he required that she should enlist herself on his side; that she should enter into the strife with England, if not with arms, at least by joining in the Continental blockade, which was to aim a deadly thrust at her power. All his lures held out to Alexander were calculated for that end: it is as referring to that object that all the minor arrangements to which he consented are to be regarded."—*BIGNON*, vi. 351, 352.

‡ "Sire," said one of the Russian counsellors to Alexander at Tilsit, "I take the liberty of reminding you of the fate of your father, as the consequence of French alliance."—"Oh God!" replied the Emperor, "I know it; I see it; but how can I withstand the destiny which directs me!"—*SAVARY*, iii. 92.

desirous of reducing to a mere maritime quarrel. Deeply did England and Austria subsequently suffer from this infatuated and ill-timed desertion of the confederacy at the very moment when the scales hung nearly even, and their aid might have been thrown in with decisive effect upon the balance. They might have stood in firm and impregnable array beside the veterans of Russia on the Vistula or the Elbe; they were left to maintain singly the contest on the Danube and the Tagus. They might have shared in the glories of Pultusk and Eylau, and converted the rout of Friedland into the triumph of L^{ep}sic; and they expiated their neglect in the carnage of Wagram and the blood of Talavera.

96. But though the timidity of Austria, when her forces were capable of interfering with decisive effect on the theatre of European contest, and the supineness of England, when she had only to appear in adequate force to conquer, were the causes to which alone we are to ascribe the long subsequent continuance, multiplied disasters, and unbounded ultimate bloodshed of the war; yet for the development of the great moral lesson to France and mankind, and the illustration of the glories of patriotic resistance, it was fortunate that, by protracting it, opportunity was

afforded for the memorable occurrences of its later years. But for that circumstance, the annals of the world would have lost the strife in the Tyrol, the patriotism of Aspern, the siege of Saragossa, the battle-fields of Spain. Peace would have been concluded with France as an ordinary power; she would have retained the Rhine for her boundary, and Paris would have remained the depository of revolutionary plunder: the Moscow campaign would not have avenged the blood of the innocent, nor the capture of their capital entered like iron into the soul of the vanquished. The last act of the mighty drama had not yet arrived: it was the design of Providence that it should terminate in yet deeper tragedy, and present a more awful spectacle of the Divine judgments to mankind. England would have saved three hundred millions of her debt, but she would have lost Vittoria and Waterloo: her standards would not have waved in the Pass of Roncesvalles, nor her soldiers entered in triumph the gates of Paris: she would have shared with Russia, in a very unequal proportion, the lustre of the contest; and to barbaric force, not freeborn bravery, future ages would have awarded the glory of having struck down the Conqueror of the World.

CHAPTER XLVII.

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

1. VAST and interesting as are the events which have now been traced, springing out of the wars of the French Revolution, they are yet outdone by the spectacle which, at the same period, the oriental world exhibited. The BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA forms, beyond all question, the most dazzling object in that age of wonders—perhaps the most extraordinary phenomenon in the history

of the species. Antiquity may be searched in vain for a parallel to its lustre. During the plenitude of its power, the Roman empire never contained above a hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants, and they were congregated round the shores of the Mediterranean, with a great inland sea to form their interior line of communication, and an army of four hundred

thousand men to secure the submission of its multifarious inhabitants. Magnificent causeways, emanating from Rome, the centre of authority, reached the furthest extremities of its dominions; the legions not only conquered, but humanised mankind; and the pro-consuls, whether they journeyed from the Forum to the wall of Antoninus and the solitudes of Caledonia, or to the shores of the Euphrates and the sands of Parthia, to the cataracts of the Nile, the banks of the Danube, or the mountains of Atlas, travelled along the great roads with which these indomitable pioneers of civilisation had penetrated the wilds of nature. Their immense dominions were the result of three centuries of conquest; and the genius of Scipio, Cæsar, and Severus, not less than the civic virtues of Regulus, Cato, and Cicero, were required to extend and cement the mighty fabric.

2. But in the Eastern world, an empire hardly less extensive or populous, embracing as great a variety of people, and rich in as many millions and provinces, has been conquered by the British arms in less than eighty years, at the distance of above fourteen thousand miles from the ruling state. That vast region, the fabled scene of opulence and grandeur since the dawn of civilisation, from which the arms of Alexander rolled back, which the ferocity of Timour imperfectly vanquished, and the banners of Nadir

Shah traversed only to destroy, has been permanently subdued and moulded into a regular province by a company of British merchants, originally settled as obscure traffickers on the shores of Hindostan; who have been dragged to their present perilous height of power by incessant attempts at their destruction on the part of the native princes; whose rise was contemporaneous with numerous and desperate struggles of the British nation with its European rivals, and who never had a fourth part of the disposable national strength at their command. For such a body, in such times, and with such forces, to have acquired so immense a dominion, is one of those prodigies of civilisation with which the history of the last half century so abounds; with which we are too familiar to be able fully to appreciate the wonder; and which must be viewed by mankind, simplified by distance, and gilded by the colours of history, before its due proportions can be understood.

3. The British empire in India—extending now, with few interruptions, and those only of tributary or allied states, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountains—comprehends by far the richest and most important part of southern Asia; is in extent nearly four times the area of France, and six times that of Great Britain and Ireland;* contains nearly a hundred millions of inhabitants within its own limits,† and forty more in the

* The Company's territories consist of 512,873 square miles; including the protected states, they embrace 1,128,800 square miles.—*Parl. Return*, 1831; and MARTIN, ix. 2, *duodecimo edition*. Europe contains, to the westward of the Ural mountains, 3,500,000 square miles.—MALTE BAUN, i. 4. France, 156,000 square miles.—*Ibid.* viii. 273.

† Population and superficies of India:—

	Square miles.	Population.
Bengal, Lower provinces,	153,802	37,500,000
Upper provinces,	66,510	32,200,000
Cessions from Berar,	85,700	3,200,000
Total, Bengal,	306,012	72,900,000
Madras,	141,923	13,500,000
Bombay,	64,938	6,800,000
Total British possessions,	512,873	93,200,000
Allied states,	614,610	43,022,700
Ranjit Singh,	60,000	3,500,000
Scinde,	100,000	1,000,000
Total,	1,287,483	140,722,700

—See *Commons' Report on Indian Affairs*, October 11, 1831; and *ELPHINSTONE'S History of India*, i. 5.

tributary and protected states, and yields a revenue of about twenty millions sterling.* The land forces rose in the year 1826, when two bloody wars were to be maintained at the same time, to the enormous amount of 260,000 native troops, including 45,000 cavalry and 1000 pieces of artillery, besides 31,000 native English; and even under the reduced peace establishment of subsequent times, they still amount to 194,000, of whom 30,000 are British soldiers. This immense force, all in the very highest state of discipline and equipment, is raised entirely by voluntary enrolment, without a compulsory conscription ever being resorted to; and so popular is the British service, and so unbounded the general confidence both in the Company's stability and its fidelity to its engagements, that the only difficulty the authorities experience is to select the most deserving from the numerous competitors who are desirous of being enrolled under its banners. If public danger threatened, or the Russian eagles approached the Indus, this force might be instantly raised by the same means to a million of armed men.

4. When the British power was threatened with a double attack, and the Rajah of Bhurtpore raised the standard of revolt at the time that the bulk of their forces were entangled in the jungles of the Irrawaddy, or dying under the fevers of Aracan, no vacillation or weakness appeared in the British councils. With the right hand they humbled what the Orientals styled the giant strength of Ava, while with the left they crushed the rising power of the northern rajahs; and while a larger force than combated in Portugal

* The revenue in 1833 was £18,677,952; that for fifteen years ending 1829, £308,151,920, or about £20,650,000 per annum. The charges in India are £17,583,132, leaving at present a surplus of £1,094,820. The public debt has stood since 1792 as follows:—

1792,	. . . . .	29,142,720
1809,	. . . . .	30,812,441
1814,	. . . . .	30,919,629
1829,	. . . . .	47,255,374
1833,	. . . . .	44,800,000

—*Parl. Papers*, May 1833; and MARTIN, ix. 218.

under Wellington was pursuing the career of conquest in the Burmese empire, and advancing the British standard almost to the minarets of Ummerapoora, a greater host than the native British who conquered at Waterloo assembled as if by enchantment around the walls of Bhurtpore, and, at the distance of fourteen hundred miles from Calcutta, and sixteen thousand from the British Isles, carried the last and hitherto impregnable stronghold of Hindoo independence.† In recent times, the strength of the empire has been still more severely tried—it carried its standards at once into Afghanistan and China, withstood a disaster almost unparalleled in eastern countries; and in one day received intelligence of the capture of Cabul in the centre of Asia, and the dictating of peace to the Celestial Empire under the walls of Nankin. The greatness of Napoleon flits as a brilliant vision across our recollection; the power of Russia stands forth a present object of terror to our senses; but Russia never invaded Persia or Turkey, albeit adjoining her own frontiers, with forces equal to those which England has arrayed in the plains of Hindostan;‡ and the host which followed Napoleon to Austerlitz and Friedland was inferior to that with which Lord Hastings made war on the Mahratta states.§

† Lord Combermere besieged Bhurtpore, in 1825, with 36,000 red-coats and 180 pieces of cannon; the force employed in the Burmese empire, at the same time, was in all 55,000 strong.—MARTIN, viii. 36; and *Ann. Reg.* 1825. The British and King's German Legion at Waterloo were 18,481 infantry, 7834 cavalry, 3493 artillery; the Hanoverians and Brunswickers about 17,000; the Belgians, 20,000.—*Adjutant-General's Report*, 6th Nov. 1816; *Battle of Waterloo by a near Observer*, ii. 138.

‡ In the war of 1823, which terminated in the crossing of the Balkan, and capture of Adrianople, the Russians could never collect 40,000 men in a single field. In the Persian war of 1824-5, they never had 10,000 men together in one army to the south of the Caucasus. In 1772 and 1800, the English besieged Seringapatam with 35,000 men and 104 pieces of cannon; in 1814 Lord Hastings sent 30,000 men against the Goorkhas on the first range of the Himalaya mountains.—MARTIN, viii. 33, 51.

§ In 1817, Lord Hastings made war against the Mahratta confederacy with 51,000 regu-

5. Imagination itself can scarcely do justice to the varied and magnificent scenery of Hindostan. From the snowy summits of the Himalaya to the green slopes of Cape Comorin, from the steep ghauts of Malabar to the sandy shores of Coromandel, it exhibits a succession of the most noble or beautiful features; at times stupendous mountain ranges, their sides clothed with lofty forests, their peaks reposing in icy stillness; at others, vast plains rivaling the Delta of Egypt in richness, and, like it, submerged yearly by the fertilising waters of the Ganges; here lofty ghauts running parallel, at a short distance from the shores of the ocean, to the edge of its waters, and, marking the line of demarcation between the low rich or sandy plains on the sea-side, and the elevated table-land, several thousand feet above the sea-level in the interior; there, rugged hills or thick forests teeming with the rich productions of a southern sun. The natural boundaries of India are the Himalaya range and mountains of Cabul and Candahar on the north; the splendid and rapid stream of the Indus, seventeen hundred miles in length, of which seven hundred and sixty are navigable, flowing impetuously from their perennial snows, on the north-west; the deep and stagnant Irrawaddy, fourteen hundred miles in length, fed by the eastern extremity of the chain, and winding its way to the Bay of Bengal through the rank luxuriance of tropical vegetation, on the north-east; and the encircling ocean on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, on the south. Nature everywhere appears in this highly-favoured region in her most imposing array: the Himalaya mountains, surmounting even the Andes in elevation; the Indus all but rivaling the river of the Amazons in magnitude; the plain of Bengal, surpassing Mesopotamia

lar infantry, and 33,000 cavalry, in all the armies under his orders—the greatest body of men, if their composition and qualities are considered, ever assembled under one commander on the plains of Hindostan. The French who fought at Austerlitz were 90,000 of all arms—at Friedland, 90,000.—*Ante*, Chap. XL, § 120; and Chap. XLVI. § 55; and MARTIN, viii. 35.

itself in fertility — for some of the features of a country which, from the earliest times, has been the seat of civilisation, and the fabled abode of opulence and magnificence. The noble expanse of Bengal, the Lombardy of Asia, has been thus described by a master whose accuracy of detail is only exceeded by his powers of description:—"No part of India possessed such natural advantages both for agriculture and commerce. The Ganges, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plain of rich mould, which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice-fields yield an increase which is unknown elsewhere. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with marvellous exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish. The desolate islands along the sea-coast, overgrown by noxious vegetation, and swarming with deer and tigers, supply the cultivated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilises its soil is, at the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters, are the wealthiest marts, the most splendid capitals, and the most sacred shrines of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its worm. The races by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervated by a soft climate, and accustomed to peaceful avocations, bore the same relation to other Asiatics which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb, that in Valencia the earth is water, and the men women; and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the lower Ganges. Whatever the

Bengalee does he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bold exertion; and though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane, he seldom engages in a personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and habit for a foreign yoke.*

6. All the productions of the globe are to be found, and for the most part flourish to perfection, in the varied climates and soils of the splendid Indian peninsula. The forests, the fruits, the crops of Europe, are recognised by the delighted traveller in the Himalaya mountains, where the prodigy is exhibited of valleys tolerably peopled, and bearing crops at the height of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet above the sea, or considerably above the summit of Mont Blanc, or the Great Glochner. On the side of these stupendous mountain ranges, nature appears on an extraordinary scale of magnificence; huge pinnacles of bare rock shoot up into the azure firmament, and forests overspread their sides, in which scarlet rhododendrons sixty feet in height are surmounted by trees two hundred feet in elevation. The peach, the apricot, the nectarine, even apples, pears, and strawberries, refresh the European, to whom they recall, in a distant land and amidst oriental luxuries, the images and enjoyments of his youth. The forests of the plains of Hindostan exhibit a richness of foliage and luxuriance of vegetation of which not a conception can be formed by those who judge of nature only by the robe she wears in northern climates. Poetry can alone describe their charms:—

—“ Behold us now

Beneath the bamboo's arched bough;
Where, gemming off that sacred gloom,
Glews the geranium's scarlet bloom,
And winds our path through many a bower
Of fragrant tree and giant flower.
The celiba's crimson pomp displayed
O'er the broad plantain's humbler shade,
And dusk anana's prickly spade,

While o'er the brake, so wild and fair,
The betel waves his crest in air;
With pendant train, and rushing wings,
Aloft the gorgeous peacock springs;
And he, the bird of hundred dyes,
Whose plumes the dames of Ava prize—
So rich a shade, so green a sod,
Our English falcons never trod.”†

Wheat, barley, and oats, with noble forests of teak and oak, flourish on the cool slopes of the mountains; while at their feet the vast plain of Bengal is covered to an incalculable extent with double crops, yearly, of rice, or with thickets of bamboo canes, fed by the fertilising floods which, at times to the breadth of a hundred miles, exhibit a sea of water, interspersed only with tufts of wood, solitary palms, hamlets, and pagodas. Indigo grows in luxuriance in many districts, and forms a staple article of commerce to the country. Sugar thrives as well as in the West India, and promises to fill up the deficiency in the productions of the globe occasioned by the disastrous emancipation of the slaves in the western tropical regions. Grapes, melons, pine-apples, figs, dates, mangoes, are everywhere found in profusion, with many other fruits still more luscious, peculiar to the eastern hemisphere. The elephant, at once the strongest, the most sagacious, and the most docile of animals; the camel, the ship of the desert; the horse, the companion and fellow-soldier of man—alike flourish in a country where the tiger and the rhinoceros rule the wilds of nature. Even the flowers and birds partake of the splendid character of creation; the roses of Cashmere and Delhi yield their highly prized perfume to the world: the red blossoms of the ixora and mussonda, and innumerable other tropical plants, diffuse a blaze of beauty through the woods; the scarlet plumage of the flamingo, the varied hues of the parrot, rival the colours of the setting sun. But the woods are silent, or resound only with the harsh scream of birds, or the fearful cry of beasts of prey; no troops of feathered songsters fill the air with their melodious voices, nor welcome in the breath of spring with

* MACAULAY'S *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, iii. 141, 142.

† HESER, *Evening Walk in Bengal*.

the voice of gladness and the notes of love.

7. In the transactions of Europe, the historian has too good reason frequently to lament the indecision and want of foresight, with which both diplomatic negotiations and military operations have been conducted by the English cabinet; and he is, perhaps, driven to the conclusion that greatness has rather been forced on the state by the energy and virtues of its inhabitants, than conferred upon the people by the wisdom or ability of the government. But in the East, the reverse has from the outset been the case. If the intelligence, vigour, and bravery of the middle and working classes of England, who sent forth their sons to push their fortunes in the plains of Hindostan, have furnished an inexhaustible supply of talent and resolution to conduct their enterprises, the foresight and capacity of the Indian government have almost invariably brought these qualities to bear upon the public service in the most efficient manner. Perhaps there is not to be found in the history of any country, so remarkable a succession of able statesmen and warriors as in India have reared the mighty fabric of British greatness. The cool daring, invincible intrepidity, and military genius of LORD CLIVE, laid the foundation of the structure; the quick sagacity, prompt determination, and high moral courage of WARREN HASTINGS rescued it more than once from ruin: but it was the enlarged views, statesmanlike wisdom, and energetic conduct of MARQUIS WELLESLEY, which completed the superstructure, and left to succeeding governors a force which nothing could resist, a moral ascendancy which nothing could counterbalance. MARQUIS HASTINGS has since, with equal ability, followed out the same enlightened principles; crushed the united confederacy of the Mahrattas and Pindarees, vanquished the hill strength of the Goorkhas, and left to his successors a matchless empire, stretching from the Himalaya snows to Cape Comorin, and from the frontiers of China to the banks of the Indus, united

under one rule, obeying one government, and actuated by one common sense of experienced obligation.

8. Mr Burke has said that if the English were to be expelled from India, they would leave no better traces of their dominion than the hyena or the tiger. Even at the period when this celebrated expression was used, it savoured more of the fire of the orator than the judgment of the statesman; but had that great man survived to these times, he would have gratefully retracted the sarcasm, and admitted that, of all the marvels attending the British sway in the East, the most wonderful is the extraordinary blessings which it has conferred upon the inhabitants. Facts more eloquent than words, statistics more irresistible than arguments, place this important point beyond the possibility of a doubt. While under its native princes, the state of capital in India was so insecure that twelve per cent was the common, and thirty-six per cent no unusual rate of interest: under the British rule, the interest of the public debt has, for the first time in eastern history, been lowered to five per cent; and at that reduced rate, the capitalists of Arabia and Armenia daily transmit their surplus funds for investment in the Company's stock, as the most secure one in the East. Of the public debt of £47,000,000, a large proportion is due to native or Asiatic capitalists; and such is the unbounded confidence in the good faith and probity of the government, that bales stamped with their signet circulate unopened, like coined money, through the vast empire of China. So complete has been the protection, so ample the security enjoyed by the inhabitants of the British provinces, compared with what obtains under their native rajahs, that the people from every part of India flock, as Bishop Heber has observed, to the three Presidencies: and the extension of the Company's empire, in whatever direction, is immediately followed by a vast concourse of population, and increase of industry, by the settlers from the adjoining native dominions.

9. Brilliant as has been the career of

England in the European world during the last half century, there are several circumstances in its internal situation which cannot be contemplated without painful feelings. Among these, the constant and uninterrupted increase of crime through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, unchecked by penal vigilance, undiminished by intellectual cultivation, is one of the most alarming. But under the British empire in the East, a very different and much more satisfactory progress has taken place. Rapid as has been the *growth* of crime in the European dominions of England during the last half century, its *decrease* in her eastern possessions has been still more striking; and the steady powerful rule of a central government has done as much for the inhabitants of Hindostan, as the vices consequent on a corrupted manufacturing population have undone for the people of Great Britain.* From the returns of commitments and crime in many different provinces of India for the last thirty years, it distinctly appears that crime has, during that period, diminished one half, in many places sunk to a sixth, in the East; while it has in the same time more than quadrupled in the British Islands, and in Ireland multiplied ninefold.† Nor is it difficult to perceive to what cause this remarkable difference is owing. Robbery and plunder, the crimes of violence, were those chiefly prevalent in India, growing out of the lawless habits which ages of misrule had diffused through a large portion of the population. These savage and dangerous crimes have been everywhere severely repressed, in some districts totally extirpated, by the strong and steady arm of the English government. The long-established hordes of robbers have been in most places dissolved; the Pindarees, who so long spread ruin and desolation through central India, rooted out: the gangs of Dacoits and Looties, who levied a frightful tax on honest industry, transported or broken up. But if this unwonted feeling of security against hostile spoliation is so generally perceptible even

in the provinces which have enjoyed the benefit of English protection for the longest period, what must it be to those which have been lately rescued from a state of anarchy, misery, and bloodshed, unparalleled in the modern history of the world?

10. "Nothing," says an intelligent observer, in 1829, "can be more gratifying to an Englishman than to travel through the central and western provinces so long the theatre of merciless and oppressive war, and to witness the wonderful change which has everywhere been wrought. Every village in that part of the country was closely surrounded by fortifications, and no man ventured to go to the labours of the plough or the loom without being armed with his sword and shield. Now the forts are useless, and are slowly crumbling into ruin; substantial houses begin for the first time to be built in the *open plain*; cultivation is extended over the distant and undefended fields; the useless encumbrance of defensive armour is laid aside; and the peasant may fearlessly venture to enjoy the wealth and comforts which his industry and labour enable him to acquire. In short, the course of events within the last fifteen years has done more than the whole preceding century to improve the condition of the middle and lower classes through the whole of India; to give them a taste for the comforts and conveniences of life, and to relieve their industry from the paralysis under which a long continuance of internal dissension had caused it to sink. Englishmen, who have so long been blessed with internal tranquillity, and to whom the idea of an invasion presents only a vague and indistinct notion of confusion, bloodshed, and rapine, can hardly conceive the rapturous delight which animates the Hindoo peasant, who has had from time immemorial a wretched experience of these frightful realities, or the gratitude he feels to those who protect him from them, who enable him to reap his harvest in security, defend his home from profanation, and his property from the never-ending extortion of the powerful."

* See Appendix, Note A. † Ibid., Note B.

11. The progress, accordingly, of wealth, comfort, and population, during the last twenty years, especially in central India, has been rapid in a most extraordinary degree; and even that short period of firm pacific administration has gone far to obliterate the deep furrows which the devastating wars and interminable oppression of former times had produced. Old neglected tanks have been cleared out, their banks restored, and themselves been again filled with vivifying floods; roads repaired or struck out anew in the most important lines of communication; harbours excavated, bridges erected, aqueducts constructed, with all the advantages of European skill; irrigation spread over the thirsty plains, and cultivation extended far into the open country, at a distance from any villages, the centres, in former times, of all the operations of human labour.* Villages almost beyond the power of enumeration, have risen up from their ruins in every part of the country; the ryots around them are to be seen cheerfully cutting into the jungle, and chasing the leopard and the tiger from their hereditary haunts;† an entirely new feature in Indian society has arisen—a *middle class*—which is gradually approximating to the yeomanry of the Western World; and the never-failing symptoms of a prosperous population have generally appeared—a great increase in the numbers of the people, co-existent with a marked elevation in their standard of comfort and individual prosperity.‡

12. The effect of this progressive

* The public works undertaken and carried through by the British government in India, especially in the formation of roads, bridges, aqueducts, canals, harbours, tanks, &c., almost exceed belief; and though less pompously set forth in official reports, equal those which have shed such an imperishable lustre over the reign of Napoleon in Europe. An enumeration of them will be found in the *Parl. Papers* in 1838, and an abstract in *MARTIN*, ix. 344, 346. The roads constructed under Lord W. Bentinck's administration alone, in 1831, extended to 1764 miles, and 10,000 persons were employed on them.—*MARTIN*, ix. 349.

† See Appendix, Note C.

‡ *Ibid.*, Note D.

VOL. VII.

elevation in the situation of the middle, and improvement in the circumstances of the lower orders, has already been strongly and beneficially felt in the extended commercial intercourse between India and the British Islands. The growing taste for British manufactures of almost every kind, as well as the increased capability of the working-classes to purchase them, in every part of Hindostan, has been remarked by Bishop Heber; and the same gratifying change has, since his time, been noticed by not less competent observers. The gradual rise of the more opulent of the *merzing* into a middle class, has spread a taste among them for luxuries and conveniences to which their fathers, during the many ages of previous native oppression, were strangers. The calicoes and long cloths of Manchester and Paisley have now obtained, as undisputed possession of the markets of the East, as the hardwares of Sheffield, Birmingham, and Leeds; and the abundance and cheapness of British manufactures have diffused a taste for these articles among classes who formerly never had a wish beyond the mere necessities of life. While the industry of Indian artisans was, in former times, exclusively directed to fabricate only the coarsest articles for the poorer, and the most costly luxuries for the richer classes, the rapid increase of the consumption of a superior sort of fabric, (still much below the Cashmere shawls and brocades of the rich), unknown till within these twenty years in any part of Hindostan, marks the slow but gradual growth, under British protection, of an intermediate class in society, superior to the naked ryot, but inferior to the pampered zemindar: while, by one of those changes which bespeak the revolutions of ages, and measure the difference in the progress of different quarters of the globe, the cotton of India, transported to the British shores, and manufactured by the refinements of European machinery, is sent back to the East, and, by its greater cheapness, has opened to a class, who never before could enjoy them, the com-

ports of the original produce of Hindostan."

13. The extraordinary diminution of crime, especially of a violent kind, in all parts of the Indian peninsula of late years, and the progressive amelioration of the people, is, in a great measure to be ascribed to the extensive and powerful police force, which is very generally established. The discipline and organisation of this civil body is admirable; and such is its extent, that in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar it numbers one hundred and sixty thousand men in its ranks. In most villages there are three or three, in many, ten or twelve of this protective force permanently established. Europeans may feel astonished at the magnitude of this establishment; but experience has completely demonstrated that it is highly useful and indeed indispensable, amidst the habits of lawless violence to which ages of licence and rapine have inured the inhabitants of India. The rapid diminution of crimes of violence in Bengal, under the operation of this preventive system, proves that a remedy has been discovered and applied to the prevailing causes of evil in those regions. Would that human wisdom could devise an equally effectual preservative against the passion for illicit gain, sensual indulgence, and habitual intoxication, which are now, like a gangrene, overspreading the face of society in the British Islands!

14. Taxation in India is for the most part direct; that is, it consists of the rents of lands belonging in property to the government, and which, from time immemorial, have been devoted to the maintenance of the supreme authority. Of the nineteen millions which at present constitute the general revenue of India, nearly eleven millions are drawn in this manner from the produce of the government lands. The principle on which this immense revenue is derived from the soil, has no analogy to the European land-tax, which is a burden super-added upon the owner of the rent; it is, on the contrary, the rent itself.

See Appendix, Note A.

The modes in which this tax is levied over India are three: either a perpetual settlement with, or fixed rent constantly payable by, the proprietors of land; or a temporary settlement with the heads of villages or townships; or a definite settlement with each individual occupant of the ground. These different modes of taxation are all founded on one principle, which is universally admitted and acknowledged in every part of Hindostan; viz., that government, as the paramount owner of the soil, has right to a certain portion of the gross produce of every foot of cultivated land, which may be commuted generally or partially, by permanent or partial settlements, with classes of men or separate individuals, but never can be wholly alienated by any ruler to the prejudice of his successors. Government, therefore, in India, is at once the ruling power and the universal landlord in the state; and hence the general and omnipotent influence which its severity or justice has upon the prosperity and wellbeing of the people, and the immediate effect of the British sway—by whose agents the collection of rent has been fixed, upon comparatively equitable principles—upon the welfare of the humbler classes.

15. When the East India Company came into possession of the Bengal provinces, they found the land revenue everywhere collected by the intervention of officers under the Mahomedan government, who had charge of districts or provinces under the title of *semdars*. These officers were paid by a per-centage on the sums which they collected: the utmost irregularity and abuse generally existed; military force was constantly resorted to, to enforce the collection; and some of them held their offices for life only, others transmitting them by hereditary succession, to their descendants. Misled by the analogy of European institutions, or anxious to remove the foundation for their establishments in the East, Marquis Cornwallis, in 1783, conceived and carried into effect the idea of transforming the *semdars* into landed proprietors, by conferring

upon them and their descendants an indefeasible right to the territories over which their powers extended, so long as they continued to pay regularly the fixed land-tax to government. The propriety of this change was very much doubted at the time, and gave rise to a long and interesting controversy; but it was nevertheless carried into execution, and now forms the basis on which the taxation of two hundred thousand square miles of the Bengal territory, a district more than twice the size of Great Britain, is founded. Though framed on the principles of benevolence and moderation, it has, however, like almost all similar institutions borrowed from the analogy of other nations, and a different state of society, proved altogether ineffective for the principal object in view. The zemindars could not, by the mere regulation of the Company, be converted from Asiatic to European habits: instead of acquiring the interests and views of hereditary landholders, they continued to act with the characteristic improvidence of Eastern rulers. To squeeze the last farthing, by any means, how unjust soever, from the ryots, and squander it in extravagance or luxury upon themselves or their families, was the general practice: numbers were ruined and dispossessed by the Company, who exacted the quit-rent with unrelenting and injudicious rigour; and thus no step was made towards the formation of a landed aristocracy, while no alleviation was experienced in the burdens of the poor.

16. The evil, in effect, became so great, that it has in some degree worked out, like all other excessive ills, its own cure. The zemindar system has come in the end to benefit a class of landed proprietors, though not the one which Lord Cornwallis originally intended. From the general rule which overtook these powerful officers, and the terms everywhere inspired by the rigorous executions of the Company, the price of estates fell so low, that at last it became a perfect matter of speculation to buy land, and lock to its returns for the interest of the price. A

different and more provident class has thus, to a considerable extent, been introduced into the management of estates; and, as the land-rent which they are required to pay continues fixed, they have the strongest possible inducement to increase by good management the surplus which may accrue to themselves and their families. But, unfortunately, they have not learned in the East^a to look so far into the future as to see that this is to be most effectually done by equitable and just dealings towards the cultivators. The burdens imposed on the ryots are still generally exorbitant, often ruinous; and the benefits of the British government are felt by that numerous and important class rather by the cessation of war and depredation, than in any practical diminution of the duties legally exigible from them by their landlords.

17. Impressed with these evils, a different system was adopted by Sir Thomas Munro, late governor of Madras, in his administration of some of the newly-acquired provinces of that presidency. The principle acted on by that able ruler, of whom Mr Canting justly said, that "Asia did not possess a braver warrior, nor Europe a more enlightened statesman," was to consider the ryot, according to the true oriental principle, as the real proprietor; to dispense altogether with the zemindar or intermediate collector; and to levy the government duties, fixed for ever in amount, directly from the cultivator or landholder, whatever was the size of his possession.* It is evident that this system if calculated to be much more beneficial than the zemindar one to the cultivators of the soil; because they are thereby brought directly into contact with government.

* See, in particular, a most interesting account of a settlement on these principles in Malacca's India, 522, 523. It is also much more beneficial to government, as is proved by the fact that, in 1827, the land-tax per head was, —

	Per acre.	Per family of 10 persons.
In Bengal.	22 pence.	244
In Madras.	22	17
In Bombay.	22	18

— *Parl. Papers*, quoted in *Malacca*, ix. 123.

and participate at once, without the intervention of any middle-man, in the benefit of a fixed quit-rent only being exacted from the land. It has, accordingly, found many and able supporters, and in some districts has been found in practice to be attended with the most admirable effects. But when so powerful a party as government is brought into immediate contact with the cultivator, in a matter of such vital importance as the rent of land, it is indispensable to the success of the system that its demands should be moderate, and enforced with justice and consideration; and, unfortunately, this can hardly be generally expected in an empire of such immense extent as that of Hindostan, in which the supreme authority is situated at such a distance from the theatre of its fiscal operations, and the judge is often the principal collector of the revenue within the district over which he presides. The land-tax is usually taken at twelve shillings in the pound of the net product of the soil—an enormous exaction, rendered still more burdensome by the rigour with which it is collected. The project of bringing the cultivator at once into contact with government, so equitable in theory, has often proved most fallacious in practice; for such is the subdivision of farms in most parts of India, that the immediate collection of the land-revenue by the govern-

found to be
is obliged to

GEORGE HILL, LONDON, I.R.A. a great landed proprietor in Ireland, to a host of subordinate agents, over whose operations or expenditure he is little able to keep any effective control; the treasury officers, in turn, come to exert a subordinate function in proportion to the regularity and amount of his remittances, rather than any other quality; the expenses of collection rise enormously with the multiplication of inferior agencies; and the cost has often little regard to convenience, either in the exchange of a British collector for a native collector.

13. A third system of landrents is the *Village system*. This prevails chiefly in the upper districts of India.

and is the prevalent institution over the greater part of the East. To it probably, more than any other cause, the preservation of its population and industry, amidst the endless devastations of wars, is to be ascribed. Each village forms a little community or republic in itself, possessing a certain district of surrounding territory, and paying a certain fixed rent for the whole to government. As long as this is regularly paid, the public authorities have no title to interfere in the internal concerns of the community: they elect their own *moouddins*, or head men, who levy the proportions of the quit-rent from each individual, settle disputes, and allocate to each profession or individual the share of the general produce of the public territory which is to belong to it or him. As the community is justly desirous of avoiding any pretext for the interference of the state collectors in its internal concerns, they make good the quota of every defaulter from the funds of his neighbours, so as to exhibit no defaulting in the general return to government. The only point in which the interference of the national authorities is required, is in fixing the limits of the village territories in a question with each other, which is done with great care by surveyors, in presence of the competing parties and their witnesses, and a great concourse of the neighbouring inhabitants. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves, drive their cattle within their walls, and often contrive, by the payment of a certain contribution, to avoid the evils of actual pillage, even by the most considerable cities. These villages are indeed, frequently burned or destroyed by hostile forces, the little community dispersed, and its lands thrown back to a state of culture. But when better times return and the means of peaceable occupation are again recovered, the remnant reassemble with their children in their paternal inheritance. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation returns; the men take the place of their fathers; the same trades and occupations are

filled by the descendants of those who formerly filled them; the same division of lands takes place; the very houses are rebuilt on the site of those which had been destroyed; and, emerging from the storm, the community revives, "another and the same."

19. It is in these village municipalities that the real secret of the durability of society in the East is to be found. If we contemplate the desolating invasions to which, from the earliest times, the Asiatic monarchies have been exposed from their proximity to the regions of central Asia; if we reflect on the widespread devastation consequent on the twelve dreadful irruptions of the Tartars into Hindostan, and recollect that society, in the intervals of these terrific scourges, has invariably been subjected to the varied but never-ending oppression of different rulers, who seemed to have no other idea of government but to extract as large contributions as possible from the people—it seems surprising how the human race did not become extinct under such a succession of calamities. But amidst those multiplied evils, the village system has provided an unheeded, but enduring and effectual refuge for mankind. Invasion may succeed invasion; horde after horde may sweep over the country—dynasty may overturn dynasty, revolution be followed by revolution, but the widespread foundations of rural society are unchanged. The social families bend, but break not; beneath the storm, industry revives in its ancient state, and in its pristine form, under whatever government ultimately prevails; and the dominant power, intent only on fresh objects of plunder or aggrandisement, rolls past these undisturbed fountains of industry and population. The Hindoos, the Patans, the Marahs, the Mahometans, the Sikhs, and the English, have all been masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same. Abuse and oppression, without doubt, may prevail in this as in all other human institutions; but its extensive establishment and long duration in the East, prove that it has been found superior by experience of

affording tolerable security to the labouring classes; and perhaps by no other means, in the absence of those effective bulwarks of freedom which the intelligence, hereditary succession, and free spirit of Europe create, is the inestimable blessing of protection to humble industry to be so generally and effectually obtained. The whole upper and western provinces of Bengal, the greater part of the Bombay territories, the ceded districts on the Nerbuddah, and the province of Tanjore, comprising about 260,000 square miles, are assessed according to this system.

20. The concentration in the hands of government of so large a proportion of the surplus produce of the earth, as is effected by the great land-tax of India, is undoubtedly prejudicial to society, in so far as it prevents the growth of that important class, so well known in European civilisation—a body of hereditary independent landed proprietors. But it is attended by this important advantage, that it renders the other imposts of the state extremely trifling. Of the total revenue of £19,500,000, more than a half is derived from the land revenue; and of the indirect taxes, nearly two-thirds are laid on the single articles of salt and opium.* When we reflect on the numerous taxes which are levied on almost every article of consumption in Great Britain, this must appear no small recommendation of the eastern system, in which so large a portion of the public revenue is derived from what is in reality the rent of land. It is obviously the same advantage to a nation to have a considerable portion of its revenue derived from crown-lands, as it is to have its ecclesiastical or charitable institutions supported by separate property of their own. In either case, the cost of these expensive establishments, essential to the protection, religious instruction, or relief of the people, is laid upon their own funds, instead of being imposed as a burden upon the savings of the other classes of the community. It is, perhaps, the most remarkable instance of

* See Appendix, Note F.

political blindness on record, that the republican party, both in France and England, should so long have endeavoured, and in the former country successfully, to destroy the property both of the church and the corporations holding funds devoted to the purposes of charity and education; that is, to terminate the payment of these necessary establishments by their own funds, and throw their maintenance as a tax on the wages of labour. And, without going the length of the opinion, that the oriental system is preferable to that of the landed proprietors of modern Europe, with the stability which they confer upon society, it may safely be asserted, that the receipt of a considerable portion of the public revenue from landed property, vested in government or public bodies, is an invaluable feature in political institutions, and the very last which a real patriot would seek to subvert.

21. Religious difference, and the exclusive possession of power by persons of one ecclesiastical establishment, political party, or dominant race, have been found to be the great obstacles to the pacification of the kingdoms of modern Europe; and in the centre of her power, England has found it impossible to conciliate the affections or overcome the antipathy of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. But, in her eastern empire, political exclusion far more rigid, religious distinctions far more irremediable, have, under the able and judicious management of the Company, proved no obstacle to the consolidation of a vast and pacifiable dominion. In India, notwithstanding the long period that some districts have been in British possession, and the universal peace which has so long reigned, save on the frontier, from Cass Comorin to the Himalaya mountains, the natives are still

in the effect of trust, both in the civil and military departments. In religion, the principles of separation is still more rigid. Hindostan has, in different ages, been overrun, not merely by conquerors of different races, speaking only in their ferocity to the vanquished, but by hosts of totally dis-

tinct and irreconcilable religious creeds. The mild and pacific followers of Bramah have in different ages been obliged to bow the neck to the fierce idolaters of Cabal, the rigid followers of Shiva, the savage pagans of Tattary, the impetuous fire-worshippers of Persia, the triumphant followers of Mahomet, the disciplined battalions of Christ. These different and hostile religions have imprinted their traces deeply and indelibly on the Hindoo population; and of the hundred and forty millions who now inhabit the vast peninsula to the south of the Himalaya mountains, a considerable proportion still follow the faith of the dominant races from which they severally sprang.

22. Fifteen millions of Mussulmans, haughty in manners, indolent in character, voluptuous in disposition, even now recall the era when the followers of Mahomet issued from their burning deserts, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, to win, through the blood of conquest, a path to the hours of paradise. Sixty millions of pacific Hindoos on the banks of the Ganges still continue the worship of Bramah and Vishnu, which has endured unchanged for four thousand years. Fifteen millions of hardy freebooters, in the upper provinces, follow a mixed creed, in which the tenets of Islamism and the doctrines of the Hindoo faith are strangely compounded together. Heathens and cannibals are found in great numbers in the hilly regions of the north-eastern frontier; a numerous fragment of Parsees or fire-worshippers, scattered through various parts of India, still preserve, untainted by foreign usage, the pure tenets, charitable practices, and elevating worship of Zoroaster. Jews are to be seen in many places, where Old Testament coming down no further than the Babylonian captivity testifies that they had strayed to the East after that memorable event; while a small number of Christians have preserved inviolate, through almost hundred years, the fundamental principles of the Gospel, and none are to be found, in some remote quarters of the four tribes of Mohammedan of Persia.

23. At first sight it would be natural to conclude, that this extraordinary combination of different religions in one community would produce an insurmountable difficulty in conducting the government, and that the strength of a united empire could never be obtained with such various and discordant materials. The reverse, however, is so much the case, that it is owing to this, more perhaps than any other cause, that the subjection of so great a body of natives to the government of a handful of Europeans is to be ascribed. The Indian population is divided into so great a number of different faiths, that no one is predominant, or can claim an undisputed pre-eminence over the others; and political power has so long been disavowed from religious belief, that it no longer constitutes a bond of union by which any formidable coalition can be held together. Not only are there to be found Hindoos of every province, tribe, and dialect, in the ranks of the British native army, but the worshippers of Siva, the adorsers of Vishnu, a multitude of Mahomedans, both of the Soones and Shiah sects, Protestant and Catholic half-castes, and even Jews and Ghebirs. By this intermixture, unparalleled in history, the chances of any considerable combination, either for the purposes of military revolt or political hostility, have been considerably reduced. Although all classes live together on terms of mutual forbearance, this amazing diversity of religious sentiment in no way interferes with military subordination. No sooner are their professional duties at an end, than the distinctions of religion and caste return with undiminished influence. When the regimental parade is dismissed, the soldiers break into separate knots, the gradation of caste is restored, the distinctions of faith return. The *Sahib* sergeant makes his *salam* to the Brahmin or the Rajpoot private; the Mussulman avoids the Christian, the Shiah the Soones, the Hindoo all; and an almost impassable barrier of mutual distrust and jealousy obstructs all amalgamation of opinion, or unity of action, even upon these

national objects which separately interest the whole body. Thus the heterogeneous and discordant mass is kept in a state of complete subordination by the only power among them which possesses the inestimable advantage of unity of action; and the British government, strong in its established probity, and the good faith with which it observes its engagements both towards its subjects and its enemies, is enabled to maintain an undisputed dominion over its innumerable and diversified subjects.

24. It is a common opinion in Great Britain—where the real nature of our Eastern dominions is unknown to an extent which, *a priori*, would appear incredible—that the whole of India is inhabited by a race of meek and inoffensive Hindoos, who willingly bow the neck to every invader who chooses to oppress them, and are incapable, alike from their character, climate, and ignorance, of opposing any effectual resistance to a European invader. The slightest acquaintance, not merely with Indian but with Asiatic history, must be sufficient to demonstrate the unfounded nature of this opinion. In no part of the world, perhaps, has foreign conquest implanted its traces in more indelible features on the original population; in none is variety of present character and qualities so conspicuous. So far from the inhabitants of India being all of one description, alike timid and inoffensive, there is within its limits to be found a greater intermixture of races than in any part of the world, and as large a proportion of hardy valour and desperate daring as in any people recorded in history. Bishop Heber justly observes, that there is as great a disparity between the inhabitants of Guzerat, Bengal, the Deccan, and the Deccan, as between any four nations of Europe; and that the inhabitants of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and of the *Agwan*, are as different from each other as the French and Portuguese from the Greeks, Germans, or Poles. Independent of the varieties of the people, Indian races, which are innumerable, there are to be found in the peninsula of Hindostan

at least thirty distinct nations, speaking different languages, and almost entirely unknown to each other. The Mahrattas are as much strangers to the people of Bengal as to the Europeans; the inhabitants of the Carnatic are foreign to both; the Sikhs have scarcely any resemblance to the Mahrattas; and even the fifteen millions of Mahomedans have no common bond but their religion, and exhibit the descendants of adventurers from all the nations of Asia, who crowded to the standards of the Prophet.

25. If we penetrate into more distant possessions, the varieties of human character are still more remarkable. The inhabitants of the swamps of Aracan, or the meadows of the Irrawaddy, are as distinct from the highlanders of Nepal as the rice-growers of the Ganges are from the horsemen of Mysore, or the Pindares of Malwa. It was in the plains of Bengal alone that the British force met with the genuine Hindoo race, and there victory was of comparatively easy acquisition. But as foreign aggression, or the necessities of their situation, forced them into more distant warfare, they were brought into collision with nations as fierce, and forces as formidable, as any that are arrayed under the banners of Western Europe. The desperate defence of Saragossa, the obstinate valour of Aspern, the enthusiastic gallantry of the Tyrol, have all their parallels in the annals of Indian warfare; and the heroisms with which Napoleon and his redoubtable followers resisted and overcame these varied forms of hostility, was not greater than that with which the British soldiers, and their worthy native allies, have combated on the plains of Mysore, the hills of Nepal, the plains of Hindostan, the mountains of Afghanistan, or the intricacies of the Punjab. The harassing hostility and terrible sweep of the Cossacks were fully equalled by the squadrons of Hyder and the Pindaree hordes; the free-born valour of the Tyrolese was rivalled by the heroic resistance of the Goorkhas; the storm of Badajos, the devotion of Saragossa, have their parallels in the defence of

Bhurtpore and the conquest of Seringapatam; the decision and skill which converted the perils of Assaye into a decisive victory, were not outdone by the most illustrious deeds of the immortal Napoleon. And the conqueror of the French legions at Albuera had yet a ruder conflict to sustain on the banks of the Sutlej, with the desperate valour of the Sikhs.

26. Climate and physical circumstances, in addition to original difference of race, have exercised their wonted influence on the character of the Indian population. In the flat hot regions of Bengal, on the shores of the Ganges, and amidst the meanderings of its tributary streams, is to be found a timid, gentle, pacific race: educated, but prone to superstition; servile to their superiors, but tyrannical to their inferiors; obsequious, yet treacherous; skilled in the arts of Eastern adulation, but mild and inoffensive in their intercourse with each other. In the elevated regions of the peninsula, on the other hand,—on the high tableland of Mysore, in the wild hills of Almorah, on the lofty mountains of Nepal, the inhabitants are brave, daring, and impetuous; glowing with ardour, chivalrous to women, courteous to strangers, glorying in deeds of heroism, faithful in friendship, vehement in hatred. With these elevated qualities are mingled, however, others which belong to the same national character: a fierce and revengeful temper, a disposition uncultivated and impatient of discipline; habits prone to violence, and nursed in crime by ages of uncontrolled licentiousness. It is in these nations—among the proud Rajpoots, the roving Mahrattas, the daring Affghans, the heroic Sikhs—that the restraints of regular government are with most difficulty introduced, and its blessings most sensibly felt by the inhabitants; but it is amongst them also that the military spirit is most prevalent, and the British government has found at once its most faithful and intrepid allies, its defenders, and most desperate and formidable foreign enemies.

27. Among all the privileges attend-

ing the British dominion in India, none, perhaps, is so extraordinary as the rise, progress, and fidelity of the **SEPOY FORCES**. It was in Bombay that these invaluable auxiliaries were originally organised, and the first mention of them in history is when a corps of one hundred natives from Bombay, and four hundred from Tellicherry, assisted the army at Madras in 1747. From these humble beginnings has arisen the present magnificent native army of India, which at one period embraced nearly three hundred thousand men, and even now, on a reduced peace establishment, numbers a hundred and seventy thousand. Their ranks have from the first been filled indiscriminately with recruits of all nations and religious persuasions; and Mahomedans, Hindoos, Parsees, Jews, and Christians, are to be found blended among them, without the distinction of race having ever interfered with the unity of action, or the difference of religion ever shaken fidelity to duty. The whole have throughout been raised entirely by voluntary enrolment, without a conscription or forced levy having ever been found necessary; and great as the present army is, it could be quadrupled in a few months, if the circumstances of the Indian government required such an augmentation of force. The facility with which vast armies can be raised in the East, when compared to the violent measures by which it has been found necessary in Europe to accomplish the same object, appears at first sight surprising. But it ceases to be so, when the effects of the distinction of castes, and the relative situation of the sepoy soldiers and the other classes of the community, are taken into consideration.

29. The military form a distinct caste in all the Hindoo communities; and from father to son deeds of arms are handed down, as the only object of honourable ambition,—the true incitement to glorious exploit. The Rajpoot of Bengal is born a soldier. The mother recounts acts of heroism to her infant; from earliest youth he is habituated to the use and exercise of arms. Even when still a child, the

future warrior is accustomed to handle the spear and dagger, and to look without fear on the implements of death. If his father tills the ground, the sword and shield are placed near the furrow, and moved as his labour advances. The frame of youth is constantly strengthened by martial exercises; he is habitually temperate in his diet; of a generous though warm disposition; and, if well treated, zealous, faithful, and obedient. It was from this military caste that the chief Indian armies were first recruited, and they still form the strength of the native infantry. In process of time, however, as our empire has extended into more distant regions, the military qualities of its varied inhabitants have been called into action; and the desultory activity of the Mahratta horse, not less than the firm intrepidity of the Mysore Cavalry, and the chivalrous valour of the Affghann gunners, have contributed to the formation of our mighty dominions.

29. Unlike the soldiers of Europe, the sepoy is an object of envy to his less fortunate compatriots. His profession gives him the precedence, not less in general estimation than in that of his caste, over persons engaged in civil occupations; and his pay is so considerable as to raise him, both in station and enjoyments, far above his brethren whom he has left behind in his native village. Each private sepoy is attended by two servants: in the field there are, at an average, nine followers to every two fighting men—a system which gives to a hundred thousand men, in a campaign, nearly five hundred thousand attendants, and goes far to explain both the prodigious hosts recorded in history, as commanded by Xerxes and Darius, and the facility with which they were routed by a comparatively small body of Greeks, all real soldiers. Such a mode of carrying on war augments enormously the difficulty of providing subsistence for so prodigious a multitude as attends every considerable army,* and obstructs

* When General Harris advanced against Seringapatam in 1799, his army was composed of 35,000 fighting men and 120,000 attendants; and when Marquis Hastings took

to a most distressing degree the difficulty of rapid movements in the field. The Romans understood war well, when they named baggage "*impedimenta*." But it renders it comparatively an easy matter to raise a military force. When the pay given to a private soldier is so considerable as to admit of his keeping two servants in the camp, and a still greater number in the field, no want of recruits will ever be experienced. The real difficulty is to find resources adequate to the support of a large army at that elevated standard. When Cromwell gave half a crown a-day to every dragoon, he readily got recruits for the Parliamentary armies.

36. The Indian infantry can hardly be said to be equal, even when led by British officers, to that of England; and, when left to the direction of their own leaders, they evince* the general inferiority of the Asiatic race to the European. In ordinary engagements, too, they are not to be relied on, if they are not either led or supported by native English battalions, and have an adequate proportion of English officers. But it is only in trying situations that this difference is conspicuous, and, for the ordinary duties of a campaign, no troops in the world are superior to the sepoys. In many of the most essential duties of a soldier—sobriety during duty, patience under privation, docility in learning, hardihood in undergoing fatigue, steady enduring valour, and fidelity to their colours under every temptation to swerve from them—the Indian auxiliaries might serve as a model to every service in Europe. Nay, examples are numerous, in which, emulous of the fame of their British comrades, they have performed deeds of daring worthy of being placed beside the most exalted of European glory; and instances are not wanting where they have unhesitatingly faced dangers before which even English troops had

the field, in 1817, against the Marathas, his whole regular force, amounting to 118,000 men, were swelled by above 300,000 camp-followers; among whom, chiefly of the lower grades in society, and persons habituated to the humblest arts, the soldiers made the most fearful ravages.—MARTIN, *BRIT.* II. 325.

recouled.* The native cavalry is of more recent introduction than the infantry, but it is not less admirable in many of the most valuable qualities. The men are fearless riders, indefatigable in the service of light troops, sober and vigilant; they take exemplary care of their horses, many of which are of the best Persian and Arabian breeds, and in the sword-exercise or single combat are superior to almost any of the cavaliers of Europe. Nor is the artillery inferior to any in the world, either in the perfection of the material, the condition of the horses, or the coolness, precision, and bravery of the gunners. The immense host is entirely under the direction of British officers, nearly five thousand of whom are employed in this important service;

* At the first siege of Bhurtpore, in 1805, the 29th regiment of native Bengal infantry was associated with the 75th and 76th British infantry, whose deeds of valour they had emulated in the battle of Laswaree. The British were first led to the assault, and gallantly mounted the breach; but they were driven back with dreadful slaughter; and such was the panic inspired by the disaster, that, when they were ordered a second time to advance, the soldiers refused to follow their officers or leave the trenches. The second battalion of the 13th native regiment was then ordered to advance; they did so with resolute steps, though well aware of the desperate nature of the service on which they were sent, and cheered as they passed the English troops, who lay sheltered in the trenches. Such was the heroic valour of their onset, that they overcame all opposition, and planted their colours in sight of the whole army, on the summit of the breach. This work, unfortunately, was cut off by a deep ditch from the body of the fortress, and, finding it impossible to pass that barrier, Lord Lake was reluctantly obliged to order a retreat. It was with great difficulty, however, that the brave sepoys could be prevailed on to retire from the perilous post of honour which they had won, and not till they had sustained a loss of three hundred and sixty men, being half their total number when they went into action. The British regiment, stung with shame, now implored to be allowed to return by the assault, which was granted; but, notwithstanding their desperate valour, it was still unsuccessful. —MARTIN, *ibid.* 30, 31; *ix.* 69, 70. The author has frequently heard this anecdote from his late lamented brother-in-law, Colonel Gerard, adjutant-general of the Bengal army, who was present on the occasion, and whose talents, zeal, and bravery, the wonders of Lord Lake's campaign are, in a considerable degree, to be

but the non-commissioned officers and subalterns always were natives, and the avenue to more elevated promotion is now open to the most deserving of their number.* In the shock of a regular charge alone, the native horse is still inferior to the British—a peculiarity which has distinguished the cavalry of the eastern and western worlds in every age, from the days of Cyrus to those of the Crusades.

31. Volumes might be filled with the anecdotes which have occurred within the last eighty years illustrative of the steady courage and incorruptible fidelity of the sepoy troops. They first rose to eminence in the wars of Lord Clive, Lawrence, Smith, and Coote, in the middle of the last century; and the number of Europeans who were then engaged in Indian warfare was so inconsiderable, that almost the whole glory of their marvellous victories is, in reality due to the sepoys. The hardships which were undergone, "at this period, by all the soldiers, both native and European, from the defective state, or rather total want of a commissariat, were excessive; but although the British power was then only in its infancy, and little promised future stability to its empire, nothing could shake the fidelity of the Indian troops. On one occasion, when the provisions of Clive's garrison of Arcot were very low, and a surrender, in consequence, appeared unavoidable, the Hindoo soldiers entreated their commander to allow them to boil their rice, the only food left for the whole garrison. "Your English soldiers," said they, "can eat from our hands, though we cannot from theirs: we will allow them as their share every grain of the rice, and subsist ourselves by drinking the water in which it has been boiled." In the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, the

* The British officers in the Indian army amounted to 4137; the Indian to 8416; but the latter cannot rise to a higher rank than that of ensign or cornet. The total British troops in India amount at present to 80,915 sepoyes and bayonets, of whom 11,540 are composed of the Queen's regiments, the remainder being English in the service of the East India Company; but the expenses of the whole is defrayed by the Indian government. —MARTIN, II. 73, 79-81.

whole army suffered hardships almost unparalleled; there was hardly a corps whose pay was not twenty months in arrear, and their families, under the pressure of a dreadful famine, were expiring on all sides: nevertheless their fidelity never gave way under this extreme trial, and they repaid with gratitude and attachment, the consideration, to them unwonted, with which they were treated by their European officers. The campaigns of Sir Eyre Coote and Lord Clive, in which they bore so prominent a part, still form an object of well-founded pride to the sepoys of Madras; and when a regiment comes into garrison, they lead their children into the great room of the Exchange of that capital, to point out the portraits of the chiefs who first led their fathers to victory.

32. Towards the close of the war with Tipoo, in 1782, General Mathews, with his whole troops, almost entirely native, were made prisoners. The Sultan, sensible of the advantages he might derive from the services of so large a body of disciplined men in his ranks, made every effort to induce the English sepoys to enter his army, but in vain. He then tried severity, and subjected them for long to the most rigorous confinement and unhealthy employments; but nothing could shake their fidelity; and at the peace of 1783, fifteen hundred of these brave men marched a distance of five hundred miles to Madras, to embark and rejoin the army to which they belonged, at Bombay. During the march, the utmost pains were taken by Tipoo's guards to keep the Hindoo privates separate from their European officers, in the hope that their fidelity might yet sink under the hardships to which they were exposed; but in vain. Not only did they all remain true to their colours, but they swam the tanks and rivers by which they were separated from the officers during the night, bringing them all they could save from their little pittance; "for we," they said, "can live on anything, but you require beef and mutton." A battalion of the Bombay 12th regiment mutinied in 1784, on account of some

promises made to the soldiers having, as they said, been broken. A severe example was thought necessary, and twenty-eight of the most guilty were sentenced to be blown from the mouth of a cannon.* As they were on the point of being executed, three grenadiers who happened to be among them, stepped forward and claimed the honour of being blown away from the right guns: "they had always fought on the right," they said, "and they hoped they should be allowed to die at that post of honour."

33. Luring the advance of Lord Lake's army to Delhi and Agra in 1804, the hardships and privations which the troops of all sorts endured were such as almost to break down the spirit of the British officers; but the Hindoo privates never showed the least symptoms of faintness or despondence, saying, "Keep up your spirits, sir; we will bring you in safety to Agra." When in square, and sustaining charges of the enemy's horse, it more than once happened, when a musket was fired by a young soldier, that a veteran struck him with the butt-end of his firelock, exclaiming, "Are you mad, to destroy our discipline, and make us like the rabble that are attacking us?" Nor was the same steady courage and devoted fidelity wanting, on still more trying occasions, when the national or religious prejudices of the native soldier were brought still more violently in collision with their military duties. At the mutiny of Vellore, which shook the Indian empire to its foundation, and was brought on by an absurd interference with the religious feelings of the troops, the sabres of the native dragoons were dyed as deep as those of the British in the blood of their

unhappy countrymen; and on occasion of a recent tumult at Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkund, occasioned by the introduction of a necessary but unpopular police-tax—a revolt which commanded the sympathy of the whole neighbouring population—a battalion of the 27th native infantry, with four hundred Rohilla horse recently embodied, were all that could be brought against the insurgents, who were above twelve thousand strong. The mutineers continued to resist till two thousand were slain; and, although many of the assailants were their relations and neighbours, and the priests of the insurgents advanced and invoked them to join their natural friends, only one man was found wanting to his duty, and he was immediately put to death by his comrades, who throughout maintained the most unshaken fidelity and courage.

34. The secret of this extraordinary fidelity of the native troops, under every temptation, to a foreign power professing a different religion, and known only by its successive overthrow of all the native potentates, is to be found in the wise and magnanimous policy with which the East India Company, through every vicissitude of fortune, have made good their engagements, and in the inviolable fidelity with which they have rewarded the services of the troops engaged in their ranks. From the earliest times the Indian princes have known no other way of paying their troops than by quartering them on some of the hereditary or conquered provinces of their dominions; where, though military licence was allowed every latitude in the exaction of their pay or provisions, the soldiers experienced great difficulty, and were subject to a most vexatious uncertainty, in the recovery of their dues. When, therefore, instead of this harassing and oppressive system, the Indian sepoys found that they received their daily pay as regularly as English soldiers; that their wants were all provided for by a vigilant and honest government; that no subaltern fraud or chicanery was permitted to intercept the just rewards of their

* "I am sure," says Captain Williams, who was an eyewitness of this remarkable scene, "there was not a dry eye among the marines who executed the sentence, though they had long been accustomed to hard service, and two of them had actually been in the execution-party which shot Admiral Byng in 1757. The corps to which they belonged subsequently distinguished itself greatly both at Laswaree and the first siege of Bhurtpore."—WILLIAMS'S *Indian Army*, 347; and *ante*, Chap. XLVII. § 30, note.

valour; and that, after a certain number of years' service, they were permitted to retire on ample allowances, or a grant of land, which formed a little patrimony to themselves and their descendants*—they were struck with astonishment, and conceived the most unbounded confidence in a power which had thus for the first time set them the example of an upright and beneficent administration. Power in India is, even more than elsewhere in the world, founded on opinion; and the belief which gradually spread universally that the East India Company would, with perfect regularity and good faith, discharge all its engagements, formed a magnet of attraction which in the end drew almost all the strength and military virtue of the peninsula to its standards. When minutely examined, it will be found that it was neither the military discipline, nor the scientific acquisitions, nor the political talents of the British which has given them the empire of India, for all these were matched in the ranks of their enemies, recruited and directed as they were by French officers; but, far more than all these, their HONESTY AND GOOD FAITH, which filled them with confidence in each other, and inspired the same reliance in the native powers;—qualities which,

* "I have beheld," says Sir John Malcolm, "with more patriotic pride than has ever been excited in my mind by any other act of British policy in India, a tract of country more than a hundred miles in length upon the banks of the Ganges—which had a few years before been a complete jungle, abandoned for ages to tigers and robbers—covered with cultivated fields and villages, the latter of which were filled with old soldiers and their families, in a manner which showed their deep gratitude and attachment for the comfort and happiness they enjoyed. When we consider the immeasurable quantity of waste land in the dominions of the Company, it appears extraordinary that this plan has not been adopted, in every part of British India, upon a more liberal and enlarged scale. The native soldiers of Bengal are almost all cultivators, and a reward of this nature was peculiarly calculated to attach them. The accomplishment of this object would add in an incalculable degree to the ties which we have upon the fidelity of those by whom our dominion in India is likely to be preserved or lost."—MALCOLM'S *British India*, 1st Edit. 526, 528.

though often overreached in the outset by cunning and perfidy, generally prove more than a match for them in the end, and are destined ultimately to give to the Anglo-Saxon race the dominion of half the globe.

35. The order and regularity which prevail both in the maintenance of the Indian army, and the administration of its provinces, have produced the greater impression on the natives of the East, from the contrast which they afford to the hideous scenes of devastation and massacre, with which, from the earliest times, conquest had been invariably attended in the plains of Hindostan. Throughout the whole period of the Mahomedan ascendancy in the south of India, the same enormities—the never-failing accompaniments of their presence and power—have occurred as in the northern provinces. The annals of this period gave a succession of examples of the same unprovoked and devastating warfare; the same struggles for power among the nobles; the same unbridled lust of conquest in the government; the same perfidy, treason, and assassination in the transactions of courts; the same massacres, oppression, and suffering inflicted on the people. Examples have occurred of sixty, eighty, or a hundred thousand persons of all ages and sexes being put to death in a single day; great cities, and even capitals, were at once destroyed and delivered over tenantless to the alligator and the tiger; the treasures of the native princes were invariably filled with the plunder of their defenceless subjects. The system of Mahomedan exaction, at first under the name of contribution, latterly under that of revenue, being everywhere the same, with the power of rapacious armies to enforce it, the fate of the unhappy people was stamped with permanent wretchedness. Dreadful as were the devastations of war and conquest, they were as nothing compared to the lasting evils of military exaction and cupidity. There was no security whatever either for persons or property: the latter was always considered as the fair object of seizure wherever it

was known to exist; and the mass of the people were subject to a state of poverty from which there was no escape—of violence and oppression, against which there was no redress.

36. Wars between the native or Mahomedan princes were perpetual, and their devastation extended not merely to the troops or armed men engaged, but to the whole population. Weeping mothers, smiling infants at the breast, were alike doomed to destruction; the march of troops might be tracked by hillocks of bodies and pyramids of human heads, burning villages, and desolated capitals. Under the Mahratta chiefs, who rose upon the decline of the Tartar dynasty, the same boundless rapacity continued, aggravated by the establishment of above twenty petty chiefs, each of whom exercised the right of making war on his own account. *The work of devastation was perpetual: massacres, conquests, conflagrations, make up the history of India for the last eight hundred years. So universal had this oppression been, and so deeply rooted had its effects become in the habits of the people, that the display of wealth was universally avoided as the certain forerunner of additional exaction. Property was invariably either buried or invested in diamonds, which admitted of easy concealment: of the vast and fertile plains of India not more than a fourth part was cultivated.* The population was hardly a fifth of what, under a more beneficent government, it might become; while the long-continued drain of the precious metals to the East, so well known to politicians of every age, indicated as

clearly the precarious tenure of property which rendered concealment indispensable, as the recent and unparalleled occurrence of the *importation* of gold and silver from India demonstrates the arrival of the era for the first time in Eastern history, when the necessity for hoarding has ceased, and, under British protection, the natural desire for enjoyment can find an unrestrained vent among the natives of Hindostan.

37. To complete the almost fabulous wonders of this Oriental dominion, it only requires to be added, that it has been achieved by a mercantile company in an island of the Atlantic, possessing no territorial force at home: who merely took into their temporary pay, while in India, such part of the English troops as could be spared from the contests of European ambition; and who never had, at any period, thirty thousand British soldiers in their service, while their civil and military servants did not amount to six thousand. The number of persons under their auspices who proceed yearly to India, is never six hundred, and the total number of white inhabitants who reside among the hundred and forty millions of the sable population, is hardly eighty thousand! So enormous, indeed, is the disproportion between the British rulers and their native subjects, that what the Hindoos say is literally true, that if every one of the followers of Bramah were to throw a handful of earth on the Europeans, they would be buried alive in the midst of their conquests. It augments our astonishment at the wisdom and beneficence of the Indian government, that these

* Hindostan, from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin, contains 512,873 square miles; including the protected states, 1,280,000. The population of the former is 93,000,000, being at the rate of about 190 to the square mile. This, under the tropical sun, and with the rich alluvial soil of a large part of India, capable, in general, of bearing two crops in the year, must be considered a very scanty population. France contains 32,000,000 of inhabitants, and 155,000 square miles—or 214 to the square mile; England, 18,500,000, and 38,500 square miles—or 380 to the square mile; Flanders, 6,322,000, and 7400 square miles—or 307 to the square mile. Even in Bengal, the

garden of Hindostan, out of 202,650 square miles, only 80,250 are actually under cultivation. The produce of the soil there varies from forty to a hundred fold; on an average, about sixty fold, at least four times that of the richest portion of Europe—which would, of course, maintain four times the number of persons on a square mile that can find subsistence in these northern climates. —MOREAU, *Statist. de la Grande Bretagne*, ii. 107-112; MALTE BRUN, vi. 84; and *Stat. Journal*, i. 195. In the Madras presidency, the population is only 107 to the square mile; in the Bombay, 114; in Singapore and Malacca, 92; in Ceylon, 80; over the whole of India, 144. —MOREAU, ii. 118.

marvellous dominions have been gained, and these lasting benefits conferred upon their subjects, during a period chequered by the most desperate wars; when the very existence of the English authority was frequently at stake, and the whole energies of government were necessarily directed, in the first instance, to the preservation of their own national independence. During the growth of this astonishing prosperity in the Indian provinces, the peninsula has been the seat of almost unceasing warfare. It has witnessed the dreadful invasion of Hyder Ali; the two terrible wars with Tippoo Sultaun; the alternations of fortune, from the horrors of the Black Hole at Calcutta to the storming of Seringapatam; the long and bloody Mahratta wars; the Pindaree conflict; the Goorkha campaigns; the capture of Bhurtpore; the murderous warfare in the Burmese empire; the awful disaster of the Coord-Cabul Pass, the desperate chances of the Sikh invasion. During the seventy years of its recent and unexampled rise, twelve long and bloody wars have been maintained; the military strength of eighty millions of men, headed and directed by French officers, has been broken, and greatness insensibly forced upon the East India Company, in the perpetual struggle to maintain its existence. The Indian government has been but for a short time in the possession of its vast empire: thirty years only have elapsed since the Mahratta confederacy was finally broken; its efforts for a long period have been directed rather to the acquisition or defence of its territories than to their improvement; and yet, during this anxious and agitated period, the progress of the sable multitude who are embraced in its rule has been unexampled in wealth, tranquillity, and public felicity.

§8. It was a maxim with the Romans, from which they never deviated; not to undertake two great wars at the same period; but rather to submit even to insults and losses for a time than bring a second formidable enemy on their hands. Strongly as this principle is recommended, both

by its intrinsic wisdom, and the example of that renowned people, it is not always capable of being carried into execution; and the British were frequently compelled in Hindostan, by the pressure of native confederacies, to sustain the most formidable foreign conflicts, at a time when the resources of the monarchy were all required to sustain the fortunes of the state in the contests of European ambition. At the same time that the East India Company, with their brave and faithful sepoy, were successfully combating the immense and disciplined hordes of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun, the vast American colonies of England, directly ruled by parliament, were severed from the empire without any considerable external aid, by the mere force of internal discontent. The dissatisfaction of Canada has more than once led to alarming collisions between the central government and the native French population; and the West India Islands have been restrained only by the inherent weakness of a slave colony from breaking off all connection with the parent state. The first rise of our Indian empire was contemporaneous with the energetic administration of Chatham, and the glories of the Seven Years' War: the moral courage and decided conduct of Hastings saved it from destruction, at the very moment when the weakness and corruption of Lord North's administration occasioned the loss of the American colonies: the contest with the Mysore princes occurred at the same time as that with Revolutionary France, and "Citizen Tippoo" was not the least esteemed ally both of the Directory and the Consular government: while the able and vigorous administration of Marquis Wellesley took place when Napoleon was commencing his immortal career in Europe, and Great Britain stretched forth her mighty arms into the eastern hemisphere, and struck down the formidable confederacy of the Mahratta princes, at the very time when she was engaged in a desperate contest for her existence with the conqueror of continental Europe.

39. It is an interesting object of inquiry—what was the form of government and system of foreign administration under which these astonishing triumphs were achieved by England in the eastern hemisphere? Were these triumphs, as the continental writers and the enemies of the East India Company assert, the result of a continual system of aggression on their part, like the wars of the Romans in ancient, or the conquests of Napoleon or of Russia in modern times? or were they, as their supporters maintain, forced upon them much against their will, by native combinations and intrigues, which constantly gave them no other alternative but conquest or ruin? It is observed by a French annalist, and quoted with approbation by the greatest of modern historians, that “in the light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility.” There can be no doubt that this remark is well founded, and that it sufficiently explains the experienced impossibility which the British, like all other conquering nations, have felt of stopping short in their career when once commenced, before they had reached the limits assigned by nature to their further progress. From the time when they first became territorial sovereigns in the East, and a handful of Europeans ventured to rear the standard of independence among the sable multitudes of Asia, they had no alternative but to go on conquering, in a continually increasing circle, till they came to the snows of the Himalaya and the waves of the Indus. But while the British were, unquestionably, equally with the Romans or Napoleon, exposed to this necessity, yet there was a wide difference in their relative situations, and the consequent readiness with which they may be supposed to have embraced the career of conquest, thus in a manner forced upon them.

40. Rome had an inexhaustible stock of vigour and capacity in the numerous bands of experienced soldiers whom

she nourished in her bosom; and from the moment that they left the fields of the republic, they subsisted at the expense of the allied or conquered states. France vomited forth a host of ardent starving insolvents, who regenerate by plundering all mankind; and, borrowing from her predecessors in ancient times the maxim that war should be made to maintain war, experienced not less relief to her finances than security to her institutions, by providing either by death or victory for such a multitude of turbulent defenders. But England had a very different task to execute, when she became involved in the task of subjugating Hindostan. The centre of her strength was situated fourteen thousand miles from the banks of the Ganges; a few thousand soldiers were all she could spare for eastern, from the pressure of European or the dangers of American warfare: the power which was involved in Indian hostilities was a mere company of merchants, who looked only to a profitable return for their capital, or a rise in the value of their stock, and dreaded nothing so much as the cost of unproductive warfare. For thirty years after they were involved in hostilities, so far from effecting any conquests, they were barely able to defend their own mercantile establishments from destruction; and every foot-soldier they transported from Europe to Hindostan cost thirty, every horseman eighty, pounds sterling. In these circumstances, it requires no argument to demonstrate that foreign aggression could not, in the first instance at least, have been voluntarily entered upon by the rulers of India. The slightest acquaintance with their annals is sufficient to show that they stood in every instance really, if not formally, on the defensive: and that it was in the overthrow of the coalitions formed for their destruction, or the necessary defence of the allies whom previous victory had brought to their side, that the real cause of all their Indian acquisitions is to be found.

41. In truth, war has, in every instance for the last half-century, been forced upon the East India Company,

not only without their inclination, but in opposition to their most strenuous exertions. Nothing always appeared so terrible to the mercantile rulers of Londenhall Street as the expenditure requisite either in preparing for, or conducting foreign wars in Hindostan. A good dividend upon their stock was their object they always coveted, and they anticipated nothing but ruin to that from hostilities; they were from first to last mercantile adventurers, not territorial conquerors. More than one governor-general of the highest capacity or most far-seeing penetration has been recalled for having undertaken or prepared for contests, which the event proved were essential to the salvation of our eastern empire. The bad success which in the outset of such contests has often attended our arms has in general arisen from the peremptory pacific orders of the East India Company, and the consequent

want of any adequate preparation for wars, which those on the spot saw evidently were approaching, and to meet which the most extensive armaments were requisite. Lord Wellesley fell a sacrifice to the moral courage which led to the overthrow of the Mahratta confederacy: Lord Ellenborough to the far-seeing sagacity which was preparing against the dangers of the Sikh invasion. It is the highest proof of the energy and courage inherent in the Anglo-Saxon race, that, despite such a system of government, and the numerous disasters in the commencement of contests which it has occasioned, they have all in the end been overcome, and an empire established in the East, second now to none in the world in rulers and power, and which rivals that formed in ancient times amidst lesser difficulties by the valour and perseverance of the Roman Legions during three centuries.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

RISE OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE UNDER CLIVE AND HASTINGS. 1750—1798.

1. WHEN the English, in the middle of the eighteenth century, quitted their commercial establishments at Calcutta and Madras to engage in a perilous contest with the native powers of India, the chief potentates with whom they were brought in contact, either as allies or as enemies, were the following:—In the northern parts of the peninsula, on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, which is properly called Hindostan, the once dreaded empire of Timour had sunk into the dust; and the Mogul emperors, on their thrones at Delhi, could with difficulty maintain even a nominal sway over the powerful rajahs in their vast dominions. The most considerable of these was the Rajah of Bengal and

Bahar, whose dominions extended over the vast and fertile plains watered by the Ganges, and who boasted of thirty millions of inhabitants acknowledging his authority. The next formidable potentate on the eastern coast between Calcutta and Madras, was the Nizam, whose dominions embraced eleven millions of souls, and whose seat of government was Hyderabad. Dread of the Mahrattas, who lay contiguous to this state on the west, and of the Sultan of Mysore, who adjoined it on the south, rendered the court of Hyderabad the firm and faithful ally of the East India Company. In the southern part of the peninsula, the dominions of the Rajah of Mysore lay spread over a vast extent on the high table-

land of Mysore, three or four thousand feet above the sea; and from his strong fortress of Seringapatam he gave the law to sixteen millions of brave men. This dynasty, however, was supplanted, about the same time that the British dominion was established on the banks of the Ganges, by that of Hyder Ali, a soldier of fortune, who usurped his dominions, and added to them various lesser states in their vicinity, and soon communicated to the whole the vigour of enterprise, and the thirst for foreign dominion. With this great power, serious and bloody wars were waged by the English for above thirty years.

2. Farther to the north, and on the western coast, the Mahratta confederacy governed a territory of vast extent and resources, though their predatory and restless habits, which engaged them in constant wars with their neighbours and each other, kept the country in great part desolate, and blighted the fairest gifts of nature. If united, the Mahratta chieftains could bring two hundred thousand horsemen, long the scourge of Northern and Central India, into the field; but their constant feuds with each other rendered it improbable that this vast force should be concentrated against any external enemy. The most renowned of these chieftains were the Rajahs of Berar, Scindiah, and Holkar; each of whom could muster sixty thousand men, almost entirely cavalry, round his standards. They acknowledged allegiance to the Peishwa, who was at the head of their confederation, and from his seat of government at Poonah, professed to execute treaties, and issue orders, binding on the whole allied states. But his authority was little more than nominal, and each of these powerful chieftains took upon himself, without scruple, to make war and conclude alliances on his own account. A vast number of lesser chiefs occupied the intervening country, from the northern frontier of the Mahratta states to the Indus, which was inhabited by different races, the Sikhs and Rajpoots, famed in every period of Indian history for their martial qualities, and to whom subsequent

events at Bhurtpore and in the Punjab have given still greater celebrity. In the great Alpine ridge which separates Hindostan from Tartary, the Goorkhas and Nepaul tribes had found shelter, and maintained, amidst forest steepes and narrow vales, the indomitable valour which, in every part of the world, seems to be the peculiar attribute of the mountain race.

3. The first charter of incorporation of the East India Company was granted by Queen Elizabeth on the last day of the sixteenth century; but it was not for a hundred and fifty years afterwards that they became territorial sovereigns. During the long period that intervened from their first origin till the middle of the eighteenth century, they painfully and industriously pursued a pacific career, neither aspiring after foreign conquest, nor accumulating any force to defend even their own factories from aggression. So humble were their fortunes, even at the close of this long period, that, in 1756, when the ferocious tyrant, Surajee Dowlah, invested and captured Calcutta, the destined Queen of the East, and now the abode of a million of inhabitants, the whole persons made prisoners amounted only to one hundred and forty-six! They were all confined, by his orders, in a dungeon not twenty feet square, with only one window, during an intensely hot night in June. Imagination itself can scarcely figure, subsequent genius has scarcely been able to portray, the sufferings of that dreadful night. "Nothing," says Macaulay, "in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy, they strove to burst the door. The governor, Mr. Hollwell, who, even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers; but it was all in vain. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the window, fought for the pittance of

water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies; raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gualers, in the mean time, held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of the victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke; the Nabob had left off his debauch, and permitted the doors to be opened; but it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome change. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, came forth alive. A pit was instantly dug; the dead bodies, one hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up. Among those saved was Mr Hellwell, the governor; but the indignation excited throughout England by that inhuman cruelty was unexampled. All classes were animated by a generous desire to avenge the sufferings of their countrymen; and from the horrors of the *Black Hole of Calcutta* the glories of our Indian empire may be said to have taken their rise.

4. The East India Company, at that period, possessed an inconsiderable settlement at Madras, on the eastern coast of India, protected by a fort called Fort George, and to it the distressed merchants at Calcutta despatched a deputation, earnestly soliciting succour. Fortunately, at that period, the hostilities which were hourly expected with France had caused a considerable body of British troops to be assembled in that city, which, from its comparative vicinity to Pondicherry, the principal seat of French power in the East, was most exposed to danger; and a detachment of nine hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred sepoy, was forthwith despatched to restore the British fortunes at the mouth of the Ganges. This inconsiderable band seemed little qualified to combat the vast armies of the

Mogul Nabob on the plains of Bengal; but it was under the direction of one of those heroes who appear at distant intervals in history, whose master-minds acquire such an ascendency over mankind as almost to command fortune; and from whose exertions, in circumstances the most adverse, 'unhoped-for triumphs often proceed. In the end of December 1756, COLONEL CLIVE appeared at the mouth of the Ganges, defeated the Mogul detachment sent to oppose his landing, retook Calcutta, and, disregarding the timid expostulation of the Council, took upon himself the supreme direction of affairs. It soon appeared how essential the guidance of a chief of such personal and moral courage was to the salvation of our Indian possessions at that critical juncture. Surajee Dowlah in a few weeks returned with increased forces; but Clive stormed his camp, and struck such terror into his troops that a treaty was concluded, by which Calcutta was restored to the Company, and permission granted to fortify it. From that hour the territorial empire of England in India may be said to have been established.

5. Shortly after this important event, intelligence arrived in India of the commencement of hostilities between France and England, and the government at Calcutta received advices that Surajee Dowlah was preparing to join the former with all his forces. Clive instantly took his determination; he resolved to raise up Meer Jaffer, a renowned military leader in Bengal, to the viceroyship of that province, in the hope that, owing his elevation to the British, he would be less disposed to join their enemies than the Nabob, who was already their inveterate enemy. Such a treaty was immediately concluded with the Hindoo potentate, on terms highly favourable to the English; and shortly afterwards hostilities commenced, by Colonel Clive marching with two thousand men against the French fort of Chandernagore, on the Hoogly, eighty miles above Calcutta. This fort was soon taken, and several others reduced. At length, on the 22d June, Clive, with his little

army, then raised to nine hundred Europeans and two thousand sepoys, and six guns, came up with the vast array of Surajee, consisting of fifty thousand infantry, eight thousand cavalry, and fifty guns, under French officers, in a good position at PLESSY. For the first and last time in his life, Clive called a council of war: the proverb held good, and the council declined to fight;* but the English general consulted only his own heroic character, and led his troops against the enemy. The odds were fearful; but valour and decision can sometimes supply the want of numbers. The British were sheltered, in the early part of the day, by a high bank from the cannon-shot of the enemy: treachery and disaffection reigned in the Asiatic ranks; and before Clive led his

* Clive stated in his evidence before the House of Commons—"This was the only council of war I ever called, and if I had abided by its decision, it would have been the ruin of the East India Company." The same truth may be observed in all ages, and in all transactions civil and military, where vigour and decision are requisite to success. The shelter of numbers is never sought but by those who have not the moral courage to act on their own conviction; true intrepidity of mind never seeks to divide responsibility. In the multitude of counsellors there may be safety; but it is in general safety to the counsellors, not to the counselled.—CLIVE'S *Evidence before the House of Commons*, given in MILL'S App. No. vi., and iii. 166.

He assigned the following reasons for his treaty with Meer Jaffier to dethrone Surajee Dowlah: "That after Chandernagore was attacked, he saw clearly that they could not stop there, but *must go on*; that having established themselves by force, and not by the consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour to drive them out again; that they had numberless proofs of his intentions, and some upon record; that he suggested, in consequence, the necessity of a revolution, and Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be Nabob instead of Surajee Dowlah." This is precisely the language and principles of Napoleon; this necessity of *advancing* to avoid being destroyed, is the accompaniment of power founded on force in all ages. The British power in India was driven on to greatness by the same necessity which impelled the European conqueror to Moscow and the Kremlin: it is the prodigious difference in the use the former made of their power; even when acquired by violence, which, hitherto at least, has saved them from the fate which so soon overtook him.—CLIVE'S *Evidence*, *ut supra*; and MILL, iii. 162.

troops in their turn to the attack, the victory was already gained. The Nabob fled on his swiftest elephant; Clive remained master of the Indian camp, artillery, and baggage; and the fate of a kingdom as great as France, containing thirty millions of inhabitants, was determined with the loss of seventy men.

6. The British ascendancy on the Ganges was now secured. Meer Jaffier, as the reward of his treachery, was saluted by the conqueror as Nabob of Bengal and Bahar. Surajee was soon made prisoner and slain; and his successor purchased the foreign aid which had gained him the throne by the grant of an ample territory around Calcutta, and the immediate payment of £800,000, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. The Mogul Emperor, alarmed at this formidable irruption of strangers into one of the provinces of his mighty dominions, made an attempt to expel the intruders, and reinstate the former dynasty on the throne; but he was defeated by Meer Jaffier, aided by the Company's forces. Jaffier was soon after deposed in consequence of his weak and tyrannical disposition, and succeeded by his natural son, Meer Cossim: the Moguls were finally routed by Major Carnac, and the French auxiliaries made prisoners. After this, the British proceeded from one acquisition to another, till, after several intrigues and revolutions in the native governments of Bengal, sometimes effected by their influence, sometimes forced upon them by the inconstancy of the Mahomedan princes, a great battle was fought at Buxar, in which the Moguls were totally defeated, with the loss of six thousand men, and one hundred and fifty guns.

7. This important victory decided the fate of Bengal. Lord Clive, who had returned to Europe in 1760, soon after was sent out again to Hindostan; and, foreseeing the necessity of the East India Company assuming the government of the whole of that province, if they would preserve their footing on the banks of the Ganges, insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that its sovereignty should be

ceded to the English power. The court of Delhi was too much humbled to be able to resist; and after a short negotiation, the Mogul emperor signed a treaty, by which he resigned all sovereign claims over Bengal, and part of Bahar and Orissa, in consideration of an annuity of £325,000 a-year; Surajee Dowlah, son of the former tyrant of that name, the Vizier of Oude, was restored to all his dominions, on condition of being taken under British protection, and paying a tribute for the support of the subsidiary force stationed in his capital; while the claims of the family of Meer Jaffer were adjusted; the settlement of a pension of £660,000 on his natural son. Thus, in the short space of ten years, was the English power on the Ganges raised from the lowest point of depression to an unexampled height of prosperity and glory; the refugees from an insignificant mud fort at Calcutta were invested with the sovereignty over a hundred and fifty thousand square miles, and thirty millions of men; the frightful dungeon of the Black Hole was exchanged for the dominion of the richest part of India; and, in the extremity of human suffering, the foundations were laid of an empire destined in half a century to overshadow the throne of Baber and Aurengzebe.

8. While the genius of Clive, supported by the commanding spirit of Chatham and the resolution of the local government, was thus spreading the British dominion on the banks of the Ganges, the English had to sustain a still more obstinate contest in the southern part of India. MADRAS, on the coast of Coromandel, was, so early as the year 1653, invested with the dignity of a presidency, though at that period its garrison was limited, by an express resolution of the court of directors, to ten men. This insignificant town was the object of fierce contests between the English and French in the middle of the eighteenth century; the war which broke out in Europe in 1744, was as warmly contested in the East as the West; and a strong French military and naval force besieged and took it in 1746, its weak garrison of

two hundred soldiers being allowed to retire by capitulation. Clive, then a clerk in a mercantile house at Madras, first embraced the profession of arms at this siege, and, after the capture of the town, escaped in the disguise of a Moor to Fort St David, a fortress sixteen miles distant, where the remnant of the British successfully made a stand; and the talents of the young soldier materially contributed to the defeat, which followed, of the French, seventeen hundred strong, by two hundred British soldiers. Madras continued in possession of the French till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1749, when it was restored to the English dominion. Although, however, the direct war between England and France was terminated by this treaty, yet the mutual jealousy of these powers led to the continuance of a smothered and ill-disguised hostility in the East. The rival potentates struggled for the ascendancy in the councils of the Carnatic—a vast district, five hundred miles in length and a hundred in breadth, stretching along the coast of Coromandel, comprising the dominions and dependencies of the Nabob of Arcot. For several years the skill and address of M. Dupleix, the French commander, prevailed; but at length the daring courage of Colonel Clive, and the diplomatic ability of Major Lawrence, formed a counterpoise to his influence. This, however, was more than counterbalanced in the Deccan, where M. de Bussy had gained firm possession of an extensive district, six hundred miles in length, and yielding a million sterling of revenue to the French crown.

9. No sooner had hostilities broken out a second time in Europe, between France and England, in 1756, than the cabinet of Versailles made a strenuous effort to root out the British settlements on the coast of Coromandel. The expedition fitted out for Pondicherry, the chief French stronghold, for this purpose, consisted of eight thousand men, of whom more than half were Europeans, under Lally; and after capturing Fort St David, to which the British had retired in the former

war, they besieged Madras in form. The garrison, consisting of eighteen hundred European and two thousand sepoy troops, had to sustain a variety of desperate assaults, almost without intermission, for two months. At length the siege was raised, when the brave besieged were nearly reduced to extremities, by the arrival of the English fleet with six hundred fresh troops. Lally retired precipitately, and the British immediately carried the war into the enemy's territories. Colonel, afterwards Sir Eyre Coote, invested and took the important fortress of Wandimash in the Carnatic; and Lally, having collected all his forces to regain that stronghold, was met and totally defeated by Coote, with six thousand men, who made General de Bussy and several of the ablest French officers prisoners, and took twenty pieces of cannon. This great victory proved decisive of the fate of the French power in India. Lally was soon after shut up in his capital, after losing all the detached forts which he held in the province; he was closely blockaded by sea and land by the victorious armies and fleets of England; and at length, after a protracted siege of eight months, in which the gallant Frenchman exerted all the expedients of courage and skill to avert his fate, his resources were exhausted, he was compelled to capitulate, and in the middle of January the British standards were hoisted on the towers of Pondicherry.

10. Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, the founder of the British empire in India, to whom these triumphs were mainly owing, was born at the ancient seat of his ancestors, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire, on the 29th September 1725. His family had been settled there since the twelfth century; but, like many others of old extraction in that country, had never risen to eminence either for good or for evil. Traces of the character of the future hero are to be found even in the earliest anecdotes of the child. The letters, still existing, of his relations prove, that when yet only seven years of age, his determination of purpose, vehement passions, and un-

flinching intrepidity, were conspicuous. "Fighting," says one of his uncles, "to which he is beyond all measure addicted, gives his temper such a fierceness and imperiousness, that he flies out on every trifling occasion." At the age of twelve he terrified all the people of Market-Drayton by climbing to the top of the lofty steeple of the village, where he was seen for some time calmly seated on a stone spout near the summit. Soon after, he formed the boys of the place into a sort of predatory band, who levied contributions of apples and halfpence on the shopkeepers. In the vain hope of quelling his turbulent disposition, he was sent from school to school, in all of which he learned little, and gained the reputation of being exceedingly unmanageable, though one old master, more sagacious than the rest, prophesied that the wild boy would make a great man. At length his relations, anxious to get quit of him, were glad to accept the offer of a writership, or civil appointment in India; and he set sail for Madras at the age of eighteen, in the year 1743.

11. Young Clive had not been long in India before his peculiar character made itself conspicuous. At first he was melancholy and reserved: he had no friends, the warm climate affected his health, solitude oppressed his spirits; and in his letters he speaks of his "dear native England, and Manchester the centre of all my wishes," with an affection which could hardly have been anticipated from his previous temper. This solitude, however, was the making of his character: he took with vehement ardour to reading, and compensated in a few years for the previous idleness of his youth. The uncontrollable fury of his passions, however, still continued: his violent temper frequently put him in danger of losing his situation; he fought a desperate duel with a noted bully who had long been the terror of Fort St David; and twice, in fits of despair, attempted to shoot himself. On both occasions the pistol, though well loaded and primed, missed fire; an occurrence with which Clive was so much struck, that on lay-

ing down the weapon he exclaimed, that "surely he was destined for something great!" An opportunity soon occurred for showing his real character. War having broken out in India in 1748, between the English and French, he entered the army as an ensign at the age of twenty-one, and soon distinguished himself highly in several operations against Duplex. Peace having soon after been concluded, he again returned for a season to pacific pursuits, and was appointed commissary, with the rank of captain. But in 1749 his career of greatness began by the master-stroke which he suggested to the government, and in person delivered against Arcot, the capital of the rajah of the same name, and the heroic valour with which, at the head of a hundred and twenty English and two hundred sepoy, he successfully defended that fortress, when afterwards besieged, for two months against ten thousand of the bravest soldiers in India.

12. Lord Clive was one of the greatest generals and bravest men, and second in civil government to none whom England, so fertile in able statesmen, has produced. It is hard to say whether he appears with most lustre as the hero whose single exploits laid the foundation of a mighty empire, or as the governor whose resolution and integrity stamped the characters which have given stability and permanence to its power. With his defence of Arcot commenced that long series of triumphs which was destined to carry the British standards beyond the Himalaya snows and the Indian Archipelago, to Ghuznee and Nankin; with his civil administration, the power which has equalled in extent, and exceeded in duration, the empire of Aurengzebe. His genius for war was intuitive; he had little instruction, no counsellors; he was born a general. Compelled to form himself, his officers, and his army, he did the whole, amid the deepest adversity, in a few years. Like all great men, he took counsel only of himself; saw by intuition the whole art of war; communicated his own ardent spirit to a noble band of

followers, and awakened among his gallant sepoys a devotion rivalling even that of the tenth legion of Caesar, or the Old Guard of Napoleon. "Such an extent of cultivated territory," it has been eloquently said, "such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul; nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph along the Sacred Way to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim, compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young Englishman achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to half a Roman legion. As a statesman, he first made dauntless and unsparing war on the gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption, which previously existed. In that war he put to hazard his case, his fame, his splendid fortune. If the reproach of the Company and its servants has been nobly taken away; if in India the yoke of foreign masters has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty; if a body of public servants has been reared, unequalled for their ability, integrity, and public spirit, the praise is in no small degree due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors; but it is found in a better list—among those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind.*" He died by his own hand, at the age of forty-nine, in a fit of insanity, produced by the ingratitude and persecution of his country. As a warrior, history must assign him a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan; as a proconsul, the veneration due to Antoninus and Turgot; as a victim of national ingratitude, a place in the narrower but more glorious fane of Themistocles and Scipio.

13. The downfall of the French power in India first brought the Eng-

* See Mr Macaulay's noble biography of Clive in the *Edinburgh Review*—an author upon whom alone the mantle of Fame since his time is worthy to descend.—*Edinburgh Review*, lxx. 309-312; and *Miscellaneous Essays*, iii. 205

lish into contact with a still more formidable enemy than the ambitious rivals who had so long disputed with them the palm of European ascendancy. On the high table-land of Mysore, elevated three thousand feet above the level of Madras, is to be found a race of men, very different from the inhabitants of the lower plains of India, breathing a purer air, hardened by a cooler temperature, inured to more manly occupations. The inhabitants of Mysore are beld, restless, and impetuous; raring in disposition, predatory habit, warlike in character; whose fierce poverty had for ages "insulted the plenty of the vales beneath." HYDER ALI was originally a private soldier in the army of the rajah of this district, and he received the command of three hundred men, in consequence of his gallantry at the siege of one of the hill-forts of a neighbouring rajah. He was one of those domineering characters whom nature appears to have formed to command, and who, in troubled times, so often make their way, despite every obstacle, to the head of affairs. So illiterate as to be unable either to read or write, he was yet possessed of the ambition to desire, the daring to seize, and the capacity to wield supreme power; and the natural sagacity of his mind more than supplied what, in others, is the fruit of lengthened study, or the dear-bought result of experience in the world.* Active, indefatigable, and intrepid, he fearlessly incurred danger and underwent fatigue in the pursuit of ambition: liberal of money, affable in manner, discerning in character, he soon won the affections of his followers, and attracted to his standards that host of adventurers who in the East are ever ready to swell the train of conquest. Faithless in disposition, regardless of oaths, unscrupulous in

action, he was distinguished by that singular mixture of great and wicked qualities which, in every age, from the days of Cæsar to those of Napoleon, has marked the character of those who raise themselves amidst blood and tumult from a private station to the command of their country. He appeared at that era, ever so favourable to usurpers, when the established government is falling to pieces from the weakness and vices of its possessors, and the experienced evils of anarchy at once prepare the throne for an audacious soldier, and induce men to range themselves in willing multitudes under his banners. His career began as a subaltern at the head of two hundred foot and fifty horse; but he was soon vested with the command of the important fortress of Dindigul, and rapidly attracted numbers to his standard by the success of his operations, and the boundless license which he permitted to his followers in plundering the adjacent territories. He experienced many reverses; but rose superior to them all, and went on from one acquisition to another, till he had entirely subverted the former government, seized the great commercial city of Bednore, with its treasures, estimated at twelve millions sterling, placed himself on the throne of Seringapatam, and established his authority over almost the whole southern parts of the Indian peninsula.

14. Hyder had established amicable relations with the French in the Carnatic, during the period of their influence in India; but the early destruction of their power after he began to rise into importance, prevented for a number of years any rupture between him and the British. At length, however, the growing consequence of the Mysore usurper on the one hand, and the rising strength of the Company on the other, necessarily brought these two great powers into collision. Hostilities with Hyder were resolved on by the local authorities in India; and as a precautionary measure, a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded with the Nizam, a rajah whose dominions were more immediately exposed

* He was entirely ignorant of the processes of arithmetic; but such was the power he possessed of mental calculation, that he could outstrip, in arriving at a result even of complicated figures, the most skillful arithmeticians; and none of his followers could deceive him in his estimate of the amount of the plunder which should be brought into his treasury.—MILL, iii. 467.

to his incursions, by which Lord Clive engaged to support him, if attacked, with a considerable body of European and sepoy troops. The Directors at home, less impressed than the authorities on the spot with the indispensable necessity of advancing in power, if they would avoid destruction, evinced the utmost repugnance at this treaty, and distinctly foretold, that if offensive wars were once engaged in, the British would be drawn on from one conquest to another, till they could find no security but in the subjection of the whole, and would be involved in destruction by the very magnitude of their acquisitions.* But ere their pacific instructions could reach their destination, the die was already cast, and the dreadful war with Hyder Ali had commenced.

15. Within a few weeks after its opening, the British were rewarded for their aggression by the defection of their faithless ally, the Nizam, who deserted to the Mysore chief with all his forces; and at the same time intelligence was received that the latter had accommodated all his differences with the Mahrattas in the north, so that the confederacy which the English had projected against Hyder was now turned against themselves. The united forces of Hyder and the Nizam, forty thousand strong, approached Madras, and ravaged the country up to the very gates of the fortress; and though Colonel Smith, with the British and sepoy troops, defeated them with the loss of sixty pieces of cannon,

* "If once we pass the bounds of defensive warfare, we shall be led from one acquisition to another, till we shall find no security but in the subjection of the whole, which, by dividing your force, would lose you the whole, and end in our extirpation from Hindostan." And again, in another despatch, "We utterly disapprove and condemn offensive wars." The same principles were constantly followed by the Court of Directors, both during the administration of Warren Hastings and Marquis Wellesley; but these great statesmen early perceived that it was impossible for a handful of foreigners to stop short in the career of conquest, and that, like Napoleon, they were constantly placed in the alternative of universal dominion or total ruin.—*Directors' Despatch*, 22d April 1768; *Asiatick*, i: 225-226.

want of cavalry prevented him from obtaining any decisive success in the face of the numerous squadrons of the Mysore horse. The hostile incursion was repeated in the following year, when Hyder laid waste the Company's territory in so savage a manner, that like the countries desolated by Timour or Genghis Khan, nothing remained but bleached skeletons and smoking ruins to attest where the dwellings of man had been. In the midst of these successes, he opened a communication with the French authorities at Pondicherry, to whom he announced the approaching destruction of the English power in the peninsula; while the East India Directors at home, panic-struck by the magnitude of the disasters already incurred, and the interminable prospect of wars and difficulties which opened before them, renewed in earnest terms their representations on the necessity of resuming the now almost hopeless attempt to effect an accommodation. At length Hyder struck a decisive blow. Sending all his heavy cannon and baggage home from Pondicherry, which during his incursions he had twice visited to confer with the French, he put himself at the head of six thousand of his swiftest horse, drew the English army by a series of able movements to a considerable distance from Madras, and then, by a rapid march of a hundred and twenty miles in three days, interposed between them and that capital, and approached to Mount St Thomas, in its immediate vicinity. The Council were filled with consternation: although the fortress could have held out till the arrival of the English army, the open town and villas in its vicinity were exposed to immediate destruction; and they gladly embraced the overtures of accommodation which, like Napoleon, he made in the moment of his greatest success, and concluded peace on the invader's terms. By this treaty it was provided that both parties should make a mutual restitution of their conquests, and that in case of attack they should afford each other mutual aid and assistance.

16. The principal object of Hyder

in concluding thus suddenly this important treaty, was to obtain for his usurped throne the countenance of the English power: the same motive which was Napoleon's inducement, immediately after obtaining the consular office, to make proposals of peace to Great Britain. He soon after, accordingly, made a requisition for the junction of a small body of English soldiers to his forces, in order to demonstrate to the native powers the reality of the alliance. The Company's affairs received so serious a shock by this inglorious treaty, that their stock fell at once sixty per cent. Hyder, some years afterwards, became involved in wars with his powerful northern neighbours, the Mahrattas, in which he was at first reduced to great straits, and he made an earnest requisition for assistance to the Company, in terms of the treaty of 1769. But the Madras council contrived, on one pretence or another, with more prudence than good faith, to elude the demand, to the inconveniences of which they were now fully awakened. These repeated refusals excited great jealousy in the breast of the Mysore chief, the more especially as he was well aware that the English had, in the interval since the cessation of hostilities, greatly augmented their army, especially in cavalry, in which it had formerly experienced so lamentable a deficiency, and that they had now thirty thousand well-disciplined men in the presidency. Accordingly, in June 1780, he descended into the Carnatic, at the head of the most powerful and best-appointed army which ever had appeared in India, consisting of twenty thousand regular infantry, and seventy thousand horse, of whom nearly a half were disciplined in the European method. So suddenly, and with such secrecy, were his measures taken, that the dreadful torrent was in motion before the English were so much as aware of its existence; and the government of Madras were apprised of the approach of the enemy for the first time by vast columns of smoke rising from burning villages in the Carnatic, which, converging from different directions,

threatened to wrap the capital itself in conflagration.

17. Mr Burke has described, with more than even his usual fervour of eloquence, this dreadful irruption:—"Hyder resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith, which holds the mortal elements of the world together, was no protection. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation of the European invader, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and, compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. While the objects of these calamities were idly and stupidly gazing thunderstruck on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war, before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest fled to the walled cities; but, escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine. For months together these creatures of suffering, whose very excess and lux-

ury in their most plenteous days had fallen short of the allowance of our austerest fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by a hundred a-day in the streets of Madras; while every day seventy at least laid their bodies in the streets or on the glacis of Tanjore, and expired of famine in the granary of India."

18. The success of Hyder in this tremendous inroad was almost equal to that of Surajee Dowlah, in the attack upon Calcutta twenty-four years before. With a degree of daring and military skill which rivalled that of Napoleon himself, he interposed with his whole forces between the two English armies, the one commanded by Colonel Baillie,* the other by Sir Hector Monro, who were approaching each other, and only six miles distant; overwhelmed the former, when caught in ambuscade, by the multitude and vehement charges of his horse, literally trampling the English infantry under foot with

* The valour displayed on this occasion by Colonel Baillie with his little band of followers, consisting only of four hundred Europeans and two thousand sepoys, never was exceeded even in the glorious fields of Indian warfare. Surrounded on all sides by the countless squadrons of Hyder's horse, torn in pieces by a terrible fire from sixty pieces of cannon, borne down by the weight and fury of the armed elephants, they yet long resisted with such vigour as more than once balanced the fortunes of the day, and threw Hyder into such perplexity, that but for the advice of Lally he would have drawn off in despair. The accidental explosion of two ammunition waggons early deprived them of their reserve ammunition: but, nevertheless, they continued the combat with heroic resolution to the last, forming a square which repelled thirteen different attacks of the Mysore horse, the wounded raising themselves in many cases from the ground to resist the enemy with their bayonets, while the officers kept them at bay with their swords. Two hundred were made prisoners, for the most part desperately wounded, including the commander himself and his principal officers. They owed their lives to the humane interposition of Lally and the other French officers in the service of Hyder, who also did all in their power to mitigate the horrors of the captivity, more terrible far than death, which they afterwards underwent in the Mysorean dungeons. — *Narrative of the Sufferings of those who fell into Hyder's hands after the battle of Conjeeram*, Sept. 10, 1780; *Mem. of War in Asia*, ii. 102-108; *MILL*, iv. 165-166.

his terrible squadrons and ponderous elephants, and compelled the latter to retreat, and leave open the whole fortresses of the Carnatic to his attacks. The Indian chief was not slow in following up this extraordinary tide of success. Arcot was speedily reduced; the whole open country ravaged, and sieges laid to Wandimash, Vellore, Chingleput, and all the strongholds of the Carnatic. Parties of the Mysorean horse approached to the gates of Madras; the whole villas in its vicinity were deserted, and preparations were even made in the presidency for crossing the surf at the bar and abandoning the Carnatic for ever.

19. It is invariably in a crisis of this kind that the really great acquire an ascendancy. The timid shrink from responsibility, the multitude clamour for submission; the brave and intrepid stand forth as the deserving leaders of mankind. The council of Madras in the last extremity applied to the government of Calcutta for aid; and WARREN HASTINGS was at its head. Instantly summoning up all his resources, he rose superior to the danger; despatched Sir Eyre Coote with five hundred Europeans, and an equal number of sepoys, to the succour of Madras; and, superseding the council, whose improvidence or incapacity had brought the public fortunes to such a pass, took upon himself the supreme direction both in his own and the sister presidency. Nothing could exceed the disastrous state of affairs when Sir Eyre Coote now took the field against Hyder. His whole force did not exceed seven thousand men, of whom only one thousand seven hundred were Europeans; and he had to oppose a hundred thousand enemies, of whom eighty thousand were admirable horse, and three thousand French auxiliaries, who had recently landed from Europe in hopes, by the aid of so renowned a chieftain, of restoring their fallen fortunes in the East. By a conduct, however, at once prudent and intrepid, he succeeded in re-establishing affairs in the Carnatic. The sieges of Wandimash, Vellore, and the other beleaguered fortresses, were raised by

Hyder at the approach of this new and more formidable enemy; and at length, after a variety of operations attended with various success, a decisive battle was fought between the opposing forces on the sea-coast near Porto Novo, whither the English had proceeded, in order to stop the incursions of the Mysoreans in the direction of Cuddalore. The contest lasted six hours, and success was, for a long period, so nearly balanced, that the whole reserves of the English were brought into action; but at length, by incredible exertions, Hyder's forces were repulsed at all points, and driven off the field in such confusion, that, if Sir Eyre Coote had possessed an adequate force of cavalry, he would have been involved in total ruin.

20. Warren Hastings, to whose energy and determination this great success was mainly owing, was born of an ancient family, said to have been originally sprung from the Danish seakings, at Daylesford, in Worcestershire, on 6th December 1732. He was early distinguished by a studious turn, and inspired with a strong desire to reinstate the fortunes of his family, which once had overshadowed all the neighbouring proprietors, but had been sadly dilapidated in the lapse of centuries. At the age of seven years, as he lay on the brink of a little rivulet which flows through the old estate of his family on its way to the lake, he first formed the resolution to regain his family possessions. This desire increased as he advanced in years: he pursued the design with that calm but indomitable spirit which distinguished him, as it does every other really great character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his heart was still at Daylesford; and after innumerable vicissitudes of fortune, he returned there to die, and left his bones in the churchyard, where he had played in infancy with peasant children. "He had regained the estate," it has been finely said—"he had restored his family; he had done more: he had preserved an empire—he had restored his country."

21. The talents of the young Hast-

ings, both in study and sport, soon attracted the notice alike of his companions and preceptors at school, and in 1750 he sailed with a civil appointment for India. After undergoing many vicissitudes of fortune, his talents as a diplomatic agent became so conspicuous, that after the battle of Plassey in 1757, he was appointed resident at the court of Meer Jaffer. In 1764 he returned with a limited fortune to England; but his ardent spirit still looked to the East as the scene of greatness, and in 1769 he re-embarked for Hindostan. Such was the reputation for capacity which he had already obtained, that, in 1772, he took his seat at the head of the Council Board of Calcutta. His vigour, audacity, and determination there, enabled him to triumph over a powerful confederacy of domestic enemies which had well-nigh proved his ruin; and the death of his principal foe, the Maharajah Nuncomar, whom he brought to the scaffold for forgery, left him without a rival in civil administration, and struck terror into the hearts of the whole native population of India. Subsequently he engaged in many deeds which will ill bear the scrutiny of European ideas, but were strictly in unison with the daring which in every age has laid the foundation of Eastern greatness. Yet even in the most exceptionable of these, and those which were afterwards made the subject of such violent declamation in England—the Rohilla war, the revolution of Benares, and the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude—he acted under the pressure of state necessity, and agreeably to the maxims of oriental government and hostility. Every farthing he exacted was applied to the public service; and, after having held the office of governor-general, and had all the wealth of the East at his command for thirteen years, he returned home with a fortune so moderate as to be evidently the saving only of his official income.

22. Hastings, in civil life, was the counterpart of Napoleon in war. He was an example of the class of lofty minds who, disregarding lesser objects,

and often breaking subordinate rules, aim only at the attainment of great and lasting designs. With him, as with the heroes of Corneille, state necessity was the code of public morality. If he had been born in France in Napoleon's time, the Emperor would have made him his first councillor of state. Invincible resolution, moral courage, resolute determination, persevering efforts, unwearied public spirit, devoted patriotism, were his great characteristics; and it is by such qualities that empires are won and saved. Some of his actions, viewed according to European ideas, appear harsh, a few blamable; and certainly the great qualities of Hastings cannot abrogate the sacred rule, that the end will not justify the means. Yet must some allowance be made for the forces by which he was assailed, and the tortuous policy with which he was constrained to contend in the East. Good faith and just dealing have ever been unknown in Hindostan; moderation in conquest is there invariably set down to fear. Hastings combated the Asiatics, sometimes perhaps too rudely, but only when constrained by external danger or state necessity, with their own weapons. History, on this account, cannot pronounce him a faultless character; yet must it respect the grandeur of mind which shone conspicuous even in his most questionable actions, and admire the noble spirit which disdained to bend before, and ultimately triumphed over, the most formidable combination ever arrayed in Great Britain against a single individual.

23. The great success won by the aid rendered by Hastings was, however, balanced by a bloody action, fought on the very ground where Baillie had so recently been defeated, in which, although neither party could boast decisive success, the English, upon the whole, were worsted; and Hyder, as they retreated during the night, had good ground for proclaiming it to all India as a decided victory. The affairs of Madras were now reduced to extremities, Lord Macartney, who had just arrived there as governor, in vain made proposals of peace

to the victorious chief: another murderous and indecisive action took place in the end of September. There was not a rupee in the treasury, nor the means of fitting out an additional soldier; the supreme government at Calcutta was as much straitened in finances in consequence of a burdensome war with the Mahrattas, as the Madras presidency; and nothing but the unconquerable firmness and energy of Mr Hastings' administration preserved the affairs of the Company from total ruin. By his indefatigable efforts, and the aid of the funds which he had forced from the princesses of Oude, the resources of Lord Macartney were so much augmented, that his lordship was enabled, in November, to undertake the important enterprise of attacking Negapatam, a stronghold of Hyder's on the sea-coast, which gave him an easy entry into the Carnatic; and with such vigour were the operations conducted, that in a few weeks the place was taken, and the garrison of seven thousand men made prisoners. The British upon this regained their superiority in the field, and Sir Eyre Coote, taking advantage of it, pushed on and relieved Vellore, to the infinite joy of the garrison, who had been sixteen months closely blockaded, and were then reduced to the last extremity. Sir Eyre Coote, whose valour and conduct had done so much towards the re-establishment of affairs in the Carnatic, soon after reduced Chitore, and drove the enemy entirely out of the Tanjore. He afterwards fought, with checkered success, several other actions with his old antagonist Hyder. Colonel Braithwaite, with two thousand men, was totally defeated by TIPPOO SAIB, Hyder's son, at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty pieces of cannon, on the banks of the Coal river in the Tanjore; and the humane interposition of Lally and the French auxiliary officers alone preserved the prisoners from destruction: while, after a bloody action, Hyder in person was repulsed by Sir Eyre Coote near Arnee, a few months after. This was the last contest between these two redoubtable antagonists: Sir Eyre was

soon after obliged by bad health to return to Calcutta; and Hyder, in the midst of the most active operations in conjunction with the French fleet of twelve sail of the line, which had arrived off the coast, was summoned to another world, and died at Chitoro, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

24. Peace had been concluded between the Bombay government and the Mahrattas in the May preceding, which enabled the governor-general to assist the Madras presidency with large succours; and offensive operations were commenced at all points against Tippoo, who had succeeded to his father's dominions, and all his animosity against the English government. The contest, however, was still extremely equally balanced; and the government at Madras was far from exhibiting the unanimity and vigour which the importance of the occasion demanded. In vain Lord Macartney, who was aware of the slender aid by which oriental armies are held together, urged general Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command of the army, to take advantage of the consternation produced by the death of Hyder and absence of Tippoo, and instantly attack the enemy. The precious moments were lost: dissension broke out between the civil and military authorities, and Tippoo joined the army and established himself on his father's throne in the beginning of January. He was recalled, however, to the centre of his dominions, obliged to evacuate all his father's conquests in the Carnatic, and abandon and blow up Arcot, in consequence of the appearance of a formidable enemy in the heart of his power. The Bombay government, having considerable forces at their disposal in consequence of the Mahratta peace, had detached a powerful body, under Colonel Humberstone and General Matthews, into the Mysore country. These enterprising officers carried Onore by storm, on the sea-coast; mounted the great pass called the Hussaingurry Ghaut, four thousand feet high, surmounted by a road slowly ascending through cliffs and precipices for five miles; drove the

enemy from all the batteries and forts, hitherto deemed impregnable, by which it was defended; and rapidly advancing along the table-land of Mysore, at the summit made themselves masters of the rich city of Bednore, with a vast treasure, by capitulation; carried Annapore and Bangalore by assault, and spread terror throughout the whole centre of Tippoo's dominions.

25. This formidable irruption completely relieved the Carnatic, which had hitherto been almost exclusively the seat of hostilities, from the invasion by which it had been for a series of years so cruelly ravaged, and, by depriving Tippoo of the treasury at Bednore, amounting to above a million sterling, seriously crippled his power. But it led, in the first instance, to a cruel and unexpected reverse. The magnitude of the spoil taken at Bednore threw the apple of discord among the victors. General Matthews refused to devote any portion of it to the pay of the troops, though they were above eighteen months in arrear; Colonel Humberstone and several of the leading officers were so dissatisfied with this that they threw up their commands, and returned to lay their complaints before the government at Bombay; the army was ruinously dispersed to occupy all the towns which had been taken; and, in the midst of this scene of cupidity and dissension, Tippoo suddenly appeared amongst them at the head of fifty thousand men. Matthews, with two thousand infantry, was defeated before Bednore, and soon after forced to surrender in that town. The prisoners were put in irons, marched off like felons to a dreadful imprisonment in the dungeons of Mysore; the whole towns taken by the British, in the high country, were regained; and the remnant of their forces, driven down the passes, threw themselves into the important fortress of Mangalore on the sea-coast below the Ghauts, where they were immediately invested by the victorious troops of the Sultan.

26. The governments of Madras and Bombay, alive to the vital importance of withdrawing Tippoo's attention from

this siege by diversions in other parts of his dominions, put in motion two different expeditions from the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, into the country of Coimbatore, in the centre of his dominions, and endeavoured to stir up a civil war there by supporting the cause of the deposed rajah of Mysore, whom Hyder had dispossessed. This project proved entirely successful. Colonel Fullarton, who commanded the southern army, acted with great vigour and intelligence, reduced Palagathery, one of the strongest places in India, commanding an important pass on the sea-coast, made himself master of Coimbatore on the high-road to Seringapatam, the centre of the Sultan's power, and menaced that capital itself. At the same time, the northern army made considerable progress on the other side; and both, converging towards the capital, had the conquest of Seringapatam full in view. The superiority of the British forces in the field was now apparent; the conclusion of a peace between France and England, of which intelligence had lately arrived in India, had deprived Tippoo of all hope of European aid, and the gallantry of the brave garrison of Mangalore had baffled the whole efforts of his vast army, and exposed them to dreadful losses by sickness during the rainy months. Discouraged by so many untoward circumstances, the bold spirit and inveterate hostility of the Sultan at length yielded: after several insincere attempts at an accommodation, a real negotiation was set on foot in the close of 1783. Unhappily the pacification came too late to save Mangalore, the heroic garrison of which, after sustaining a siege of seven months against sixty thousand men, had at length been forced by famine to capitulate, on the honourable terms of marching to the nearest English territories with all their arms and accoutrements. But it was in the end concluded, and delivered the English from the most formidable war they had yet sustained for the empire of the East. On the 11th of March 1784, peace was concluded on the equitable terms of a mutual restitution of conquests.

27. It is seldom, says Gibbon, that the father and the son—he who has borne the weight and he who has been brought up in the lustre of the diadem—exhibit equal capacity for the administration of affairs. Tippoo inherited from his father all his activity and vigour, all his cruelty and perfidy, and, if possible, more than his inveterate hatred against the English; but he was by no means his rival either in military genius, or in the capacity for winning the affections and commanding the respect of mankind. Above all, he was not equally impressed as his great predecessor with the expedience of combating the invaders with the national arms of the East, and wearing out the disciplined and invincible battalions of Europe by those innumerable horsemen, in whom, from the earliest times, the real strength of Asia has consisted. Almost all Hyder's successes were gained by his cavalry: it was when severed from his infantry and heavy artillery, and attended only by a few flying guns, that his forces were most formidable. And it augments our admiration of the firmness and discipline with which the British and sepoy regiments under Coote withstood his assaults, when we recollect that they had to resist for days and weeks together, under the rays of a tropical sun, the incessant charges of a cavalry rivalling that of the Parthians in swiftness, equalling that of the Mamelukes in daring, approaching to that of the Tartars in numbers. But it was the very excess of the admiration which their great qualities awakened among the native powers which proved the ruin of Tippoo, and in the end gave the British the empire of the East. The officers of the Mysore court were so much struck by the extraordinary spectacle of a few thousand disciplined men successfully resisting the thundering charges of thirty or forty thousand admirable horsemen, that they conceived that the secret lay not in their character but their tactics; and naturally enough imagined, that if they could give to their own numbers and during the discipline and steadiness of European troops, they would prove irresistible.

28. Hence the general adoption, not only in the Mysore, but the other Indian states, of the European tactics, arms, and discipline: a change of all others the most ruinous to their arms, and which, in subsequent times, has proved fatal to the independence of Turkey. Every people will find safety best in their own peculiar and national forces: the adoption of the tactics and military system of another race will generally share the fate of the transplantation of a constitution to a different people. It was neither by imitating the Roman legions that the Parthians defeated the invasions of Crassus and Julian; nor by rivalling the heavy-armed crusaders of Europe, that Saladin baffled the heroism of Richard; nor by vanquishing the French infantry, that Alexander forced Napoleon into the Moscow retreat. Light horse ever have been, and ever will be, the main strength of the Asiatic monarchies; and when they rely on such defenders, and these are conducted by competent skill, they have hitherto proved in the end invincible. It is the adoption of the system of European warfare which has uniformly proved their ruin. Hyder's horse, like the Parthian or Scythian cavalry, might be repulsed, but they could not be destroyed. The European squares toiled in vain after their fugitive squadrons, and, when worn

out by incessant marching, found themselves enveloped by an indefatigable and long invisible enemy. But Tippoo's battalions could not so easily escape. Protection to their guns and ammunition waggons required that they should stand the shock of regular soldiers: Asiatic vehemence strove in vain to withstand European valour in a set field; the strength of the East was lost without that of the West being gained; and in the attempt to substitute the one for the other, the throne of Mysore fell to the earth.*

29. Soon after the Indian empire of the East India Company had been engaged in these desperate contests for their very existence on the plains of the Ganges, the statesman whose firmness and ability had brought them through the crisis, was exposed to an unparalleled persecution from the people on whom he had conferred so inestimable a benefit. In the confusion and vicissitudes of an empire thus suddenly elevated to greatness in a distant hemisphere, without any adequate restraint either on private cupidity or public ambition, many deeds of injustice had been committed, many private fortunes made by means which would not bear the light, many acts of oppression perpetrated in the name, and sometimes under the pressure, of state necessity. All these misdeeds, inseparable from an empire

* In the war with Hyder in 1768, Colonel Wood, who commanded the British forces, found it impossible to bring him to a pitched battle. In vain the Madras government tried to equip him with a light train of artillery and a body of chosen men, in hopes that by the velocity of their advance they might succeed in bringing him to action; all their efforts were defeated by the rapidity and secrecy of his movements. At length, Wood, completely exhausted with the pursuit, hoping to rouse the Sultan's pride, wrote him a letter, stating "that it was disgraceful for a great prince, at the head of a large army, to fly before a detachment of infantry and a few pieces of cannon, unsupported by cavalry." Hyder, however, returned the following characteristic answer:—"I have received your letter, in which you invite me to an action with your army. Give me the same sort of troops that you command, and your wishes shall be accomplished. You will in time come to understand my mode of warfare. Shall I risk my

cavalry, which cost a thousand rupees each horse, against your cannon-balls, which cost twopence? No! I will march your troops until their legs shall become the size of their bodies—you shall not have a blade of grass nor a drop of water. I will hear of you every time your drum beats, but you shall not know where I am once a month. I will give your army battle; but it must be when I please, not when you please." Hyder was as good as his word. He laid waste the country, and, retiring before Colonel Wood, drew him on till his little army was exhausted with fatigue and privations, and in that weakened state attacked him, captured all his artillery, and reduced him to such straits that nothing but the opportune arrival of succours under Colonel Smith saved him from a total defeat. Had Tippoo's armies been formed on the same model, his descendants would, in all probability, have been still on the throne of Seringapatam.—See MARTIN, viii. 46, note.

rising under such peculiar and unparalleled circumstances, were visited on the head of Mr Hastings. Faction fastened on the East as the chosen field of its ambitious efforts, where the lever was to be found by which the inestimable prize of Indian opulence was to be wrested from the hands of its present possessors. The sacred names of justice and equity, of religion and humanity, were prostituted as a cloak to the selfishness of private ambition; and the whole efforts of a powerful coalition of parties in the British Islands, devoted for a long course of years to the persecution of the statesman who had saved our empire in the East from destruction.

30. Early in 1782, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr Dundas, and under the influence of the Rockingham administration, adopted a resolution condemnatory of Mr Hastings' administration, which led to a vote of recall of that governor-general by the East India Company. The latter resolution was, after the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the head of the ministry, rescinded, by a large majority of the East India proprietors; but the investigation resolved on by the Commons was prosecuted with increased vigour by the coalition ministry of Mr Fox and Lord North, by which the former cabinet was succeeded. Mr Hastings finally resigned his office, and returned to this country early in 1785; and in the following year the prosecution commenced under the administration of Mr Pitt, who had succeeded to the helm. The impeachment was solemnly voted by a large majority of the Commons: proceedings soon after commenced with extraordinary solemnity before the House of Lords, and were protracted for many years in Westminster Hall, with a degree of zeal and talent altogether unexampled in the British senate.

31. In the earlier stages of the proceedings against Mr Hastings in the House of Commons, Mr Pitt voted with him, and, in consequence, a considerable part of the accusations were negatived by the House of Commons.

His friends looked forward with reason to a total absolution. Not only on several preliminary questions, but on the great question of the Rohilla war, he had the support of government, and these charges were negatived in the House of Commons by a majority of 119 to 67. But, in regard to the charge of extortion from the Rajah of Benares, the prime minister suddenly took part with the Whig prosecutors, stigmatising the fine levied on that potentate (£500,000) as enormous and oppressive, and declaring, in regard to these transactions, "the conduct of Mr Hastings has been so cruel, unjust, and oppressive, that it was impossible that he, as a man of honour or honesty, having any regard to faith or conscience, could any longer resist; and therefore he had fully satisfied his conscience that Warren Hastings, in the case in question, had been guilty of such enormities and misdemeanours as constitute a crime sufficient to call for an impeachment." This sudden and unexpected change of measure on the part of Mr Pitt, was decisive against Mr Hastings, as it immediately brought the majority in the Lower House against him; and it led in consequence to many vehement reflections on the conduct of the minister by the friends of the illustrious accused.*

* Lord Campbell, in his valuable *Lives of the Chancellors*, gives the following account of this unworthy transaction:—"Pitt having professed scruple when the King hinted a wish that Hastings, a few months after his return, should be called to the Upper House, Thurlow treated these scruples with contempt, and said, there was nothing to prevent the holder of the Great Seal from taking the royal pleasure about a patent of peerage!—So encouraged, Hastings actually chose his barony. Having fulfilled the resolution he had formed, when an orphan boy at a village-school, to recover the estate which had been for many centuries in his family, he now took his title from it, and declared that he would be 'Lord Daylesford of Daylesford, in the county of Worcester.' But Pitt put an end to all these speculations by voting against him, on the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing, one of the most unfounded, though he had voted with him on the charges respecting the Rohilla war, one of the best established of the grounds of complaint. A circular had been sent round by the treasury to all the ministerial members to attend and

There is too much reason to believe that Mr Pitt's sudden change on this question, inexplicable on the face of the transaction, was really owing to a jealousy of Thurlow or Hastings, altogether unworthy of his character. And, without disputing that the fine was excessive, it must be allowed that it was imposed on a refractory delinquent, who had failed in the duty which his allegiance required; that it was determined on under the overbearing pressure of state necessity; that the exhaustion of the treasury, and the pressing dangers in the Carnatic, imperatively required an immediate supply of money, which could be obtained in no other way; that the funds thus acquired proved the salvation of India, by enabling Sir Eyre Coote to make head against Hyder, and were all applied by Mr Hastings to public purposes; and that, if justice

vote against: great was the astonishment of the friends of Mr Hastings and of the whole house; but it is said that, a few hours before the debate, Pitt received intelligence of the intrigue respecting the peerage, and of Thurlow's declaration that, under the King's authority, he would put the Great Seal to the patent without consulting any other minister. The turn was so sudden that even the attorney general voted against the prime minister: but the impeachment was carried by a majority of 119 to 79.—*CAMPBELL'S Lives of the Chancellors*, v. 574. If this account is correct, and it tallies too much with the known facts of the case to leave much doubt on the subject, Hastings was sacrificed to the jealousy of Pitt and Thurlow, which had long been known to exist, and at last broke out with such violence, on occasion of the debate in the House of Lords on the sinking-fund, on May 15, 1792, that it led to Mr Pitt's insisting that Thurlow should be removed from office, which was accordingly done.—*CAMPBELL'S Lives of the Chancellors*, v. 604. It was certainly imprudent in Thurlow to encourage the King in his design of conferring a peerage on Hastings' pending an accusation, on whatever grounds, in the House of Commons, and irregular to do so without the concurrence of the prime minister; but it was base in Pitt to avenge himself on the chancellor for this imprudence, by voting, contrary to his previous determination, the impeachment of Hastings. So true it is that the greatest men are often subject to the meanest jealousies as well as the least. In reality, the merits of Hastings' case had nothing to do with the final determination regarding it: it turned into a mere personal contest between Mr Pitt and Lord Thurlow, as to which should have the government of the cabinet.

and not persécution had been the object of the House of Commons, it would have been better obtained by a vote of restitution or reparation from the English legislature to the injured rajah, than by the adoption of vindictive proceedings against a statesman who, in this matter, did evil that good might come of it.

32. Never before had such an assemblage of talent, eloquence, and influence been exerted in any judicial proceeding as in the impeachment of this great man before the House of Lords. The powerful declamation and impassioned oratory of Mr Fox; the burning thoughts and thrilling words of Mr Burke; the playful wit and fervent declamation of Mr Sheridan, gave lustre to the progress of the prosecution. "The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the unjust condemnation of Strafford, and where Charles had confronted his accusers with the calm courage which, amidst many misdeeds, has redeemed his fame. The Peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds—a hundred and seventy of them walked in solemn procession to the august tribunal. Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his defence of Gibraltar, led the way; the Prince of Wales, conspicuous for his fine person and noble bearing, closed the procession. The grey old walls were hung with scarlet; the galleries exhibited a matchless array of talent, grace, and beauty; the ambassadors of kings and commonwealths gazed on a spectacle which no other country could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres. There sat, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from the easel which has perpetuated so many

noble foreheads; it had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted so vast a treasure of erudition.* Yet amidst all this stately presence was the eye riveted by the dauntless accused, who, with a figure worn with care, but a brow of intellectual dignity and a lip of inflexible decision, calmly awaited his fate from the justice or envy of his country."

33. During one hundred and thirty days that the trial lasted, diffused over seven years, the public interest was unabated; Westminster Hall was thronged with all the rank, wit, and beauty of the realm; and though it terminated in the acquittal of the accused by a majority of eight to one on all the charges, yet the national mind was seriously impressed by the numerous accusations enforced with so much eloquence. His private fortune was almost ruined in the contest; and nothing but the liberality of the East India Company, who nobly supported him with unshaken firmness, against such a torrent of obloquy, preserved the otherwise unbefriended statesman from total ruin.† The Sovereign of Hindostan, the man who might have placed himself on the throne of Aurengzebe, and severed the empire of the East from the British crown during the perils of the American War, was bowed to the earth by the stroke; he remained for twenty years in retirement in the country, and sank at last unennobled into the grave.

34. But truth is great, and will prevail. Time rolled on, and brought its wonted changes on its wings. The passionate declamations of Mr Burke were forgotten; the thrilling words of Mr Fox had passed away; the moral

courage of Mr Pitt had become doubted in the transaction; but the great achievements, the far-seeing wisdom, the patriotic disinterestedness of Mr Hastings, had slowly regained their ascendancy over general thought. Many of the deeds proved against him, it was seen, had been imposed on him by secret instructions, others originated in overbearing necessity. The poverty of the illustrious statesman pleaded eloquently in his favour; the magnitude of his services rose in irresistible force to recollection; and a few years before his death he was made a privy councillor, from a growing sense of the injustice he had experienced. George IV., with manly generosity, soon afterwards expressed a desire to make him a peer,—an intention which was only prevented from being carried into effect by the dread of appearing, to slight a decision, however unjust, of the House of Commons. But even that body in the end became sensible it had been misled, and had the magnanimity to make public amends. When Mr Hastings appeared in 1813 at the bar of the Lower House, to give evidence on the renewal of the Company's charter, the whole members spontaneously rose up in token of respect to the victim of its former persecution; and when he was called from this checkered scene, his statue was, with general consent, placed by his unshaken friends, the East India Directors, among those of the illustrious men who had founded and enlarged the empire of the East.‡

* The reader will recognise in this splendid passage the gifted hand of Mr Macaulay, worthy, indeed, to paint such a scene. See *Edinburgh Review*, lxxx. 241, 242; and *MACAULAY'S Essays*, art. "Hastings," iii. 446, 447.

† The East India Company lent Mr Hastings £50,000 for eighteen years without interest, to meet the expenses of his trial, and settled on him a pension of £4000 for twenty-eight years, from June 24, 1785, being till the expiration of their charter; and it was continued on its renewal in 1813.—*Debates of Lords on Mr Hastings' Trial*, 495. *MILL*, v. 230.

‡ A few hours before Mr Hastings' death, he wrote to the East India directors—"I have called you by the only appellation that language can afford me, 'My Well-lover,' my profitable friend; for such, with every other quality of friendship, I have ever experienced yours in all our mutual intercourse, and my heart has returned it, unprofitably I own, but with equal sentiments of the purest affection. My own conscience assuredly attests me that I myself have not been wanting in my duty to my respectable employers. I quit the world and their service, to which I shall conceive myself, to the latest moment that I still draw my breath, still devotedly attached, and in the firm belief that, in the efficient body of directors, I have not one individual ill-affected towards me. I do not express my full feelings—I believe them all to be kindly, generously disposed towards me; and to the larger constituent body I can

35. Bright, indeed, is the memory of a statesman who has statues erected to his memory forty years after his power has terminated, and thirty after all the vehemence of a powerful faction, and all the fury of popular outcry, had been raised to consign him to destruction. To how many men, once the idol of the people during the plenitude of their power, will similar monuments, after the lapse of such a period, be raised? Persecution of its most illustrious citizens, of the greatest benefactors of their country, has ever been the disgrace of free states. The sacrifice of Sir Robert Calder, who saved England from Napoleon's invasion; of Lord Melville, who prepared for it the triumph of Trafalgar; of the Duke of York, who laid the foundation of Wellington's victories; the impeachment only express a hope that, if there be any of a different sentiment, the number is but few; for they have supported me when I thought myself abandoned by all other powers, from whom I ever thought myself entitled to any benefit. My latest prayers shall be offered for their service, for that of my beloved country, and for that also whose interests have so long been committed to my partial guardianship, and for which I feel a sentiment, in my departing hours, not alien from that which is due from every subject to his own."

In January 1820, a proposition was submitted to the East India Directors, by their chairman, Campbell Marjoribank, Esq. After enumerating the great services of Mr Hastings, he asked, "How were these great services rewarded? He was not allowed even to repose in dignified retirement; he was dragged forward to contend with public accusations, and rewarded with two and twenty articles of impeachment. He (Mr M.) would not enter on the proceedings which distressed and harassed the feelings of that great man; they were at an end, and the feelings which excited them and that great man himself were now no more; but this he thought himself allowed to say, that those proceedings were contrary to the practice and spirit of the laws of this happy nation."

It was unanimously resolved, "That as the last testimony of approbation of the long, zealous, and successful services of the late Right Hon. Warren Hastings, in maintaining without diminution the British possessions in India, against the combined efforts of European, Mahomedan, and Mahratta enemies, the statue of that distinguished servant of the East India Company be placed among those of the statesmen and heroes who have contributed in their several stations to the recovery, preservation, and security of the British power and authority in India."—AUBREY, i. 696, 696.

of Clive, who founded, by heroic deeds, the British empire in the East; of Warren Hastings, who preserved it by moral determination—prove that the people of this country are sometimes governed by the same principles which caused Miltiades to die in the prison of the country he had saved, consigned Themistocles to Asiatic exile, banished Aristides because it was tiresome to hear him called the Just, and doomed Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Carthage, to an unhonoured sepulchre in a foreign land. Envy is the real cause of all these hideous acts of national injustice; the people would rather persecute the innocent than bear their greatness, or feel apprehension from their ambition.* But the friends of freedom may console themselves with the reflection, that, if popular institutions sometimes expose their best citizens to the effects of these occasional fits of national injustice, they furnish the only sure security for the ultimate triumph of equitable principles. If despotic power discerns more correctly the real character of its servants, it is liable to no external correction from the growing influence of honourable feelings after the wearing out of transitory passions. And if the historian of England, under other direction, would not have had to record the impeachment of the statesman who had saved its Eastern dominions from destruction, there would not have been permitted to him the grateful duty of contributing, against the united efforts of Whigs and Tories, against all the acrimony of selfish ambition, and all the fury of public passion, to rescue the memory of a great Eastern statesman from unmerited obloquy.

36. These frequent and interesting discussions on Indian affairs, however characteristic of the grievous injustice which the efforts of party frequently

* "Miltiades had the greatest influence among all the states of Greece, with a noble name, and reputation for military achievements. The people, looking to these circumstances, chose rather that he should suffer, though innocent, than that they should continue longer in fear of him."—CORN. NEPOS, "Miltiades."

infect on individuals in all popular communities, were, however, attended with one important and salutary consequence, that they drew the attention both of government and the nation to the administration of our Indian dominions, and the absolute necessity of assuming a more direct control than could be maintained by a mere body of directors of a trading company, over the numerous servants, civil and military, of their vast and growing possessions. This opinion, which had been strongly impressed upon the public mind by the serious and protracted disasters in the campaigns with Hyder in 1780 and 1781, was already general in the country before the fall of Lord North's ministry; and when Mr Fox succeeded to the head of affairs in 1783,* all parties were already prepared for a great and important change in the government of our Eastern empire. But the scheme of that able and ambitious statesman far outstripped either the reason or necessity of the case. He proposed,—in his famous India Bill, which convulsed the nation from end to end, and in its ultimate results occasioned the downfall of his administration,—to vest the exclusive right of governing India in seven directors, *to be named in the act*, that is, appointed by the legislature under the direction of the ministry for the time. The vacancies in these commissioners were to be filled up by the House of Commons under the same direction. The ferment raised by this prodigious proposed change in the country was unprecedented in the eighteenth century. Mr Pitt from the first denounced it as tyrannical, unconstitutional, and subversive of the public liberties: the sagacious mind of George III. at once perceived that it would render the present ministers, to whom he was secretly hostile, irremovable from their places, and put Mr Fox at the head of a powerful empire, an *imperium in im-*

perio, which might soon overshadow the British diadem. By the combined exertions of the crown and the Tory party, this important innovation was defeated, after it had passed the Lower House, by a small majority of nineteen in the House of Peers, and this defeat was immediately followed by the dismissal of Mr Fox and his whole administration.

37. The ground taken by the King and the Tory party against this celebrated bill, was its unconstitutional tendency, by vesting the patronage of so large a portion of the empire in directors appointed, not by the executive, but by the House of Commons; and it was this consideration which gave them the decisive majority which they obtained upon the dissolution of parliament in the April following. Nevertheless it is now apparent that, though at that period unperceived or unnoticed, the greatest danger of the proposed change would have arisen, not from this cause, but from the direct control over our Indian empire thereby conferred on the British legislature. If the vacillating and improvident policy, on many occasions forced even upon the resolute and clear-sighted mind of Mr Pitt by the unreflecting habits, and, on material questions, popular control of the House of Commons—and still more the total want of foresight in all financial measures since the peace of Paris in 1814, on the part both of government and the legislature—be compared with the steady rule, invincible firmness, and wise anticipations of our Indian government during the same period, no doubt can remain that the interests of the East would inevitably have been sacrificed by the change; that the ministerial directors, acting under the guidance of the House of Commons, could never have carried into execution those prompt and vigorous resolutions indispensable for the preservation of dominions so critically situated as those in Hindostan, and so far removed from the resources of the ruling state. In fact, no government under the direct control of a popular assembly would have been permitted to engage in those vast under-

* Mr Pitt, in November 1783, when the coalition ministry were still in power, called on Mr Fox “to bring forward a plan, not of temporary palliation or timorous expedient, but vigorous and effectual, suited to the magnitude, the importance, and the alarming exigence of the case.”—*Parl. Hist.* xxiv. 129.

takings, or incur the expense of those gigantic establishments, which were necessary to ward off future danger, or obtain present success, over the immense extent of our Indian dominions, originally founded and necessarily supported by military power.*

38. Although, however, Mr Fox's India bill was rejected, yet the numerous abuses of our Indian dominions, as well as the imminent hazard which they had run during the war with Hyder Ali, from the want of a firmly constituted central government, were too fresh in the public recollection to permit the existing state of matters to continue. Mr Pitt, accordingly, was no sooner installed in power, than he brought forward an India bill of his own, which, it was hoped, would prove exempt from the objections to which its predecessor had been liable, and, at the same time, remedy the serious evils to which the administration of affairs in India had hitherto been exposed. This bill passed both Houses, and formed the basis of the system under which, with some subsequent but inconsiderable amendments, the affairs of the East have been administered from that period down to the present time. By it the court of directors appointed by the East India Company remained as before, and to them the general administration of Indian affairs was still intrusted. The great change introduced was the institution of the *board of control*, a body composed of six members of the privy council, chosen by the king—the

* This is not the place to discuss the details of Mr Fox's bill; but it does not appear to have been calculated to afford any practical remedy for most of the evils under which the administration of Indian affairs at that period laboured; and accordingly it is observed with great candour by Mr Mill, whose leaning to the popular side is well known,—“The bills of Mr Fox, many and celebrated as were the men who united their wisdom to compose them, manifest a feeble effort in legislation. They demonstrate that the authors of them, however celebrated for their skill in speaking, were not remarkable for their powers of thought. For the right exercise of the powers of government in India, not one new security was provided, and it would not be very easy to prove that any strength was added to the old.”—MILL'S *British India*, iv. 480.

chancellor of the exchequer and one of the secretaries of state being two—in whom the power of directing and controlling the proceedings of the Indian empire was vested. The duties of this board were very loosely defined, and have all ultimately centred in the president, an officer who has become a fourth secretary of state for the Indian empire. They were described as being “from time to time to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in anywise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and possessions of the East India Company.” These powers were ample enough; but in practice they have led to little more than a control of the Company in the more important political or military concerns of the East, leaving the directors in possession of the practical direction of affairs in ordinary cases. All vacancies in official situations, with the exception of the offices of governor-general of India, governors of Madras and Bombay, and commanders-in-chief, which were to be filled up by the British government, were left at the disposal of the East India directors. A most important provision was made in the institution of a secret committee, who were to send to India in duplicate such despatches as they might receive from the board of control, and in the establishment of the supreme government of Calcutta, with a controlling power over the other presidencies—a change which at once introduced unity of action into all parts of the peninsula.

39. It cannot be affirmed that this anomalous constitution will stand the test of theoretical examination, or is confirmed by history as regards other states. Still less could it be presumed that a distribution of supreme power between a governor-general and two subordinate governors in the East, and a board of control and body of directors in the British Islands, gave any fair prospect either of unity of purpose or efficiency of action. Nevertheless, if experience, the great test of truth, be consulted, and the splendid progress of the Indian empire of Great Britain since

it was directed in this manner be alone considered, there is reason to hold this system of government one of the most perfect that ever was devised by human wisdom for the advancement and confirmation of political greatness. The secret of this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact, that this division of power has existed in theory only; that from the great distance of India from the home government, and the pressing interests which so frequently called for immediate decision, the supreme direction of affairs has practically come to be vested in the governors-general; and that in them have been found a succession of great men, second to none who ever appeared in the world for vigour and capacity, and who have vindicated the truth of the saying of Sallust, that it is in the strenuous virtue of a few that the real cause of national greatness is in general to be found. It is a curious speculation, the justice of which time will ere long determine, whether the direct and immediate administration of affairs in India by the board of directors and control, which has lately taken place, instead of the governor-general, will not reveal the latent weakness of the system, which has so long been concealed by the great distance of the shores of Hindostan; and whether steam navigation, and the re-opening the communication with the East by the Red Sea, has not, by bringing the intercourse with Bombay to a fourth of its former time, and thus rendering the board of directors the real rulers of Hindostan, implanted the seeds of death in the Indian empire of Great Britain.

40. It soon appeared how much the vigour and efficiency of the Indian administration had been increased by the important changes made in its central government. By Mr Pitt's India bill, all ideas of foreign conquest in the East had been studiously repressed—it having been declared, that “to pursue schemes of conquest or extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation.” But this declaration, in appearance so

just and practicable, was widely at variance with the conduct which extraneous events shortly after forced upon the British government. In truth, an extended view of human affairs, as well as the past experience of our Indian possessions, might even then have shown the impracticability of following out such a course of policy, and convinced our rulers that a foreign people settled as aliens and conquerors on the soil of Hindostan, could maintain themselves only by the sword. In order, however, to carry into execution the pacific views of ministers at home, a nobleman of high rank and character, Lord Cornwallis, was sent out by Mr Pitt, who united in his person the two offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief, so as to give the greatest possible unity to the action of government. No sooner, however, had he arrived there, than he discovered that Tippoo was intriguing with the other native powers for the subversion of our Indian dominion; and, as a rupture with France was apprehended at that juncture, four strong regiments were despatched to India. As the Company complained of the expense which this additional force entailed upon their finances, a bill was brought into parliament by Mr Pitt, which fixed the number of king's troops who might be ordered to India by the board of control, at the expense of the Company, at eight thousand, besides twelve thousand European forces in the Company's service.

41. The wisdom of this great addition to the native European force in India, as well as the increased vigour and efficiency of the supreme government, speedily appeared in the next war that broke out. Tippoo, whose hostility to the English was well known to be inveterate, and who had long been watched with jealous eyes by the Madras presidency, at length commenced an attack upon the Rajah of Travancore—a prince in alliance with the British, and actually supported by a subsidiary force of their troops. At first, from the total want of preparation which had arisen from the pacific policy so strongly inculcated upon the

Indian authorities by the government at home, he obtained very great success, and totally subdued the chief against whom he had commenced hostilities. Perceiving that the British character was now at stake in the peninsula, and being well aware that a power founded on opinion must instantly sink into insignificance, if the idea gets abroad that its allies may be insulted with impunity, Lord Cornwallis immediately took the most energetic measures to reassert the honour of the British name. Fifteen thousand men were collected in the Carnatic under General Meadows, while eight thousand more were to ascend the Ghauts from the side of Bombay, under General Abercromby. So obvious was the necessity of this war, and so flagrant the aggressive acts which Tippoo had committed, that, notwithstanding their general aversion to hostile measures, from the expense with which they were attended, and their recent declaration of pacific intentions—on this occasion, both the English parliament and the court of directors passed resolutions cordially approving of the conduct of Lord Cornwallis in the transaction.* Treaties of alliance were at the same time entered into with the Peishwa and the Nizam, native powers, whose jealousy of the Mysore chief had been of long standing; and hostilities commenced, which were at first attended with checkered success—General Meadows having taken Caroor and other towns, and Tippoo having surprised Colonel Floyd, and burst into the Carnatic, where he committed the most dreadful ravages.

* It is remarkable that the most violent declaimer against this war in the House of Peers, as uncalled-for, inexpedient, and unjust, was Lord Rawdon, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, who himself, in 1817, with much less provocation, was drawn into the great contest with the Mahrattas, which he terminated so gloriously for the British arms. So dangerous is it to judge of distant transactions from party prejudice or preconceived European ideas.—*Pursh. Hist.* 1791, xxix. 119-159. On this occasion Lord Porchester, the nobleman who opened the debate against the war, said—"I have proved that it has been the uniform policy of the directors and of the legislature, to avoid wars of conquest in India, and to confine the Company to the

42. The energies of government, however, were now thoroughly aroused. In December 1791, Lord Cornwallis embarked in person for Madras: the Bengal sepoys were with extreme difficulty reconciled to a sea voyage; and great reinforcements, with the commander-in-chief, were safely landed in the southern presidency. It was resolved to commence operations with the siege of Bangalore, one of the strongest fortresses in Mysore, and commanding the most eligible pass from the coast to the centre of Tippoo's dominions. In the end of January the grand army moved forward; the important pass of Coorg, leading up the Ghauts, was occupied within a month; after, Bangalore was invested in the beginning of March, and carried by assault on the 21st of that month. Encouraged by this great success, Lord Cornwallis pushed on direct to Seringapatam, although the advanced period of the season, and scanty supplies of the army, rendered it a service of considerable peril, which was increased rather than diminished by the junction, shortly after, of ten thousand of the Nizam's horse, who, without rendering any service to the army, consumed every particle of grass and forage within its reach. Still the English general continued to press forward, and at length reached the fortified position of the enemy, on strong ground, about six miles in front of Seringapatam. An attack was immediately resolved on; but Tippoo, who conducted his defence with great skill, did not await the formidable onset of the assaulting columns, and after inflicting a severe loss on the

limits of their present territories, and the management of their commercial interests."—*Ibid.* 123. In 1815, Lord Hastings, then governor-general of India, observed, in a very valuable minute on Indian finance—"It was by preponderance of power that those mines of wealth were acquired by the Company, and by preponderance of power alone could they be retained. The supposition that the British power could discard the means of strength, and yet enjoy the fruits of it, was one that would speedily and certainly be dissipated: in the state of India, were we to be feeble, our rule would be contemptible, and a very short one."—*LORD HASTINGS' Minute on Revenue*, 15th Sept. 1815; *AURER*, ii. 352.

assailants by the fire of his artillery, withdrew all his forces within the works of the fortress. The English were now within sight of the capital of Mysore, and decisive success seemed almost within their reach. They were in no condition, however, to undertake the siege. The supplies of the army were exhausted; the promised co-operation of the Mahrattas had failed; of General Abercromby, who was to advance from the side of Bombay, no advices had been received; and the famished state of the bullock-train precluded the possibility of getting up the heavy artillery or siege equipage. Orders were therefore given to retreat, and the army retired with heavy hearts and considerable loss of stores and men. But the opportune arrival of the advanced guard of the Mahratta contingent, on the second day of the march, which at first caused great alarm, suspended the retrograde movement, and the army encamped for the rainy season in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam.

43. The attack on the capital of Mysore, however, was only suspended by this untoward event. In the autumn following, Lord Cornwallis was again in motion, having in the preceding months, after the termination of the rains, made himself master of several important forts, which commanded or threatened his communications with the Carnatic. A most important blow was struck by a detachment of the British against a general of Tippoo's, who had taken post in the woods near Simoga, in order to disturb the siege of that place, which was commencing. He was defeated with the loss of ten thousand men; a disaster which led to the surrender of that fortress shortly after. Meanwhile Abercromby, with a powerful force, amply provided with all the muniments of war, broke up from Bombay, surmounted with incredible labour the ascent of the Poodicherrum Ghaut, and was in readiness to take his part in the combined enterprise. In the end of January, Lord Cornwallis's army moved forward towards Seringapatam, no longer depending on the doubtful aid of the

Mahratta chiefs, but presenting a vast array of British and sepoy troops, such as had never before been exhibited on the plains of India. Eleven thousand native English, thirty thousand regular sepoys, with eighty-four pieces of cannon, exhibited an army worthy of contending for the empire of the East. Nor was this force, considerable as it was, disproportioned to the magnitude and hazard of the enterprise in which the empire was engaged; for not only were the ramparts of Seringapatam of surpassing strength, but Tippoo lay in front of them at the head of fifty thousand regular infantry and five thousand horse, in a strong position, defended by numerous fortifications, and one hundred and fifty pieces of heavy artillery.

44. No sooner had Lord Cornwallis reconnoitred the enemy's position than he resolved to commence an attack, and the assault was fixed for that very night. The army was formed in three divisions: his lordship in person commanded the centre, General Meadows the right, Colonel Maxwell the left. Seringapatam is situated on an island, formed by two branches of the river Cavery, which enclose between them a space four miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. On the eastern portion of the island, Tippoo had constructed without the walls, but within reach of them, in case of disaster, a strongly fortified camp, supported by numerous fieldworks and batteries, and without this stronghold beyond the river, the bulk of the Sultan's army was encamped on elevated ground, covered on one side by a large tank, on the other by a small river which falls into the Cavery, and supported on the side next the enemy by six large redoubts. Three hundred pieces of cannon were mounted on the interior fortifications and the walls of the fortress, besides one hundred and fifty on the exterior line; and a thick hedge, formed of bamboos and prickly shrubs, connecting the works, formed a most serious obstacle to the attacking columns, from presenting no resistance to cannon-shot, yet being altogether impervious to foot-soldiers. To attack

such a force so posted, in the dark and amid the chances and confusion of a nocturnal assault, must be considered one of the most daring deeds, even in the annals of Indian heroism.

45. At eight o'clock the order was given to march. The evening was calm and serene, the moon shone bright, and the troops advanced swiftly and steadily, but in perfect silence; while the reserve, with the whole artillery and ammunition train, struck their tents, and stood to their guns in breathless anxiety. The surprise was complete: so admirably was silence preserved, that the centre came upon the enemy wholly unawares, forced their way through the stiff hedge, and carrying everything before them, pushed through the camp, passed the ford of the Cavery, crossed over to the opposite side, and, taking in the rear the batteries, which had opened their fire upon the other division, drove the gunners from their pieces. The right wing, under General Meadows, also cut through the bound hedge about half-past eleven, while the left with ease carried the Carighaut hill: the roar of artillery was heard on all sides, while the flash of musketry now illuminated the whole extent of the horizon. Panic-struck at the celerity and vigour of the attack, which had penetrated their works in so many different quarters at once, the enemy gave way on all sides, when fortune was nearly restored by one of those accidents to which all nocturnal attacks are subject, and the centre, with its noble commander, almost cut off. The right wing, under Meadows, had been grievously impeded in its march after passing the bound hedge, by several rice enclosures and water-courses, which could not be crossed without great difficulty; and, in consequence, for two hours he was unable to reach the advanced point to which Cornwallis had arrived in the island in the early part of the night. Meanwhile, Tippoo's troops began to recover from their consternation, and as day dawned, and they perceived that the body which had penetrated into the centre of their intrenchments did not exceed five thousand men, they closed in on

all sides, and commenced with overwhelming numbers an attack upon this band of heroes.

46. The British troops, however, animated by the presence of their commander-in-chief, made a gallant defence. The repeated and furious onsets of the enemy were repulsed by a rolling fire, enforced when necessary by the bayonet; and at length, when daylight dawned and the guns of the fortress began to be turned upon them, they retired towards Carighaut hill in perfect order, and took post beyond their destructive range. Meanwhile, the troops of Meadows having by a mistake of their guides been brought close to the Mosque redoubt, which was meant to have been passed without molestation, transported by the ardour of the moment, commenced an assault, which at first was repulsed with heavy loss. The assailants, however, returned to the charge, and that formidable work was at length carried amidst cheers which were heard over the whole camp. Animated by the joyful sound, Cornwallis's men stood their ground with invincible firmness; while Meadows was no sooner disengaged from the perilous contest into which he had been unwillingly drawn, than he pressed on with renewed alacrity to the relief of the main body, which he was well aware, from the weight of the firing in that direction, must be engaged in a very serious contest. As morning broke, the two divisions met and mutually saluted each other as victors.* The triumph was complete. Out of six of the enemy's redoubts, four were in the hands of the victors; Tippoo in an early part of the night had taken refuge in his capi-

* When the enemy had surrounded Lord Cornwallis, in the middle of the night, and a heavy fire had set in on all sides, he said to those around him,—"If General Meadows is above ground, this will bring him." Nor was he mistaken. True as the magnet to the pole, his gallant lieutenant pressed to the scene of danger, and, attracted by the sound, reached in time the theatre of that desperate conflict.—The unanimity and heartfelt mutual admiration of these two great men is, as Mill has justly observed, one of the finest features of this campaign; and is particularly worthy of admiration on the part of Meadows, considering that Corn-

tal; the intrenched camp, with above a hundred pieces of cannon, was abandoned; four thousand soldiers had fallen, and nearly twenty thousand more disbanded and left their colours—while the loss of the victors did not amount to six hundred men.

47. On the following morning Tippoo made a desperate attempt to regain the Sultan redoubt, which was so near the capital as to be commanded in rear by its guns; and a body of two thousand chosen horse came on with appalling cries to storm the gorge, before the slender garrison, consisting only of a hundred and fifty men, could barricade it. But they were repulsed by the steady gallantry and ceaseless fire of this heroic band. Upon this the enemy retreated entirely within the town; and, soon after, the army obtained an important accession of strength by the arrival of Abercromby with two thousand Europeans and four thousand sepoy troops. Operations were now commenced in form against the fortress: the first parallel was begun and completed on the night of the 18th; the splendid gardens and shady walks of the country palace, in which the Sultan so much delighted, were, perhaps with needless violence, destroyed, and the palace itself converted into a great hospital. At length, when the breaching batteries were in readiness and armed with fifty pieces of heavy cannon, the Sultan concluded a treaty on such terms as Lord Cornwallis chose to prescribe, and hostilities terminated. Such, however, was the ardour of the troops, especially the sepoys, who were engaged in the trenches, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could be prevailed on to cease

firing, and when the European troops enforced the command, they retired sullen and dejected to their tents; while Tippoo's men by a vain bravado continued discharging cannon for some time after the British lines were silent—as if to demonstrate that they had not been the first to give up the contest.

48. By the treaty of peace which followed, Tippoo was compelled to submit to the cession of half his dominions to the British, the Nizam, and the Marhattas; to pay £3,500,000 as the expenses of the war; to deliver up all the prisoners made in Hyder's time, some of whom still lingered in a miserable captivity; and to surrender his two sons as hostages. The young princes were immediately after courteously received, and splendidly treated, by the British government. Lord Cornwallis, whose health had for some time been declining, and who had postponed his departure for England only on account of the contest in the Mysore, soon after returned to his native country, having, during his short government, added twenty-four thousand square miles to its Eastern dominions.

49. Human affairs are everywhere governed at bottom by the same principles; the varieties of colour, language, and civilisation, are but the different hues which conceal the operation of passions and interests which are for ever identical among mankind. Differing widely in its origin and its effects upon social happiness, the British empire in India bears, in many respects, a very close analogy to the Roman republic in ancient times, and the contemporaneous French domination in Europe; and in none more than in the experienced necessity of advancing, in order to avoid destruction, which was felt equally strongly by the Roman consuls, the Emperor Napoleon, and the English governors-general of India. The reason in all the three cases was the same—viz. that a power had got a footing in the midst of other states, so formidable in its character, and so much at variance in its principles with the policy of the powers by which it

wallis, by assuming the direction in person, deprived him of the honour of a separate command in so momentous a service. What a striking circumstance, that he so soon after should have the means of rescuing his noble and respected commander-in-chief from destruction! But India is the theatre of romantic adventure, as well as of heroic and disinterested exploits; and a most inadequate conception will be formed of British character or glory, till the memorable history of its empire in the East is given by a historian worthy of so magnificent a theme. —MILL, v. 367, note.

was surrounded, that of necessity it was engaged in constant hostilities, and had no security for existence but in the continual extension of its dominions, or terror of its name. The East India Company had fondly flattered themselves that Tippoo, being thus humbled, would lay aside his hereditary hostility to the English power—just as the Roman senate believed, after the first Punic war, that the jealousy of the Carthaginians was allayed; or as Napoleon imagined that, after the spoliation of Tilsit, he might rely upon the forced submission or cured inveteracy of Prussia;—and the result in all the instances was the same.

50. Sir John Shore, a most respectable civil servant of the Company, who was appointed governor-general after the retirement of Lord Cornwallis, was strongly imbued with those maxims of the necessity of pursuing a pacific policy in India, and avoiding all causes of collision with the native powers, which were so general both with the government, the directors, and the people at home, and which had been so strongly enforced upon the local authorities by the board of control. Ample opportunities soon occurred for putting the expedience of their apparently reasonable and just principles to the test. Shortly after the conclusion of the peace with Tippoo, differences broke out between the Mahrattas and the Nizam; and the English government, as the old ally of the latter prince, were strongly urged by his partisans to support him, as they had done the Rajah of Travancore, in the contest. This, however, Sir John Shore, acting on the pacific system refused, and even declined to permit the Nizam to employ in his warfare with the Mahrattas the battalions which were placed as a protecting force in his territories.

51. The consequences of this temporising conduct might easily have been foreseen. The Nizam, after a short contest, was overthrown by the superior force of the Mahrattas, (who could bring twenty thousand cavalry, forty thousand infantry, and two hun-

dred guns, into the field), and compelled to make peace on very disadvantageous terms. Such was the dissatisfaction produced very naturally at the court of that chieftain, by this desertion of their ally by the English government, at the most perilous crisis, that he soon after signified a wish to be relieved of the presence of the British subsidiary force, which was complied with; and the Nizam immediately threw himself without reserve into the arms of the French resident, M. Raymond. By his advice he augmented the organised force in his dominions, under the direction of European officers under his orders, to twenty-three battalions and twelve pieces of artillery. These troops carried the colours of the French republic, and the cap of liberty was engraven on their buttons. Thus, by the timid policy of the British government at that crisis, not only was the power and influence of the Mahrattas materially increased, but their old and faithful ally, the Nizam, was converted from a faithful friend into an embittered foe, and the moral sway resulting from the glorious termination of the war with Mysore seriously impaired.

52. Tippoo was not slow in using to the best advantage this unexpected turn of events in his favour. Already had exaggerated reports of the growing power and conquests of the great republic reached the courts of Hindostan; and numerous French agents had found their way to all the native powers, who represented in glowing colours the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for expelling the English from the peninsula, and re-establishing, on a durable basis, the independence of all the Indian states. The Mysorean chief, whose cunning and perfidy were equal to his ability, strove, in the first instance, by professions of eternal gratitude and attachment, to disarm the suspicions of the British government; and he succeeded so far, that, in two years after the treaty of Seringapatam, his two sons were restored to his embraces. No sooner had he got free from the restraint imposed on him by

their captivity, than he sent a secret circular to the different native powers of India, proposing to them all to unite in a common league for the expulsion of the English from Hindostan; received with unbounded confidence the agents who had been despatched to the court of Seringapatam by the French directory; and even sent emissaries to the distant court of Cabul, beyond the Himalaya snows, to confirm Zemaun Shah, the restless and ambitious chief of that formidable people, the Affghauns, in his declared design of invading the northern parts of India, and reinstating in its original splendour the throne of the Moguls. Meanwhile his own activity was indefatigable. Soon his preparations were complete; his army was on the best footing, and constantly ready to take the field; and ere long, while the Mahrattas and the Nizam had by mutual dissensions broken up the triple league of which he had formerly experienced the weight, and the latter had fallen entirely under the guidance of the large French force in his capital, the military strength and political consideration of Mysore were more formidable than ever.

* The following were the terms of this remarkable proclamation by General Hyppolite Malartie, governor of the Isle of France:—"Tippoo Sultan has despatched two ambassadors to us with particular letters to the Colonial Assembly, to all the generals employed under this government, and to the Executive Directory. 1. He desires an alliance offensive and defensive with the French, and proposes to maintain at his charge, as long as the war shall last in India, the troops which may be sent him. 2. He declares that he has made every preparation to receive the succours which may be sent to him. 3. In a word, he only waits the moment when the French shall come to his assistance, to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India. 4. This power desires also to be assisted by the free citizens of colour; we therefore invite all such, who are willing to serve under his flag, to enrol themselves."—WELLESLEY'S *Despatches*.

On the 20th July 1799, Tippoo transmitted to the Directory at Paris a note of proposals for an alliance offensive and defensive, "in order to obtain such an accession of force as, joined to mine, may enable me to attack and annihilate for ever our common enemies in Asia; and may the heavens and the earth meet ere the alliance of the two nations shall suffer the smallest diminution." The proposals were,—1. That the French should

53. Matters were at length brought to a crisis, by the Sultan's taking the extraordinary step, in spring 1798, of sending ambassadors to the Isle of France to negotiate with the French authorities for the expulsion of the English from India, and effect the levy of a subsidiary European force to assist him in his designs. He afterwards publicly received the troops raised in pursuance of this plan, at Mangalore, and conducted them with great pomp to his capital. It was impossible to doubt, after this decisive step, that he was only awaiting the favourable moment for commencing his operations; the more especially when, at the very same period, a French armament, of unprecedented magnitude, sailed from Toulon for the Nile, and both the Directory and Napoleon publicly spoke of their communications with the undoubted Mysorean chief as their principal inducement for giving it that direction, and "Citizen Tippoo" was openly announced as the powerful ally who was to co-operate in the ultimate objects of the expedition.* It was evident, therefore, that a crisis of the most dangerous kind

furnish a subsidiary force of ten or fifteen thousand troops of every description, with an adequate naval force. 2. That the Sultan should furnish military stores, horses, bullocks, provisions, and all other necessaries: that the expedition should be directed to Porto Novo, or some other point on the coast of Coromandel, where it will be joined by an army under the command of the king in person. 3. All conquests which shall be made from the common enemy, excepting the dominions of the Sultan which have been wrested from him by the English, shall be equally divided between the two contracting parties.—WELLESLEY'S *Despatches*, i. 711, 712, Appendix.

Napoleon's letter to Tippoo, upon landing in Egypt, already alluded to, [*Ante*, Chap. xxvi. § 75], was in the following terms:—"Cairo, 25th Jan. 1799. You have already been made acquainted with my arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, filled with the desire to deliver you from the iron yoke of England. I hasten to convey to you my desire, that you should give me, by the way of Muscat, or Mokha, intelligence of the political circumstances in which you find yourself placed. I desire even that you will send to Suez, or Grand Cairo, some able man in whom you have confidence, with whom I may confer. BUONAPARTE."—*Corresp. Conf. de Napoleon*, vii. 192.

was approaching, and that, too, at the very time when the diminution in the consideration of the English in India, and the weakening of their alliances among the native powers, had rendered them least capable of bearing the shock. But the hand of fate was upon the curtain. At this perilous moment the sons of Britain were not wanting to

herself. Sprung from one family, two illustrious men were now entering upon the scene, who were destined to carry its glory to the highest point of exaltation, and leave an empire, both in the East and West, unrivalled in the extent of its dominion, and unequalled in the impression it was destined to produce upon the fortunes of mankind.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARQUIS WELLESLEY, AND FIRST APPEARANCE OF WELLINGTON IN INDIA.

1. ARTHUR WELLESLEY, afterwards Duke of WELLINGTON, was born in Morion Street, Dublin, in the parish of St Peter's, where his birth is registered, on the 1st May 1769. He was the fourth son of Garret, second Earl of Mornington, and was descended by the mother's side from the Dunganon family, his mother having been Anne, eldest daughter of Viscount Dunganon. His father was a man of polished manners and kind and hospitable disposition, but not distinguished by any remarkable abilities, except a marked genius for music. His mother was a woman of uncommon vigour of mind, so that he forms, with Sir Walter Scott, Napoleon, Mr Pitt, and nearly all the illustrious persons of the last age, another instance among the many which experience must probably have furnished to every observer, that the sons of a family, at least in general, take their intellectual character from the mother's side. The Wellesleys were an old Saxon family long settled in Sussex, and the ancestor of the Irish branch had come over with Henry II. in 1172, to whom he was standard-bearer, and from whose gratitude he received extensive estates in the counties of Meath and Kildare. Wellington's elder brother, who succeeded to the hereditary honours,

was afterwards created MARQUIS WELLESLEY; so that one family enjoyed the rare felicity of giving birth to the statesman whose energetic councils established the empire of England in the Eastern, and the warrior whose immortal deeds proved the salvation of Europe in the western hemisphere.

2. The young soldier was regularly educated for the profession of his choice, and received his first commission in the year 1787, being then in the eighteenth year of his age. Napoleon had entered the artillery two years before at the age of sixteen, and was then musing in lonely meditation on the heroes of Plutarch; Sir Walter Scott, at the age of seventeen, was relieving the tedium of legal education by strolling over the mountains of his native land, and dreaming of Ariosto and Amadis in the grassy vale of St Leonard's, near Edinburgh; Viscount Chateaubriand was inhaling the spirit of devotion and chivalry, and wandering, in anticipation, as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, amidst the solitude of La Vendée; Goethe, profound and imaginative, was reflecting on the destiny of man on earth, and inhaling deep draughts of divine philosophy, destined to be wedded to immortal verse; Schiller was casting on the deathless mirror of the stage the shadows of his

tory and the creations of a noble fancy; and the ardent spirit of Nelson was chafing in inaction, and counting the weary hours of life, on a pacific West Indian station. Little did any of them think of each other, or anticipate the heart-stirring scenes which were so soon about to arise, in the course of which their names were to shine forth like stars in the firmament, and their genius to acquire immortal renown. There were giants in the earth in those days.

3. Arthur Wellesley, educated at Eton, studied for a short time at the military academy of Angers, in France, where Napoleon also for some time was placed; but he was soon removed from that seminary to take a part in the active duties of his profession. As subaltern and captain he served both in the cavalry and infantry: in spring 1793 he was promoted to the majority of the 33d regiment, and in autumn of the same year, he became, by purchase, its lieutenant-colonel. At the head of that regiment he first entered upon active service, by sailing from Cork, in May 1794, and landing at Ostend in the beginning of June following, with orders to join Lord Moira's corps, which was assembling in that place, to reinforce the Duke of York, who was in the field near Tournay. That ill-fated prince, however, was then hard pressed by the vast army of the Republicans under Pichegru, [*Ante*, Chap. XVI. § 54], and as he was under the necessity of retreating, it was justly deemed unadvisable to attempt the retention of a fortress so far in advance as Ostend, and Lord Moira with great skill conducted his troops by Bruges and Ghent to the Scheldt, and, crossing that river at the Tête-de-Flandre, joined the English army encamped around Antwerp.

4. The multiplied disasters of that unhappy campaign soon brought Colonel Wellesley into contact with the enemy, and taught him the art of war in the best of all schools, that of great operations and adverse fortune. The English army, now entirely separated from that of the Austrians, who had marched off towards the Rhine, were

in no sufficient strength to face the immense masses of the Republicans in any considerable combat; but a number of detached actions took place on the part of the rear-guard, in which the spirit and intelligence of Colonel Wellesley speedily became conspicuous. On the river Neethe, in a warm affair near the village of Bostel, and in a hot skirmish on the shores of the Waal, the 33d did good service; the ability with which they were conducted excited general remark, and Colonel Wellesley was in consequence promoted to the command of a brigade of three regiments in the ulterior retreat from the Lech to the Yssel. They were no longer, indeed, pursued by the enemy, who had turned aside for the memorable invasion of Holland; but the rudeness of the elements proved a more formidable adversary than the bayonets of the Republicans. The route of the army lay through the inhospitable provinces of Guelderland and Overijssel; the country consisted of flat and desert heaths; few houses were to be found on the road, and these scattered, singly, or in small hamlets, affording no shelter to any considerable body of men. Over this dreary tract the British troops marched during the dreadful winter of 1794-5, through an unbroken wilderness of snow, with the thermometer frequently down at 15° and 20° below zero of Fahrenheit, and, when it was somewhat milder, a fierce and biting north wind blowing direct in the faces of the soldiers. In this trying crisis Colonel Wellesley commanded the rear-guard; his activity and vigilance arrested in a great degree the disorders which prevailed; and during his first essay in arms, he experienced severities equal to the far-famed horrors of the Moscow retreat.*

5. Short as was the first campaign of the Duke of Wellington, it was the best school that had been presented for nearly a century for the formation of a great commander. War was there exhibited on a grand scale: it was in

* "The cold in Russia, during 1812, never fell so low as in Holland during the winter of 1794-5."—JOMINI, *Vie de Napoleon*, iv. 74.

an army of sixty-eight battalions and eighty squadrons that he had served. The indomitable courage and admirable spirit of the British soldiers had, amid its disasters, appeared in their full lustre; but the natural results of these great qualities were completely checked by the defects, at that period, of their military organisation. Total ignorance of warlike measures in the cabinet which planned their movements; a destructive minuteness of direction, arising from too little confidence on the part of government in their generals in the field; a general want of experience in officers of all ranks in the most ordinary operations of a campaign; and, above all, the ruinous parsimony which, in all states not essentially military, subject to a really popular government, breaks down, on the return of peace, the military force by which alone, on the next resumption of hostilities, early success can be secured—paralysed all the courage of the troops. These defects appeared in painful contrast to the brilliant and efficient state of the more experienced German armies, which, with national resources nowise superior, and troops far inferior both in courage and energy, were able to keep the field with more perseverance, and, in the end, achieve successes which the British soldiers could hardly hope to accomplish. These considerations forcibly impressed themselves on the mind of the young officer; and he was early led to revolve in his mind those necessary changes in the direction and discipline of the army, which, matured by the diligence and vigour of the Duke of York, ultimately led the British nation to an unparalleled pitch of strength and glory.

6. It was not long before an opportunity presented itself for witnessing the capability of British soldiers when subjected to abler direction, and led by more experienced officers. After the return of the troops from Flanders to England, the 33d regiment was ordered to the West Indies; but contrary winds prevented the transports in which it was embarked from sailing, and their destination was soon after

changed for the East. Colonel Wellesley arrived with his corps at Calcutta in January 1797. During the voyage out, it was observed that he spent most of his time in reading; and after he landed in India, he was indefatigable in acquiring information regarding the situation and resources of the country in which he was to serve. Such use did he make of these opportunities, that when he was called, as he early was, to high command, he was perfectly acquainted, as his correspondence from the first demonstrates, both with the peculiarities of Indian warfare, and the intricacies of Indian politics. At his first interview with Sir John Suore after he landed, that experienced observer showed his discernment of character by the remark, "If Colonel Wellesley should ever have the opportunity of distinguishing himself, he will do it, and greatly." And when his division of the army took the field in January 1799, against Tippoo Sultan, the fine condition and perfect discipline of the men, as well as the skill and judgment of the arrangements made for their supplies, called forth the warm commendations of the commander-in-chief, who little thought of what a hero he was then ushering the name into the world.* During the campaign which followed, he had little time for study, and still fewer facilities for the transport of books; his library consisted of only two volumes, but they were eminently descriptive of his future char-

* "I have much satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship, that the very handsome appearance and perfect discipline of the troops under the orders of the Hon. Col. Wellesley, do honour to themselves and to him; while the judicious and masterly arrangements as to supplies, which opened an abundant free market, and inspired confidence into dealers of every description, were no less creditable to Colonel Wellesley than advantageous to the public service, and deservedly entitled him to my marked approbation." How early is the real character of great men shown, when once thrown into important situations! This might have passed for a description of Wellington's arrangements for the supply of his army in the south of France in spring 1814.—GENERAL HARRIS to the Governor-general in Council, February 2, 1799; *WELLESLEY'S Despatches*, i. 425.

acter and principles—the Bible and Caesar's Commentaries.*

7. The name of no commander in the long array of British greatness will occupy so large a space in the annals of the world as that of Wellington; and yet there are few whose public character possesses, with so many excellences, so simple and unblemished a complexion. It is to the purity and elevation of his principles, in every public situation, that this enviable distinction is to be ascribed. Intrusted early in life with high command, and subjected from the first to serious responsibility, he possessed that singleness of heart and integrity of purpose which, even more than talent or audacity, are the foundation of true moral courage, and can alone conduct to public greatness. A sense of duty, a feeling of honour, a generous patriotism, a forgetfulness of self, constituted the spring of all his actions. He was ambitious, but it was to serve his king and country only; fearless, because his whole heart was bound up in these noble objects; disinterested, because the enriching of himself or his family never for a moment crossed his mind; insensible to private fame when it interfered with public duty; indifferent to popular obloquy when it arose from rectitude of conduct. Like the Roman patriot, he wished rather to be than to appear deserving: "*Esse quam videri bonus malebat, ita quo minus gloriam petebat eo magis adsequebatur.*"† Greatness was forced upon him, both in military and political life, rather because he was felt to be the worthiest, than because he desired to be the first: he was the architect of his own fortune, but he became so almost unconsciously, while solely engrossed in constructing that of his country. He has left undone many things, as a soldier, which might have added to his fame, and done many things, as a statesman, which were

fatal to his power; but he omitted the first because they would have endangered his country, and committed the second because he felt them to be essential to its salvation. It is to the honour of England, and of human nature, that such a man should have risen at such a time to the rule of her armies and her councils; but he experienced, with Themistocles and Scipio Africanus, the mutable tenure of popular applause, and the base ingratitude of those whom he had saved. Having triumphed over the arms of the threatening tyrant, he was equally immovable in the presence of the insane citizens;‡ and it is hard to say whether his greatness appeared most, when he struck down the conqueror of Europe on the field of Waterloo, or when he was himself with difficulty rescued from death on its anniversary, eighteen years afterwards, on the streets of London.

8. A constant recollection of these circumstances, and of the peculiar and very difficult task which was committed to his charge, is necessary to the forming a correct estimate of the Duke of Wellington's military achievements. The brilliancy of his course is well known. An unbroken series of triumphs from Vimiera to Toulouse; the entire expulsion of the French from the Peninsula; the planting of the British standard in the heart of France; the successive defeat of those veteran marshals who had so long conquered in every country in Europe; the overthrow of Waterloo; the hurling of Napoleon from his throne; and the termination, in one day, of the military empire founded on twenty years of conquest. But these results, great and imperishable as they are, convey no adequate idea, either of the difficulties with which Wellington had to contend, or of the merit due to his transcendent exertions. With an army seldom superior in number to a single corps of the French marshals; with

* This interesting fact I learned from my highly esteemed friend Lord Ashley, who received it from the Duke himself.

† "He strove rather to be than to appear deserving; thus, the less he sought after glory, the more he attained it."

‡ "The rage of the citizens, commanding unjust things, the threatening visage of the pressing tyrant, can never shake the just man who is firm to his purpose, from his resolution."—HOMER, *Odes*, iii. 3.

troops dispirited by recent disaster, and wholly unaided by practical experience; without any compulsory law to recruit his ranks, or any strong national passion for war to supply its want—he was called on to combat successively vast armies, composed in great part of veteran soldiers, perpetually filled by the terrible powers of the conscription, headed by chiefs who, risen from the ranks, and practically acquainted with the duties of war in all its grades, had fought their way from the grenadier's musket to the marshal's baton, and were followed by men who, trained in the same school, were animated by the same ambition.

9. Still more, he was the general of a nation in which the chivalrous and mercantile qualities are strangely blended together; which, justly proud of its historic glory, is unreasonably jealous of its present expenditure; which, covetous in war of military renown, is impatient in peace of previous preparation; which starves its establishments when danger is over, and yet frets at defeat when its terrors are instant; which fires in strife on Cressy and Azincour, and ruminates, at rest, on economic reduction. He combated at the head of an alliance formed of heterogeneous states, composed of discordant materials, in which ancient animosities were hardly forgotten in present danger, or religious divisions in national fervour; in which corruption often paralysed the arm of patriotism, and jealousy withheld the resources of power. He acted under the direction of a ministry which, albeit zealous and active, was like inexperienced in hostility and unskilled in combination; in presence of an Opposition, which, powerful in eloquence, supported by faction, was prejudiced against the war, and indefatigable in endeavouring to arrest it; for the interests of a people who, although ardent in the cause and enthusiastic in its support, were impatient of disaster, and prone to depression, and whose military resources, how great soever, were dissipated in the protection of a colonial empire which encircled the earth.

10. Nothing but the most consummate

prudence, as well as ability in conduct, could, with such means, have achieved victory over such an enemy; but the character of Wellington was singularly fitted for the task. Capable, when the occasion required, or opportunity was afforded, of the most daring enterprises, he was yet cautious and wary in his general conduct; prodigal of his own labour, regardless of his own person, he was avaricious only of the blood of his soldiers. Endowed by nature with an indomitable soul and a constitution of iron, he possessed that tenacity of purpose and indefatigable activity, which is ever necessary to great achievements; prudent in council, sagacious in design, he was yet prompt and decided in action. His activity in war was unwearied; his frame capable of enduring unbounded fatigue. At any hour of the day he could lie down, wrapped in his military cloak, among the troops, and snatch an hour's sleep; at any hour of the night he was ready to receive despatches, and coolly gave orders for any emergency.* No general ever revolved the probable dangers of an enterprise more anxiously before undertaking it; none possessed in a higher degree the eagle eye, the arm of steel, necessary to carry it into execution. None more completely answered the description which ancient genius has left of the greatest general of antiquity.† By the steady application of this

* On one occasion, during a retreat in the Peninsula, an officer arrived in haste at headquarters during the night, when the Duke, then Earl of Wellington, was asleep. Being brought in, the Duke said, "Well, sir, what news do you bring?" "We have been much distressed, my Lord," replied he; "the enemy were very strong, and pressed us very hard." "Your men, I am afraid, must be very much fatigued?" "Dead beat, my Lord." "Then the French must be dead beat also: there will be no attack to-night. Good-night, sir." And in five minutes he was sound asleep.

† Daringly ready to undertake the most dangerous enterprises, in the midst of peril he was calm and considerate: no labour could fatigue his body, or subdue his mind. He was indifferent alike to heat or cold, to food and drink; he took what nature gave him in pleasure, dictated: he cared not whether he slept by day or by night. Such times as might be left after the transaction of business, that he

rare combination of qualities, he was enabled to raise the British military force from an unworthy state of depression to an unparalleled pitch of glory; to educate, in presence of the enemy, not only his soldiers in the field, but his rulers in the cabinet; to silence, by avoiding disaster, the clamour of his enemies; to strengthen, by progressive success, the ascendancy of his friends; to augment, by the exhibition of its results, the energy of the government; to rouse, by deeds of glory, the enthusiasm of the people. Skillfully seizing the opportunity of victory, he studiously avoided the chances of defeat: aware that a single disaster would at once endanger his prospects, discourage his countrymen, and strengthen his opponents, he was content to forego many opportunities of earning fame, and stifle many desires to grasp at glory; magnanimously checking the aspirations of genius, he trusted for ultimate success rather to perseverance in a wise, than audacity in a daring course. He thus succeeded, during six successive campaigns, with a comparatively inconsiderable army, in maintaining his ground against the vast and veteran forces of Napoleon, in defeating nearly all his marshals, and baffling successively all his enterprises, and finally in rousing such an enthusiastic spirit in the British empire, as enabled its government to put forth its immense resources on a scale worthy of its present greatness and ancient renown, and terminate a contest of twenty years by planting the British standard on the walls of Paris.

11. To have given birth to such a man is a sufficient distinction for one family; but Wellington is not the only illustrious character which England owes to the house of Mornington. It is hard to say whether, in a different line, in the management of the cabinet, the civil government of men, and the far-seeing sagacity of a consummate

dedicated to rest: for which he required neither a soft couch, nor absolute silence. Many have seen him lying wrapped in his military cloak amidst the common soldiers of the guard-house. — *Livy*, xxi. c. 4.

statesman, MARQUIS WELLESLEY is not equally remarkable. He was born in the year 1760, the eldest son of the family, and gave early promise, both at school and college, of those brilliant qualities which afterwards shone forth with such lustre in the administration of India. Educated like his brother Arthur at Eton, he inhaled amidst its classics shades that delicacy of taste, and proficiency in the composition of the ancient languages, for which that seminary has long been celebrated.* He retained these accomplishments undiminished throughout his whole eventful career, and attained such skill in them as raised him to the very highest rank as a scholar in the age of Porson and Parr. When he entered on active life, his talents for business soon introduced him to the notice of government; but his predilection was so strongly evinced from the first for Oriental affairs, that nature appeared to have expressly formed him for the command of the East. At an age when most of his contemporaries were acquainted with the affairs of India only through the uncertain medium of distant report, or the casual hints of private conversation, he was fully master of the politics of Hindostan, and had already formed those clear and luminous views of the condition and situation of our power there, which enabled him, from the very outset of

* Lord Wellesley's first contribution to the *Musa Etonensis* is dated 1778, and bears the motto, *Auribus vix surgis*—so early is the character developed in life. The concluding lines are prophetic of the destiny of his family:—

“Quid memorem, qualem sub libertate Britannia

Terra tulit prolem? Satis æquora subdita ponti,

Atque avulsa dolens nudatis lilia parvis Gallis, et infra toties testantur Iberi

Virtutem patrum, et generis molimina nostri.

At nec adhuc sacra libertas, neque viridans ardor,

Anglicos intra fines et pristina regna, Tam prorsus periere; manet, manet illa juvenas,

Via animi, et flammæ scintilla relicta prioris.

Qua jam fulmine Gallorum, monte superbas Evangat opes, nostrique minantur areolat agria.

FRANK'S Life of Wellesley, l. 14.

his career, to direct with so steady a hand the complicated mazes of Indian diplomacy. He had for several years been an active member of the board of control, then under the able direction of Lord Melville, and had acquired, from his remarkable proficiency in the subject, a large share in the confidence of government. But it was not in any of the public offices, it was not from the inspiration of Leadenhall Street, that he drew the enlarged and statesmanlike views which from the first characterised his Eastern administration. It was in the solitude of study that the knowledge was obtained; it was from the sages and historians of antiquity that the spirit was inhaled; it was in the fire of his own genius that the light was found.*

12. The maxims on which Marquis Wellesley acted in the East, were identical with those which Napoleon perceived to be indispensable to his existence in Europe, and which in former times had given the Romans the empire of the world. He at once discerned that the British sway in India was founded entirely on opinion; that twenty or thirty thousand Europeans, scattered among a hundred millions of Asiatics, must have acquired their supremacy by fascinating the mind; that this moral sway could be maintained

only by fidelity to engagement, and fearlessness in conduct; and that, in such circumstances, the most prudent course was generally the most audacious. Disregarding, therefore, entirely that temporising policy which the government at home had taken such pains to impress upon its Asiatic viceroys, which Cornwallis had triumphed over only by disregarding, and Sir John Shore had obeyed only to destroy, he resolved, at all hazards, to maintain the British faith inviolate, to strike terror into his enemies by the vigour of his measures, and secure victory by never despairing, and being always worthy of it. He recollected the words of Cato—"Quanto vos infirmiores agitis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit; si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt."†

13. But vigour and resolution are not alone capable of achieving success, though they are generally essential towards it: wisdom in combination, foresight in council, prudence in preparation, are also indispensable; and it was in the union of these invaluable qualities with the courage of the hero and the heart of the patriot, that Marquis Wellesley was unrivalled. Boldly assuming the lead, he kept it without difficulty, because he was felt to be the first; ardently devoted to his country, he inspired a portion of

* Lord Wellesley, like many other men of energetic and refined minds, was of a highly romantic turn. Early in life, shortly after he left Eton, he had gone down to the neighbourhood of the New Forest to study, and there met with a young and beautiful lady, the daughter of a gentleman in the neighbourhood, for whom he conceived a strong attachment, which, as may easily be believed, was returned. She soon after went to Paris, whither he followed her; but her death there put a period to their friendship. Sixty years afterwards, after he had been governor-general of India, and foreign minister in England, he returned an old man to the same spot. There he used to drive out in the morning to the well-known scenes, and, leaving the carriage and servant at a distance, visit alone the trees, the paths, the turf banks hallowed by such associations. "Who," says Bulwer, "can say that the mind is not influenced by the scene, the place, where we first dwell with the beloved one? Every object there is hallowed by associations which the place only can recall. The past by which it is haunted seems to

prescribe a like constancy for the future. If a thought less kind, less trustful, has entered in, the sight of a tree beneath which a vow has been exchanged, a tear kissed away, recalls again the hours of the first divine illusion." But the novelist did not contemplate such constancy in a statesman of eighty, after sixty years' separation, and India saved, Napoleon conquered, in the interim. So much does the strength of attachment in men of heroic minds in real life exceed all that romance has figured. These interesting particulars were communicated to me by my esteemed friend, Mr Montgomery Martin, Lord Wellesley's private secretary. Lord Wellesley's habits in the intervening period were occasionally very different, and at times he was the slave of irregular passion; but all acquainted with human nature know how frequently in the close of life the mind reverts to the recollections and feelings of youth.

† "The more vigorous you are, the more panic-struck will they become; if they see you, even for a very little, hesitate in your course, they will all with fierce assaults be upon you.

the sacred fire into all his followers; * discerning in the estimation of character, he selected from the many men in his service the most gifted; penetrated with the most lofty as well as the soundest views, he communicated his own statesmanlike principles both to the direction of the councils and the guidance of the armies of India. In vigour of resolution, moral courage, diplomatic ability, and military combination, he was the first of British statesmen, even in the days of Pitt and Fox. Never, perhaps, in so short a time, was such a change produced on the character of public administration, the vigour of national councils, or the success of national arms, as by his Eastern rule. He found them vacillating, he left them decided; he found the public service weakened by corruption, he left it teeming with energy; he found the East India Company striving only to defend their possessions on the coast, he left them seated on the throne of Aurengzebe. So vast a change, effected in a few years, is one of the most remarkable instances which history affords of the impress which a lofty character can communicate to the sphere of its influence; and, like the corresponding and simultaneous elevation of France under the guidance of Napoleon, may tend to modify the ideas which philosophic minds are apt to entertain of

* "So entirely devoted am I," said Lord Wellesley, "to the indispensable duty of providing a large force in the field and an efficient system of alliance, that my estimate of character, and my sentiments of respect and even of affection, in this country, are regulated absolutely by the degree of zeal and alacrity which I find in those who are to assist me in this great struggle. Nor can I conceive a more firm foundation, or a more honourable bond of friendship, than a common share in the labours, difficulties, and honour of defending and saving so valuable a part of the British empire. This is the nature of the connection which I seek with your Lordship, and these are the sentiments which render me so avowed to those men who appear negligent, or reluctant, or irresolute in a conjuncture which ought to extinguish all partialities, all private resentments and affections, and unite and animate all talents and exertions in one common cause."—*Marquis Wellesley to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, 14th November 1798—Wellesley's Despatches, 244.*

the entire government of human affairs by general causes, and to make us suspect that, in working out its mysterious designs, Providence not unfrequently makes use of the agency of individual greatness.

14. Another statesman, possessed of less brilliant but still important qualities, presided over the direction of Indian affairs in this country during the most momentous period of Lord Wellesley's government, and had long contributed essentially, by the enlarged and statesmanlike views with which he himself was impressed, to train the mind of the future ruler of the East to those great conceptions which from the very first distinguished his administration. HENRY DUNDAS, afterwards LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE, was descended from the house of Arncliffe, in Scotland—a family which, since the Revolution, had enjoyed a large share of the legal honours and offices in that country—and had early risen, alike from his talents and his connections, to the office of Lord Advocate. But his force of mind and ambition impelled him into a more elevated career. In 1776, he entered parliament as member for his native county, Mid-Lothian, and from that time, for the next twenty-five years, he enjoyed, to a greater degree than any other person, the confidence and friendship of Mr Pitt. In 1792, he was promoted to the important situation of President of the Board of Control, and from that period down to Mr Pitt's retirement in 1800, had the almost exclusive direction of Eastern affairs. When that great man resumed the helm in 1804, he was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and by his indefatigable energy soon restored the navy from the state of decay into which it had fallen under the shortsighted parsimony of the Addington administration: so that the same statesman enjoyed the rare distinction of framing the policy which produced Lord Wellesley's triumphs in India, and launching the fleets which extinguished the navy of France amidst the shoals of Trafalgar.

15. Lord Melville's talents were of

a high order; but they were of the solid and useful rather than the brilliant and attractive kind. A powerful debater from strength of intellect and vigour of thought, he overcame by these qualities the disadvantages of a northern accent, a deficiency in imaginative or oratorical qualities, and the prejudices against his country, which were general in England, till the genius of Sir Walter Scott, and the increasing intercourse between the two nations, converted it into a sometimes indulgent partiality. But if he could not rival Fox or Sheridan in the fire of genius or graces of eloquence, he excelled them in many sterling qualities which constitute a great statesman; and the want of which is too often, to its grievous loss, thought to be compensated in Great Britain by the more showy but inferior accomplishments which command and seduce a popular assembly. To vast powers of application he united a sound judgment and a retentive memory; the native force of his mind made him seize at once the strong points of a subject, while his prodigious information enabled him thoroughly to master its details. Nowhere is to be found a more comprehensive and statesmanlike series of instructions than is presented in his Indian correspondence: it has been declared by an equally competent judge and unbiassed opponent, that in these and Marquis Wellesley's despatches is to be sought the whole materials both of history and information on our Eastern dominions. All the features of Lord Wellesley's administration are to be found in them chalked out with prophetic wisdom, even before that illustrious man left the British shores. The true principles of colonial government are there developed with a master's hand and a statesman's wisdom; all the subsequent measures of the governor-general obtained the cordial support of this able auxiliary in the British cabinet. It may safely be affirmed, that if England ever lose the empire of the seas, it will be from departing from his maxims in the management of the navy; if she is stripped of her Indian empire, from

forgetting his principles of colonial administration.*

16. The general objects of Marquis Wellesley's policy are clearly pointed out in his letters from the Cape of Good Hope, in February 1798, to Lord Melville; a series of state papers drawn up before he had set foot in India, which will bear comparison with any in the world for sound and enlarged views of complicated politics. He at once perceived that the advantages of the triple alliance against Tippoo Sultan, and the consideration acquired by the glorious victory of Lord Cornwallis before Seringapatam, had been in a great measure lost by the timid policy of the succeeding administration; and therefore the first object of his endeavours was to recover the ascendancy which had been so unhappily impaired, and take measures against the powers which had risen after its overthrow. The destruction of the French subsidiary force at Hyderabad, and restoration of our influence at the court of the Nizam; the arrangement by mediation of the differences among the Marhatta powers; the renewal of the league which was to prove a counterpoise to the ascendancy of Tippoo; and the isolation of his territories, if hostilities became unavoidable, from the coast, so as to de-

* "It is of the last importance to keep up the means of a large importation from India; not only from the encouragement it affords to the navigation and shipping of the kingdom, and the addition which it makes annually to the wealth and capital of the country, and being a fruitful source of revenue, but its necessity as immediately connected with the prosperity of our Indian provinces. It is to the increased exports from India to Europe that we are to attribute the increase of Indian prosperity, industry, population, and revenue; and the manufacturers of that country would immediately be reduced to a deplorable state if any check were ever given to their annual exports to this country."—*LORD MELVILLE to LORD WELLESLEY, August 1799; WEL. Desp. H. 103.* It is on this principle, a fair reciprocity of advantages, that all really wise colonial administration must be founded, and by it alone that such distant possessions can be permanently preserved; but how different is this view from the sacrifice of all colonial interests to cheap purchasing by the mother state, which, under the free-trade system, has almost exclusively regulated our policy for the last fifteen years!

tach him from French intrigue or co-operation, were the objects which presented themselves to his mind, not so much as steps to power as essentials to existence.

17. No sooner had he landed in India, than he perceived that the open alliance of Tippoo with the French, joined to the success of their expedition to Egypt, and the increase to their influence among the native powers which Napoleon's victories had produced, rendered an early attack on the Mysore chief indispensable.* Had he possessed the means, he would immediately have commenced hostilities, as at that time the Sultan's preparations were not fully completed; but unfortunately the state of the government finances and military establishment at Madras, where the principal efforts required to be made, rendered that altogether impracticable. So low had the credit of the Company fallen at that presidency, that their eight per cent paper had sunk to a discount of eighteen or twenty per cent; the finances, both there and at Bombay, were completely exhausted; the present deficit was eighteen lacs of pagodas, (£480,000); bills designed to supply the want of specie had multiplied so much that they had become alarmingly depreciated; only fourteen thousand men of all arms could be drawn together for the attack on Tippoo; a war was pronounced impracticable without at least six months' preparation; the frontier fortresses were without provisions, the

army without stores, equipment, or transport train; and, so far from being in a condition to equip it for the field, the government had hardly the means of moving it from Madras to the Mysore territory. These evils were also felt, though in a lesser degree, at Calcutta; the general treasury was drained by the incessant demands of the sister presidencies, and that general despondency prevailed which is so often both the forerunner and the cause of national disaster.†

18. But it soon appeared how powerful is the influence of a gifted and magnanimous mind upon national fortunes, if called into action at a time when the heart of the nation is sound, and those symptoms of debility have arisen, not from the decline of public virtue, but from the timidity or misdirection of those who have been placed at the head of affairs. Many months had not elapsed before Lord

† "Tippoo Sultan has manifested," said Lord Wellesley, "the most hostile dispositions towards us; he possesses an army of which a considerable portion is in a state of readiness; he has increased the number of his French officers; and he may receive further assistance from the corps commanded by French officers in the service of the Nizam, of Scindiah, and many other native powers. He may be assisted by the invasion of Zemau Shah, and by the direct co-operation of Scindiah. On the other hand, our protecting force on the coast of Coromandel cannot be put in motion within a shorter space than six months, even for the purpose of defending the Carnatic; our allies, meanwhile, are utterly unable to fulfil their defensive engagements towards us—the Peishwa being depressed and kept in check by the invasion of Scindiah, and the Nizam by the vicinity of that chieftain's army, and the overbearing influence of an army commanded by French officers, and established in the centre of the Deccan. While we remain in this situation, without a soldier prepared to take the field in the Carnatic, or an ally to assist our operations in the event of an attack from Tippoo, we leave the fate of the Carnatic to the discretion of Tippoo; we suffer the cause of France to acquire hourly accessions of strength in every quarter of India; we abandon our allies, the Nizam and the Peishwa, to the mercy of Scindiah and Tippoo, in conjunction with the French; and we leave to France the ready means of obtaining a large territorial revenue, and a permanent establishment in the Deccan, founded upon the destruction of our alliances."—*Minute of the Governor-General*, Aug. 1798; *Wellesley's Despatches*, i. 103, 104.

* Sir Thomas Munro, one of the ablest men that Great Britain ever produced, or India developed, was of the same opinion at this period. "Men read books," says he, "and because they find all warlike nations have had their downfall, they declaim against conquest as not only dangerous but unprofitable; but there are times and situations where conquest not only brings a revenue greatly beyond its expenses, but also additional security. Let us advance to the Kistna; we shall triple our revenue, our barrier will then be both stronger and shorter. The dissensions and revolutions of the native governments will point out the time when it is proper for us to become actors. While Tippoo's power exists, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have."—*Sir Thos. Munro to Earl of Macclesfield*, June 7, 1798; *Munro's Memoirs*, i. 284; and *Athena*, ii. 174.

Wellesley had communicated the impress of his zeal and energy to every branch of the public service. Disregarding altogether the sinister forebodings and gloomy representations of the Madras government, he laboured assiduously to augment the military force, and restore the financial resources of that important part of our Eastern dominions: by never yielding to difficulties, he soon found none; by boldly assuming the lead in diplomacy, he speedily acquired the command. The intrepid no longer feared to discharge their duty; they were sure that, if honestly performed, they would be supported. All classes, both at home and abroad, rapidly discovered the character of the man with whom they were now brought in contact. British patriotism was roused by the clear indications which were afforded of capacity at the head of affairs; Asiatic hostility sank before the ascendant of European talent, Indian jealousy before the force of English courage. The army was rapidly augmented; the frontier fortresses were armed and victualled; the bullock service and commissariat put on a respectable footing; a powerful battering-train was collected at Madras; voluntary subscriptions, on a magnificent scale, at all the three presidencies, bespoke at once the public spirit and opulence of the inhabitants; corps of European volunteers were formed, and soon acquired a great degree of efficiency; while a subsidiary treaty, concluded with the Nizam in the beginning of September, restored the British influence at the court of Hyderabad, and gave public proof of the renewal of British influence among the native powers. As usual, however, these vigorous measures were not adopted without exciting the usual amount of dismay and consternation among that class, numerous in all countries, whose only resource on the approach of danger is to deny its existence. Mr Weber, the secretary of the government, and General Harris, the commander-in-chief of the army of Coromandel, were equally loud in their condemnations of Lord Wellesley's

measures; and the former contemplated nothing less than the impeachment of the governor-general for his temerity.*

19. The first vigorous stroke was directed against the French subsidiary force, now fourteen thousand strong, which had so long exercised a domineering influence at the court of the Nizam. Fortunately for the interests of England, the same overbearing character which has in every age made the permanent rule of the French insupportable to a vanquished people, had already manifested itself; and the Nizam, now reposing confidence in the support of the English government, had become exceedingly desirous of ridding himself of his obnoxious defenders. By the new treaty of Hyderabad, the British subsidiary troops, formerly two thousand, were to be augmented to six thousand men; and they were under the direction of Colonel Kirkpatrick, an officer whose skill and prudence were equal to the difficult and important task committed to his charge. The increased force entered the Nizam's territories in the beginning of October, reached his capital on the 10th, joined a large body of the Nizam's horse, and surrounded the French camp on the 22d. A mutiny had broken out in the corps on the preceding day, and the sepoys had arrested their officers. In this state

* "I can anticipate nothing but shocking disasters from a premature attack upon Tip-poo in our present disabled condition, and the impeachment of Lord Mornington for his temerity." Mr Weber's words. — *PEARCE'S Life of Wellesley*, I. 303. "Tip-poo's inveteracy at us will only end with his life, and he will always seize any opportunity that may occur to annoy us. But notwithstanding this, and that the political circumstances of India are now much in our favour, it perhaps still remains a matter of serious consideration, whether, in our very great want of cash, and the effect our going to war in this country must have on the affairs of Europe, it would not be better to let him make *l'amende honorable* if so inclined, than that we should avail ourselves of the error he has run into to punish him for his insulence. *An attack is now more likely to end in discomfiture than victory.* On my part, your lordship may depend on following your instructions implicitly." — *GARRATT HARRIS to Lord Mornington*, 22d June 1793; *PEARCE*, I. 304.

of insubordination, no authority existed capable of withstanding the British troops; and the whole French officers were, without bloodshed, delivered up to the English authorities, on condition of private property being preserved, and their being forthwith transported to France—conditions which were immediately and faithfully executed.

20. This bold and important stroke was very soon attended with the most important effects. The French influence at the native courts received a rude shock, while that of the English was proportionally augmented. The natives of the subsidiary corps almost all entered the British ranks, and formed an important addition to the sepoy force; while the Nizam, overjoyed at his delivery from such supercilious defenders as those from whom he had now been rescued, renewed his ancient and cordial alliance with the East India Company. It soon appeared how necessary this decisive stroke had been, and what was the magnitude of the dangers which would soon have assailed the British power, if the war had not in this manner been at once carried into the enemy's territory. Secret information was received that Scindiah had entered into correspondence with Tippoo and the French; the Peishwa was ascertained to have supported his views against the Company and the Nizam; the inveterate hostility of the Sultan of Mysore was well known, and his preparations, though secretly conducted, were daily assuming a more formidable character. Zemaun Shah, and the terrors of an Affghann invasion, operated as a powerful diversion, and rendered it necessary to station a large force on the northern frontiers of Hindostan. He had crossed the Indus at Attock, the place where Alexander passed that river, and reached Lahore, where, on the first reverse to the British, the formidable force of the Sikhs would be ready to co-operate with him for the expulsion of the infidels. A deep-laid plot was on foot for expelling the English from Bengal, Bahar, and all their provinces on the banks of the Ganges, in which

most of the Mahommedan chiefs of those countries were implicated; while the whole Mahratta potentates were secretly intriguing against the British power, and only awaited the expected arrival of the French from Egypt, to join openly in the general confederacy against it.

21. The indefatigable activity and commanding energy of Lord Wellesley, however, enabled him to make head against all these difficulties; and he soon made such progress in the military preparations as enabled him, early in 1799, to anticipate the designs of his enemies, by striking a decisive blow at the heart of their power. The army collected at Madras was raised, before the close of the preceding year, to thirty thousand fighting men, with an immense battering train—a noble force, in an incomparable state of discipline and equipment; while a co-operating body of six thousand men, in equally admirable condition, was ready to advance from Bombay under General Stuart. Explanations were demanded from Tippoo regarding his hostile measures, particularly his sending ambassadors to the Isle of France;* but no reply was received, although the English government gave ample proof of their disposition to act with fidelity in conformity with the existing treaties, by relinquishing to him, at this very crisis, the territory of Wynaad, a disputed district which, on Lord Wellesley's arrival in India, was in the possession of the British authorities without any adequate title. A proposition on the part of the governor-general to open an amicable nego-

* *Ante*, chap. XLVIII., § 53, note.—Such was Tippoo's dissimulation and perfidy that, in his letter to Lord Wellesley of 2d August 1798, he said, "By the favour of God, bonds of friendship and union obtain between the two states; and I am to the last degree disposed to give additional strength to the beneficial system of amity and peace." On 4th August 1798, just two days after this letter was written, were framed the specific conditions of an offensive alliance against the British, accompanied with solicitations to the French Directory, and to the government of the Isle of France, to send an auxiliary force to aid in the conquest of India, which were found in the archives of Seringapatam.—*Phaulson's Life of Wellesley*, i. 211.

tiation through Major Doveton, having been eluded with characteristic artifice by the Sultan,* and the military preparations being complete, Marquis Wellesley, early in January, proceeded to Madras in person; and on the 10th of February the army, under General Harris, entered the Mysore territory; while, shortly before, General Stuart had also advanced with his co-operating force from the side of Bombay.

22. Notwithstanding the depth and extent of his plans, Tippoo was on this occasion taken by surprise. He had not anticipated the vigour and celerity of the new governor-general, and calculated upon being permitted to choose his own time, as on former occasions, from the supineness of government, for the commencement of hostilities. Had he been permitted to do so, he would have deferred the opening of the campaign till his preparations were complete, and the extensive confederacy in the course of formation was encouraged by the presence of a French auxiliary force. His military power, however, was already very great. Seringapatam was in a formidable state of defence, and he had above fifty thousand men in a central position, under arms. Finding, therefore, that his territories were menaced on two sides at once, he judiciously resolved to direct his efforts, in the first instance, against the least considerable of the invading armies; and with that view moved against General Stuart, even before he had crossed the Bombay frontier, and five days before General Harris entered Mysore. The Sultan's force on this occasion amounted to twelve thousand men, the flower of his army; but though the weight of the contest fell on two thousand European and sepoy troops, he was defeated after a violent struggle of three hours' duration, and

quickly retired to the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, with the loss of fifteen hundred killed and wounded.

23. The progress of the grand army, thirty thousand strong, which advanced from the side of Madras, was at first very slow, owing to the immense battering and siege equipage which followed in its train, the enormous multitude of camp-followers which constantly encumber an Indian army, and the sickness which almost uniformly seizes the transport cattle when they leave the coast and ascend the high table-land of Mysore. They experienced, however, very little molestation from the Sultan until the 27th March, when a general engagement took place. Tippoo's army occupied a range of heights beyond the little town of Malavelly; and a distant exchange of cannon-shot from the batteries on either side at length led to a general action. He had above 50,000 men, and 180 guns, under his orders.† Colonel Wellesley (Wellington) commanded the division on the left, and General Floyd the cavalry in the centre. Harris himself was on the right. Owing to the exhausted state of the bullocks which drew the artillery, a delay occurred in the formation of the line, of which the Mysore infantry took advantage to make a daring charge on Colonel Wellesley's division, which moved on to the attack, and was considerably in advance, separated by a wide gap from the centre; while a large body of horse bore down on the right, under Harris himself.‡ They

* Tippoo's force was as follows:—

Regular infantry, . . .	30,000
Guards, . . .	4,000
Regular horse, . . .	6,000
Irregular horse, . . .	7,000
Carnatic Peons, . . .	8,000

55,000

Field-pieces, 144; heavy guns, 36.

—PEARCE, I. 293, note.

† Colonel Wellesley, on this occasion, was not intended by General Harris to make the attack, but to wait till the onset was made by the right and centre, and orders to that effect were sent him by the commander-in-chief. When they were delivered, however, he saw, from the confusion into which the enemy in his front had fallen, that the attack could be made with more prospect of success by his division, and he said so to the

* Tippoo wrote in answer to the communication announcing Major Doveton's mission,—"that being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, he was accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion; but that he would be pleased that the governor-general would be so good as to despatch Major Doveton to him unattended, or slightly attended."—Tippoo to the Governor-general, Feb. 9, 1799.—WELLESLEY'S Despatches, I. 452.

were, however, gallantly repulsed by the brigade under Harris's orders; while the 33^d under Colonel Wellesley in person, on the left, were ordered to reserve their fire till within pistol-shot, when they delivered it with decisive effect, and immediately charged with the bayonet. The red-plumed dragoons of Floyd, soon after coming up from the centre, charged them on the other flank and completed the rout. Two thousand of the enemy fell in the battle or the pursuit, while the loss of the victors did not exceed three hundred men.

24. No further obstacle now remained to prevent the British from taking up their ground before Seringapatam, which was done on the 5th April. The assembled host, which was soon joined by the corps under General Stuart, from Bombay, presented a formidable appearance when all united together, and exhibited a splendid proof of the magnitude and resources of the British empire in the East. Thirty-five thousand fighting men, a hundred pieces of battering cannon, and camp-followers in the usual Asiatic proportion of four to each soldier, formed a stupendous array of above a hundred and fifty thousand men, assembled on the high table-land of Mysore, three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and more than eight thousand miles from the parent European state. The greatness of this effort will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected, that at the same moment twenty thousand admirable troops, under Sir James Craig, lay in the territories of Oude, to guard the northern provinces of India from Zemann Shah; that the army was col-

leader who bore the despatches. He agreed with him, but stated that he had only to deliver his orders—but that he would report the circumstances, and Colonel Wellesley's opinion, to General Harris; and that, if he did not hear from him to the contrary in ten minutes, he might conclude the suggestion was approved of. Nothing was heard during that time, and Colonel Wellesley made the attack, which proved successful. "I was a little annoyed," said the Duke, in London, in 1833, "at the time, that this circumstance was not noticed by Harris in his official despatches, but I now see he was quite right not to mention it."

lected in the Mediterranean which so soon after expelled the French from Egypt; and the fleet was afloat which was to dissolve, by the cannon of Nelson, the northern coalition.

25. The efforts of Lord Cornwallis had been directed against the northern face of the fortress of Seringapatam; and Tippoo, anticipating an attack in the same quarter, had greatly strengthened the defences in that direction. These preparations, however, were rendered altogether unavailing by the able movement of General Harris, previous to taking up his ground before the town, in suddenly crossing the Caverry by a neglected ford, and appearing before its southern front—a quarter in which the country was not yet ravaged, the fortifications in a comparatively neglected state, and the communication with the Bombay army direct and easy. The camp was formed opposite to the south-western side of the fortress; the army from Bombay effected its junction on the 14th; and the approaches were conducted with great vigour. In the course of these operations, much annoyance was experienced from an advanced post of the Sultan's, placed on a rocky eminence near the walls, from whence a destructive fire, chiefly with rockets, was kept up on the parties working in the trenches. In order to put a stop to this harassing opposition, an attack on the post during the night was resolved on, and intrusted to Colonel Wellesley and Colonel Shaw. This nocturnal encounter would be of little importance, were it not rendered remarkable by a circumstance as rare as it is memorable, and worthy of being recorded for the encouragement of young officers exposed to early disaster—a failure by Wellington.*

26. Both divisions marched a little

* The historical reader will recollect the parallel discomfiture of Frederick the Great at his first essay in arms at the battle of Mollwitz, which was gained by his lieutenants after he had abandoned the field. But there was this difference, that Frederick fairly ran away, whereas Wellington was merely borne back in the rush of his defeated followers, and was one of the last of the party that re-entered the camp.—*HANNA, Geschichte der Staat. Preussen*, I. 371, 372.

after it was dark. Colonel Shaw succeeded in getting possession of a ruined village, within forty yards of the aqueduct from whence the firing issued; but Colonel Wellesley, on reaching the rocky eminence, near the Sultanpettah Top, was assailed on all sides with so severe a fire that both the 33d regiment and sepoy battalion, which he commanded, were thrown into disorder,* and he was obliged to fall back to the camp. Such was the confusion which prevailed, owing to the darkness of the night, that he arrived there accompanied only by Colonel Mackenzie. The young officer proceeded at midnight to the general's tent, at first much agitated; but, finding the general not ready to receive him, he retired, threw himself on the table of the tent, and fell asleep—a fact in such a moment singularly characteristic of the imperturbable spirit of the future hero of Torres Vedras.† General Harris next morning drew out the troops for a second attack, and at first offered the command to General Baird, as Colonel Wellesley had not yet come up to the parade from having been detained at the adjutant-general's office; but, on second thoughts, he said it was but fair to give Colonel Wellesley another trial—a proposal in which that generous officer, Baird, after having turned his horse to take the command, at once and cordially acquiesced. Accordingly, at ten next morning, Colonel Wellesley, with the Scottish brigade and two battalions of sepoys, again advanced against the Top, which was soon carried in gallant style; while Colonel Shaw, at the same time, drove the Mysoreans from their post on the side of the ruined

village. But for this circumstance, and the elevation of mind which prompted both General Harris and General Baird to overlook this casual failure, and intrust the next attack to the defeated officer, the fate of the world might have been different, and the star of the future conqueror of Napoleon extinguished in an obscure nocturnal encounter in an Indian water-course.‡

27. The approaches to the fortress being much facilitated by this success, the operations of the siege were conducted with great rapidity. Several formidable sallies of the Mysore infantry and horse were repulsed by the steadiness of the besiegers' infantry, and the great vigilance exhibited everywhere in the trenches, the most exposed parts of which were under Colonel Wellesley's direction. At length, on the 30th April, the breaching batteries opened on one of the bastions, which was soon shaken by a severe cross-fire from different sides; the curtain on the right was ere long levelled; a great magazine of rockets blew up in the town on the

† General, afterwards Sir David Baird, in particular, delicately and cordially agreed to the suggestion that Colonel Wellesley should be intrusted with the second attack: an instance of magnanimity in a superior officer—who might, if actuated by selfish feelings, have been anxious rather to throw into the shade a rival for the honours of the siege—worthy of the highest admiration. This fact is mentioned in Hook's Memoirs of Sir David Baird, and some doubt is thrown upon it in Gurwood's Despatches of Wellington; though that officer admits that Baird's elevated character was perfectly capable of so honourable a course. But, for the honour of human nature, the author is happy to be able to give it an entire confirmation, having repeatedly heard the anecdote from a most gallant officer who was present on the occasion, and afterwards contributed, in no small degree, to the glories of Delhi and Laswaree—Colonel Gerard, afterwards adjutant-general of the Bengal army, then engaged in the siege, the author's lamented brother-in-law, to whose talents and virtues, durably recorded in the exploits of that band of heroes, he has a melancholy pleasure in bearing this public testimony. The fact also, as now related, coincides precisely with the account which Baird himself gave of the transaction, and which is given as authentic in the *Life of Lord Harris* by Mr Lushington—See *Lushington's Life of Harris*, 297-299; also *Hook's Memoirs of Sir David Baird*, i. 193; and *Gurwood*, i. 25, note.

* The 33d regiment and a native battalion, under Colonel Wellesley, were ordered to be in readiness at sunset on the 5th.—*Gurwood*, i. 22. This is erroneously denied in *Lushington*, 476.

† "When they arrived back, Colonel Wellesley proceeded to headquarters to report what had happened; but, finding that General Harris was not yet awake, he threw himself on the top of the dinner-table, and, worn out with fatigue and anxiety of mind, fell asleep."—*MacKenzie's Narrative*, who was with Wellington on the occasion.—*Hook*, i. 193. This fact is erroneously denied in *Lushington's Life of Harris*.

morning of the 2d May, and spread terror and devastation far and wide by its tremendous explosion. Early on the morning of the 4th, the troops destined for the assault were placed in the trenches; and the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon was chosen for the attack, when the sultry heat usually disposed the Asiatics to repose. Two thousand five hundred Europeans, and two thousand natives, formed the storming party, under the command of General Baird. That heroic officer was resolved to conquer or die. "Either," said he to Colonel Agnew, "we succeed to-morrow, or you never see me more." The assailants had a fearful prospect before them, for two-and-twenty thousand veteran troops composed the garrison, and the bastions, of uncommon strength, were armed with two hundred and forty pieces of cannon. "Follow me, my brave fellows, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers," was the brief address of that noble officer to his gallant followers, as, leaping sword in hand out of the trenches, he descended with the calmness of heroic courage the slope which led to the rocky bed of the Cavery, and which required to be crossed before the foot of the breach was reached. He was rapidly followed by the forlorn hope, which led the host, and was immediately succeeded by the assaulting column in close array. But before they reached the breach, the enemy were at their post, and equally resolute with the assailants. When Tippoo saw the British cross the Cavery, he said, without changing colour, to those around him, "We have arrived at the last stage: what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the unanimous reply. All was ready for the defence, every battery was manned, and from every bastion and gun which bore on the assailants a close and deadly fire was directed, which speedily thinned their ranks, and would have caused any other troops to recoil. On, however, the British rushed, followed by their brave allies, through the deadly storm. In five minutes the river was crossed, in five

more the breach was mounted; a crimson torrent streamed over the ruin; a sally on the flank of the assaulting column by a chosen body of Tippoo's guards was repulsed; and as Baird was leading his men up the entangled steep, a loud shout and the waving of the British colours on its summits announced that the fortress was won, and the capital of Mysore fallen.*

28. But here an unexpected obstacle occurred—the summit of the breach was separated from the interior of the works by a wide ditch, filled with water, and at first no means of crossing it appeared. At length, however, Baird discovered some planks which had been used by the workmen in getting over it to repair the rampart, and, himself leading the way, this formidable obstacle was surmounted. Straightway dividing his men into two columns, under Colonels Sherbrooke and Dunlop, this heroic leader soon swept the ramparts both to the right and left. The brave Asiatics were by degrees forced back—Tippoo being the last man who quitted the traverses—though not without desperate resistance, to the Mosque, where a dreadful slaughter took place. The remains of the garrison were there crowded together in a very narrow space, having been driven from the ramparts by Sherbrooke's and Dunlop's columns, and jammed together in the neighbourhood of the Mosque, where they long maintained their ground under a dreadful cross-fire of musketry, till almost the whole had fallen. The remnant at length surrendered, with two of Tippoo's sons, when the firing had ceased at other points. The Sultan himself, who had endeavoured to escape at one of the gates of the town which was assaulted by the sepoys, was some time afterwards found dead under a heap of several hundred slain, composed in part of the principal officers of his palace, who had been driven into the

* "At one o'clock the troops moved from the breaches, and crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the *faussebraye* and rampart in the most gallant manner."—HARRIS to LORD MORNINGTON, 7th May 1799.

confined space round the Mosque. He was shot by a private soldier when stretched on his palanquin, after having been wounded and having had his horse killed under him; while Baird, who for three years had been detained a captive in chains in his dungeons, had the glorious triumph of taking vengeance for his wrongs, by generously protecting and soothing the fears of the youthful sons of his redoubted antagonist.

29. Tippoo could never be brought to believe that the English would venture to storm Seringapatam, and he looked forward with confidence to the setting in of the heavy rains, which were soon approaching, to compel them to raise the siege. He was brave, liberal, and popular, during his father's life; but his reign, after he himself ascended the throne, was felt as tyrannical and oppressive by his subjects. This, however, as is often the case in the East, they ascribed rather to the cupidity of his ministers than his own disposition. The Brahmins had predicted that the 4th of May would prove an inauspicious day to him; he made them large presents on that very morning, and asked them for their prayers. He was sitting at dinner under a covered shed, to avoid the rays of the sun, when the alarm was given that the British were moving; he instantly washed his hands, called for his arms, and mounting his horse, rode towards the breach, which he reached as they were crossing the Cavery. On the way he received intelligence that Syed Goffer, his best officer, was killed. "Syed Goffer was never afraid of death," he exclaimed; "let Mahommed Cassim take charge of his division;" while he himself calmly continued to advance towards the tumult, and was actively engaged sustaining the rear-guard, as it retired from the breach. His corpse was found under a mountain of slain, stripped of all its ornaments and part of its clothing, but with the trusty amulet which he always wore still bound round his right arm. He had received three wounds in the body, and one in the temple; but the countenance was not distorted, the eyes

were open, and the expression was that of stern composure. The body was still warm; and for a minute Colonel Wellesley, who was present, thought he was still alive: but the pulse which had so long throbbed for the independence of India had ceased to beat.

30. The storming of Seringapatam was one of the greatest blows ever struck by any nation, and demonstrated at once of what vast efforts the British empire was capable, when directed by capacity and led by resolution. The immediate fruits of victory were immense. A formidable fortress, the centre of Tippoo's power, garrisoned by twenty-two thousand regular troops, with all his treasures and military resources, had fallen; the whole arsenal and founderies of the kingdom of Mysore were taken, and the artillery they contained amounted to the enormous number of 451 brass, and 478 iron guns, besides 287 mounted on the works. Above 520,000 pounds of powder, and 424,000 round shot, also fell into the hands of the victors. The military resources, on the whole, resembled rather those of an old-established European monarchy, than of an Indian potentate recently elevated to greatness. But these trophies, great as they were, constituted the least considerable fruits of this memorable conquest: its moral consequences were far more lasting and important. In one day a race of usurpers had been extinguished, and a powerful empire overthrown; a rival to the British power struck down, and a tyrant of the native princes slain; a military monarchy subverted, and a stroke paralysing all India delivered. The loss in the assault was very trifling, amounting only to three hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded, though fourteen hundred had fallen since the commencement of the siege. But the proportion in which it was divided indicated upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and how superior in the deadly breach European energy was to Asiatic valour; for of that number three hundred and forty were British, and only forty-seven native



soldiers. It is not the least honourable part of this glorious exploit, that, even in the dreadful moments which followed the storm, the palace was respected, and the whole ladies of the harem were conducted to separate apartments before it was searched for treasure.*

31. Colonel Wellesley was not engaged in the storm; but he commanded the reserve, which did not require to be called into action, and merely viewed with impatient regret the heart-stirring scene. He was next day, however, named governor of the town by General Harris, which appointment was not disturbed by Lord Wellesley, and constitutes one of the few blots on the otherwise unexceptionable administration of that eminent man. Lord Wellesley was fully aware of the signal conduct and valour displayed by Baird in the siege and storm of Seringapatam; but he selected his brother in preference to him, for the command of that important fortress, from his knowledge of the rare combination of civil and military qualities which he possessed. Had the appointment not been made by General Harris, he declared he would have made it himself. History, indeed, apart from biographical discussion, has little cause to lament an appointment which early called into active service the great civil as well as military qualities of the Duke of Wellington, which were immediately exerted with such vigour and effect in arresting the plunder and disorders consequent on the storm, that in a few days the shops were all reopened, and the bazaars were as crowded as they had been during the most flourishing days of the Mysore dynasty. But individual injustice is not to be always excused by the merits of the preferred functionary; and unquestionably, the hero of Seringapatam, the gallant officer who led the assault, was

* "We feel great satisfaction," said the Mysore commissioners, "in being able to assure your lordship, that, before the Zenana was searched for treasure, separate apartments were provided for the ladies, and no precaution omitted which could secure them against the possibility of being subjected to any inconvenience."—*Report of the Mysore Commissioners to Lord Wellesley*, 6th June 1799.—PEARCE'S *Wellesley*, i. 300.

entitled to a very different fate from that of being superseded in the command almost before the sweat was wiped from the brow which he had adorned with the laurels of victory,† and seeing another placed as governor of the most important fortress that had ever been added to the British dominions.

32. The political arrangements consequent on the fall of Mysore, rivalled in ability and wisdom the vigour with which the military operations had been directed. The body of Tippoo was interred with the honours due to his rank, in his father's mausoleum: his sons obtained a splendid establishment from the prudent generosity of the victors. The principal Mahomedan officers of the Mysore family, the main strength of the monarchy, were conciliated by being permitted to retain their rank, offices, and emoluments, under the new government. The heir of the ancient rajahs of Mysore, whom Hyder had dispossessed, was restored to the sovereignty of the country, with a larger territory than any one of his ancestors had possessed; and the Nizam was rewarded for his fidelity by a large accession of territory, taken from the conquests made by the Hyder family. The Peishwa was confirmed in his alliance by a grant somewhat more than a half of what had

† "It is impossible to bestow too much praise on the conduct of General Baird in the assault of Seringapatam. A more judicious operation, conducted with more spirit and heroic gallantry, never was achieved. The decisive consequences of the success of that day, effected within two hours* the entire destruction of our most formidable enemy in India. I am sure you will concur with me in an anxious solicitude to see the gallant leader of the assailants rewarded in a manner suitable to his exertions and their beneficial effect."—*LORD WELLESLEY to MR DUNDAS*, June 1799; *Wellesley Desp.* i. 619. Lord Wellesley's reasons for Colonel Wellesley's appointment are summed up in a few lines to him—"Great jealousy will arise among the officers in consequence of my employing you; but I employ you because I rely on your good sense, discretion, and spirit: and I cannot find all these qualities united in any other officer in India who could take such a command."—*LORD WELLESLEY to COLONEL WELLESLEY*, 1st Dec. 1800, respecting the *Rule of France's expedition*.—PEARCE, i. 312, 315.

been allotted to the Nizam, although his conduct during the war had been so equivocal as to have forfeited all claim to the generosity of the British government, and rendered his participation in the spoil a matter merely of policy. To the Company were reserved the rich territories of Tippoo on either coast, below the Ghauts, the forts commanding those important passes into the high tableland of Mysore, with the fortress and island of Seringapatam in its centre—acquisitions which entirely encircled the dominions of the new Rajah of Mysore by the British possessions, and rendered his forces a subsidiary addition to those of the Company. With such judgment were these arrangements effected by the directions of Lord Wellesley, and under the immediate superintendence of Colonel Wellesley, and so considerable were the territories which were at the disposal of the victorious power, that all parties were fully satisfied with their acquisitions. The families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan enjoyed more magnificent establishments than they had even done during the late reign; the infant Rajah of Mysore was elevated from a hovel to a palace, and reinstated in more than his ancestral splendour; the

* The territory acquired by Tippoo's overthrow at this juncture by the Company was 20,000 square miles, while the Rajah of Mysore was reinstated in 20,250. The cession made by Tippoo on occasion of Lord Cornwallis's treaty, was 24,500 square miles; Great Britain contains 91,000 square miles; so that the territories wrested from Mysore by the two treaties were little short of the whole of Great Britain.—MARTIN'S *Map of India*, *Colonial Library*; and *Well. Desp. i. p. 1.*

† His letter on this subject is as follows:—"I understand that if the reserved part of the prize taken at Seringapatam, consisting of prize-money and ordnance, should come into the possession of the Company, it is their intention to grant the whole to the army, reserving £100,000, to be afterwards granted to me. I am satisfied that, upon reflection, you will perceive that the accepting such a grant would place me in a very humiliating situation with respect to the army. And, independent of any question of my character, or of the dignity and vigour of government, I should be miserable if I could ever feel that I had been enriched at the expense of those who must ever be the objects of my affection, admiration, and gratitude,

Mahomedan officers of the fallen dynasty, surprised by the continuance of all the honours and offices which they had formerly enjoyed, were impressed with the strongest sense of the generosity of the British government; while the substantial power of Mysore had passed, with a territory yielding £560,000 a-year, to the munificent victors.* At the special request of Colonel Wellesley, and by the directions of the prize committee, the state-sword of Tippoo Sultan was presented to General Baird, in the name of the army. And Marquis Wellesley, the distributor of all this magnificence, put the purest gem in the diadem of glory with which his brows were encircled, by refusing for himself and his family any portion of the extensive prize-money derived from the public stores taken at Seringapatam, which had fallen into the hands of the victorious army.† The army had expressed their desire to present the governor-general with a magnificent star, composed of Tippoo's jewels, and the court of directors proposed to make him a grant of one hundred thousand pounds out of the prize-money; but he refused both, lest he should interfere with the rewards due to the conquerors of Mysore.‡

and who are justly entitled to the exclusive possession of all that a munificent king and an admiring country can bestow. Even if the independence of my family were at stake, which I thank God it is not, I never could consent to establish it on an arrangement injurious to the conquerors of Mysore." Mr Pitt upon this proposed to Lord Wellesley, that this magnificent grant should be settled on him by government, and not taken from the prize-money; but this, too, his lordship declined. Such were the men, such the principles, by which the British empire was raised to greatness at this period.—LORD WELLESLEY to HENRY DUNDAS, 29th April 1800.—*Desp. ii. 262, 263.*

‡ The prize-money for the spoil taken at Seringapatam was immense; it amounted, independent of military stores, to the enormous amount of 4,558,350 star pagodas. Great complaints were made that General Harris, and the other principal officers employed, got an undue share of the amount in the distribution which the king ultimately erroneously sanctioned—which would appear to be the opinion of Mr Manners Sutton and Mr Percival, as well as Lord Castlereagh.—See PEARCE'S *Life of Wellesley*, i. 239, 246, 247.

33. Little difficulty was experienced in effecting the pacific settlement of the Mysore after the death of Tippoo—the principal rajahs having hastened to make their submission after they heard of the favourable terms offered by the conqueror to the nobles; and the judgment and firmness of Colonel Wellesley, upon whom, as governor of Mysore, the principal part of that important duty devolved, were alike conspicuous. One, however, Doondiah Waugh, a partisan of great energy and activity, was imprudently liberated during the confusion consequent on the storm of Seringapatam; and having collected a band of freebooters and disbanded soldiers from the wreck of Tippoo's army, he long maintained, with indefatigable perseverance, a desultory warfare. He first retired into the rich province of Bednore, which he plundered with merciless severity, during the paralysis of government consequent on the fall of the Mysore dynasty; but Colonel Stevenson and Colonel Dalrymple having advanced against him at the head of light bodies of cavalry and infantry, he was worsted in several encounters, the forts which he had occupied carried by assault, and himself driven, with a few followers, into the neutral Mahratta territory. Doondiah, however, though defeated, was not subdued. Meeting with no very friendly reception from the Mahratta chiefs, he again, in the succeeding year, hoisted the standard of independence, and soon attracted to his colours multitudes of those roving adventurers who, in India, are ever ready to join any chieftain of renown who promises them impunity and plunder.

34. Colonel Wellesley was so fully aware of the necessity of not permitting such a leader to accumulate a considerable force in provinces but recently subjected to European rule, and abounding with disorderly characters of every description, that, though he had recently refused the command of the projected expedition against Tavaria, from a sense of the importance of his duties in Mysore, he took the field against him in person, and soon

brought the contest to a successful termination. Doondiah having entered the Peishwa's territories in May 1800, Wellesley immediately moved against him with a body of light infantry, two regiments of British, and two of native dragoons. A victory recently gained over a considerable body of Mahratta horse, had greatly elated the spirits of Doondiah and his followers; he was rapidly following in the footsteps of Hyder Ali in the formation of a dynasty; and, in the anticipation of boundless dominion, he had already assumed the title of "King of the World." But the hand of fate was upon him. Advancing with a celerity which exceeded the far-famed swiftness of the Indian chief, marching frequently twenty-five or thirty miles a-day, even under the burning sun and over the waterless plains of India, Colonel Wellesley at length came up with the enemy, who retired at his approach. Hangal, into which he had thrown a garrison, was stormed; Dummul, defended by a thousand choice troops, carried by escalade; a division of his army, four thousand strong, attacked and routed, early on the morning of the 30th July, on the banks of the Malpoorba—the whole artillery, baggage, and camels being taken; and at length intelligence was received that Doondiah himself, with five thousand horse, lay at Conaghur, about thirty miles distant from Colonel Wellesley's cavalry. The latter made a forced march to reach him before it was dark, but the jaded state of the horses rendered it impossible to get nearer than nine miles on that night. Two hours before daylight, however, on the following morning, he was again in motion, and at five o'clock met the "King of the World," as he was marching to the westward, without any expectation of the British being at hand. Colonel Wellesley had only the 19th and 22d dragoons, and two regiments of native horse—in all about twelve hundred men; but with these he instantly advanced to the attack. Forming his troops into one line, so as not to be outflanked by the superior numbers of the enemy, who were quadruple his own force, and leading the

charge himself, the British general resolutely bore down upon the foe. Doondiah's men were hardly veterans, skilfully drawn up in a strong position; but they quailed before the terrible charge of the British horse, and broke ere the hostile squadrons were upon them. The whole force was dispersed in the pursuit, and Doondiah himself slain—a decisive event, which at once terminated the war, and afforded no small exultation to the English soldiers, who brought back his body in triumph, lashed to a gallopier gun, to the camp.

35. The effect of these brilliant successes soon appeared in the alliances with the Company which were sought by the Asiatic powers. The Nizam, who had obtained so large an accession of territory by the partition treaty of Mysore, ere long found himself unequal to the task of governing his newly acquired territories, which were filled with warlike hordes, whom the strong arm of military power alone could retain in subjection. He solicited, in consequence, to be relieved of a burden which his character and resources were alike incapable of bearing. A treaty, offensive and defensive, was accordingly concluded with that potentate, soon after he had entered into occupation of his new possessions, by which the Company guaranteed the integrity of his dominions against all attacks from whatever quarter, and, to add to the security which he so ardently desired, agreed to augment the subsidiary force stationed at Hyderabad by two additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry; while the Nizam ceded to the Company the whole districts which he had acquired by the treaties of Seringapatam in 1792, and Mysore in 1799, of which he had never been able to obtain more than a nominal possession. The territories thus acquired by the Company amounted to 25,950 square miles, or more than half of all England, and yielded a revenue of £450,000 yearly. The Rajah of Tanjore, anxious to shelter himself under a similar protection, entered into a treaty of the same description, and in return ceded lands, for the mainte-

nance of his subsidiary force, amounting to 4000 square miles. The Portuguese settlement of Goa was voluntarily surrendered by its debilitated possessors to the English authorities, and the descendants of the ancient discoverers and conquerors of India acknowledged the rising supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. Shortly after, (October 30), a treaty of commerce and friendship was concluded with the Rajah of Nepal, and the English influence extended to the foot of the Himalaya snows.

36. Amicable relations were at the same time established with the Imam of Muscat—a powerful chief, having a considerable naval force and vast maritime coast in the Persian Gulf and on the shores of Arabia—and the King of Persia, which terminated in the conclusion of a most important treaty, both commercial and political, with the court of Ispahan. By its valuable privileges were secured to British trade in the interior of Asia, and a barrier was provided against the only powers which, at that period, were thought to threaten the provinces of Hindostan. It was agreed that, in the event of any inroad being threatened by the Affghans, or any hostile measures attempted by France, Persia should make common cause with England in arresting the invader. No stipulations were deemed necessary against Russia, though all history told that it was from that quarter that all the serious invasions of India had emanated; and although shortly before a treaty had been concluded between Napoleon and the Emperor Paul for the transport of a force of thirty-five thousand French, and fifty thousand Russian troops, from the banks of the Rhine and of the Wolga to those of the Indus. So short-sighted are the views even of the ablest statesmen and diplomatists, when, carried away by the pressing, and perhaps accidental, dangers of the moment, they overlook the durable causes which, in every age, elevate and direct the waves of conquest.

37. Delivered from all domestic dangers by these prosperous events, Lord Wellesley was enabled to direct the

colossal strength of the Indian empire to foreign objects. Such was the extent of resources at the disposal of government, that, without weakening, in any considerable degree, the force at any of the presidencies, he was enabled to fit out an expedition at Bombay, consisting of seven thousand men, to take part in the great concerted attack by the British government upon the French in Egypt. Sir D. Baird, as a just though tardy reward for his heroic conduct at Seringapatam, received the command, and sailed from Bombay on the 30th March. Colonel Wellesley had been appointed second in command, and he looked forward with exultation to the service for which he was destined; but a severe illness rendered it impossible for him to follow out his destination. General Baird, therefore, proceeded alone; and Colonel Wellesley, to whom the important and romantic character of the expedition had rendered it an object of the highest interest, continued, during his recovery, to write letters to his brave commanding officer, containing suggestions for the conduct of the campaign, and precautions against its dangers, highly characteristic of the sagacious foresight of his mind. General Baird conducted the expedition with admirable skill, and contributed in no small degree, by his threatening advance, to the surrender of the French force at Cairo, and the triumphant issue of the Egyptian campaign, which has been already recounted; while fate, which here seemed to have blasted Colonel Wellesley in the brightest epoch of his career, was only reserving him for higher destinies, and preparing, in the triumph of Assaye, the opening of that career which was destined to bring the war in Europe to a triumphant conclusion.

38. Civil transactions, however, of the most important nature, highly conducive to the power and stability of the British empire in the East, ensued before the sword was again drawn on the plains of Hindostan. The kingdom of Oude had long been the seat of a large British force, both on account of the internal weakness of its government, and the importance of its situation on

the northern frontier of India, and as the first state likely to fall a victim to foreign invasion. By existing treaties, the Company were at liberty to augment the subsidiary force serving in that province, if they deemed such increase requisite for the security of the two states; and the mutinous, turbulent disposition both of the Vizier's soldiers and subjects, as well as his inextricable pecuniary embarrassments, had long made it too apparent that it was indispensably necessary for the very existence of society in these provinces, the security of our northern frontier, and as a guarantee of the pay of the troops, that the weakness and corruption of the native government should be exchanged for the vigour and equity of British rule. The native prince, however, though well aware of his inability either to conduct his own administration, or discharge his engagements to the British government, evinced the utmost repugnance to make the proposed grants of territory in discharge of his obligations to maintain a subsidiary force; but at length his scruples were overcome by the firmness and ability of the British diplomatic agent, Mr Henry Wellesley, and a treaty was concluded at Lucknow, by which his highness ceded to the British government all the frontier provinces of Oude, particularly Goorackpoor and the lower Doab, containing thirty-two thousand square miles, or three-fourths of the area of England. The revenue of the ceded districts, at the time of the treaty, was estimated at considerably less than the subsidy which the Nawab was bound to furnish for the pay of the subsidiary force, by which alone his authority had been maintained; but the British government was amply indemnified for this temporary loss by the rise of the revenue of the ceded districts, which, under the firm government of the Company, soon attained triple its former amount. At the same time, the native prince obtained the benefit of an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Company, and a permanent force of thirteen thousand men to defend his remaining territories; and the inhabitants of the transferred pro-

vinces received the incalculable advantage of exchanging a corrupt and oppressive native, for an honest and energetic European government.

39. Another transaction of a similar character, about the same period, put the British in possession of territories of equal value in the Carnatic. Among many other important papers discovered in the secret archives of Tippoo Sultan, at Seringapatam,* was a correspondence in cipher between that ambitious chief and the Nawaub of the Carnatic, Om-lut-ul-Omrah, which left no doubt that the latter had been engaged in a hostile combination against the British government.* The situation of the rich and fertile district of the Carnatic, so near to the British provinces on the Madras coast, rendered it of the highest importance that no hidden enemy should exist in that quarter; and as the authority of the Nawaub had been little more than nominal for a number of years past, Lord Clive, the governor of Madras, received orders to take military possession of the country in June 1801. The old Nawaub died about that time; and, after a difficult negotiation with his son, who had succeeded to his dominions, a treaty was at length concluded, by which the British obtained the entire command of his dominions, under the condition only of providing an income suitable to the splendour and dignity of the deposed family. This stipulation, like all others of a similar character, was faithfully complied with; and though, in making the cession, the young Nawaub unquestion-

* This correspondence, the cipher to which was accidentally discovered, was very curious. It contained decisive evidence that the Nawaub had severely reprobated the Nizam's alliance with the English, as contrary to the dictates of religion; as well as the triple alliance between that potentate and the Mahrattas and the English, which had been the principal means in 1792 of reducing the power of Tippoo. The English were denominated *Taza Waruds*, or the new-comers; the Nizam himself *Pleech*, or nothing; and the Mahrattas *Pooch*, or contemptible. By the 10th article of the treaty of 1792, he was bound "not to enter into any negotiation or political correspondence with any European or native power whatever, without the consent of the Company."—MALCOLM'S *India*, 337, 339.

ably yielded to compulsion, yet he obtained for himself a peaceable affluence and splendid establishment; for his country, the termination of a distracted rule and a ruinous oppression; and for his subjects, blessings which they never could have obtained under a native dynasty. The territories thus acquired amounted to twenty-seven thousand square miles, and were of the richest description, embracing the plains from the foot of the Mysore mountains to the coast of Coromandel.

40. But there never was a juster observation than the one already noticed, that conquest, to induce security, must be universal; for anything short of that only induces additional causes of jealousy, and a wider sphere of hostility. By destroying the power of Tippoo, and reducing the Nizam to a mere tributary condition, the English had done what Napoleon had achieved by crushing Prussia, humbling Austria, and establishing the Confederation of the Rhine; they had rendered inevitable a contest with a more formidable power than either, and induced a struggle for life or death with the most powerful nations in India. The formation of alliances, offensive and defensive, with the Nizam and the Rajah of Mysore, necessarily brought the British government into contact with their restless and enterprising neighbours the MAHRATTAS, and made them succeed to all the complicated diplomatic relations between the courts of Hyderabad, Seringapatam, and Poonah. It is needless to examine minutely the causes of the jealousy and ultimate rupture which ensued between them. That the Mahrattas—a powerful confederacy, inflamed by conquest, inured to rapine, whose hand was against every man and every man's hand against them, and who could bring two hundred thousand horsemen into the field—should view with apprehension the rapid advances of the British to supreme dominion, is not surprising; the only thing to wonder at is, that, like the European powers in regard to Napoleon, they should so long have looked supinely on, while the redoubtable stranger beat down successively

every native power within his reach. They owed as already mentioned, a nominal allegiance to the Peishwa, who was the head of their confederacy, and held his seat of government on the *musnud*, or throne, at Poonah; and it was with him that all the treaties and diplomatic intercourse, both of the Company and the native powers, had been held. But his authority, like that of the Emperor in the Germanic confederacy, was more nominal than real; and the principal chiefs in this warlike restless race acted as much on their own account as the cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, and Munich. Three of these had recently risen to eminence, and formed the chief powers with whom the English had to contend in the arduous conflict which followed—the RAJAH OF BERAR, SCINDIAH, and HOLKAR.

41. The Rajah of Berar had established his sway over all the territory from the sea, on the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, to the dominions of the Nizam on the south-west. His capital was at Nagpoor; and he could bring twenty thousand disciplined cavalry, and half that number of infantry, into the field. Scindiah's power was much more considerable. Besides sixty thousand admirable horse, he had sixteen battalions of regular infantry under the command of European officers, and above two hundred pieces of cannon ready for action. Holkar's territories were farther removed from the scene of action, being situated between the dominions of the Rajah of Scindiah and Bombay; but his power was greater than either of the other chieftains. He could with ease bring eighty thousand men into the field; and though the greater part of them were cavalry, they were only on that account the more formidable to an invading enemy. The families of the two latter of these chiefs had been only recently elevated. The founder of that of Scindiah, the grandfather of the present Rajah, had originally been a cultivator, and owed his rise, when a private soldier in the guard of the Peishwa, to the accidental circumstance of being discovered by his sove-

reign, when left at the door in charge of his slippers, asleep with the slippers clasped with fixed hands to his breast—a proof of fidelity to his humble duty which justly attracted the attention of the monarch. Both the present Rajah and his father had been the resolute opposers of the English power; and though they wielded at will the resources of the Peishwa, they were careful to observe all the ceremonials of respect to that decayed potentate. When Scindiah was at the head of sixteen regular battalions, sixty thousand horse, and two hundred pieces of cannon, he placed himself at the court of the Peishwa below all the hereditary nobles of the state, declined to sit down in their presence, and untying a bundle of slippers, said, "This is my occupation: it was my father's." But, though thus humble in matters of form, no man was more vigorous and energetic in the real business of government. He was the nominal subject but real master of the unfortunate Mogul Emperor, Shah Aulum; the ostensible friend but secret enemy of his rival Holkar; the professed inferior but actual superior and oppressor of the Rajpoot chiefs of central India; the enrolled soldier but tyrannic ruler of the declining throne of the Peishwa.

42. The family of Holkar had been originally of the shepherd tribe; the first who rose above the class of peasants was Mulhar Row, born in 1693. By the vigour and ability which they subsequently displayed, his ancestors gradually rose to eminence under the Mahratta chiefs, and at the death of Tukajie, the head of the family, in 1797, two legitimate and two natural sons of the house appeared to contest the palm of supremacy. Jeswant Row was the youngest of the latter class: and in the first civil contest which ensued with his legitimate brothers, he was totally defeated, and obliged to fly with only a few followers. The native vigour of his character, however, rose superior to all his difficulties. He underwent the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, in the course of which, on one occasion, he quelled a

revolt among his Pindaree followers by springing from his horse, and with his own hand loading and discharging a field-piece among them. By the force, however, of courage and perseverance he at length succeeded in all his designs, and under the title of guardian to the infant son of his elder legitimate brother, in effect obtained the command of the whole possessions of the Holkar family. For some time he was engaged in hostilities with Scindiah; but no sooner was his power fully established than those two formidable chieftains united their forces against the Peishwa, the acknowledged head of the confederacy. The combined armies encountered those of their nominal superior in the neighbourhood of Poorah. Scindiah's forces commenced the action, and his troops at first met with a repulse; while Holkar, with his cavalry dismounted, watched the conflict from the heights in the rear. Instantly mounting his horse, the brave chief bade all who did not intend to conquer or die to return to their wives and children; for himself, he was resolved not to survive defeat. Bearing down with his squadrons, yet fresh, on the wearied foe, Holkar soon restored the combat, and finally routed the Peishwa's troops with great slaughter. The unhappy monarch was obliged to fly from his capital, which was soon occupied by his enemies, and the august head of the Mahrattas appeared as a suppliant in the British territories.

43. Lord Wellesley justly deemed this a favourable opportunity to establish a proper balance of power among the Mahratta states, and erect a barrier between their most enterprising chiefs and the British dependencies. It had long been a leading object of English policy to prevent the establishment of any considerable power in India with whom the French might form dangerous connections; and already a sort of military state had risen up, of the most formidable character, under French officers, and under Scindiah's protection, on the banks of the Jumna. Perron, a French officer in the service of that chieftain, had or-

ganised a formidable force consisting of thirty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, admirably equipped and disciplined, with a train of a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon of brass, and one hundred and twenty iron guns, entirely under the direction of officers of his own country, and disposed equally to second the hostile views of the Mahratta confederacy, or forward those of Napoleon for the subversion of the British power in the East. For the maintenance of this subsidiary force he had obtained a grant of a rich and extensive territory, yielding £1,700,000 a-year of revenue, extending from the banks of the Jumna towards those of the Indus, through the Punjaub, and comprising Agra, Delhi, and a large portion of the Doab, or alluvial plain between the Jumna and the Ganges. It was not the least important circumstance in this military establishment, that it gave M. Perron the entire command of the person of the unfortunate Shah Aulum, the degraded heir of the Mogul empire of Delhi; and promised at no distant period to put the French Emperor in possession of the rights of the house of Timour over the whole Indian peninsula.

44. The Peishwa was not insensible of the need in which he stood of British protection, to maintain his precarious authority over the unruly Mahratta chiefs; but dread of the hostility of Scindiah and Holkar, joined to a secret jealousy of the rising power of the aspiring foreigners, had hitherto prevented him from closing with the advances made to him by the governor-general. Nay, he had even declined to accept the share of the spoils of Mysore, which, in order to conciliate his cabinet, had, notwithstanding their dubious conduct in the war with Tip-poo, been offered by the British government. The decisive overthrow received from Scindiah and Holkar, however, and the desperate state of his affairs in consequence of their invasion, entirely overcame these scruples; and, on the morning of the day on which he evacuated his capital, the fugitive monarch eagerly solicited the aid of a British subsidiary force to enable him

to make head against his rebellious feudatories. He was cordially received, therefore, by the British authorities; and having escaped out of his dominions, he embarked on board a British vessel, and landed safely at Bombay. The result of these disastrous circumstances was the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein between the Company and the Peishwa, in virtue of which a close alliance offensive and defensive was contracted by the two powers, and the latter agreed to receive a subsidiary force, to be maintained at his expense, of six thousand men.

45. This crisis was rightly considered by Lord Wellesley to require the immediate application of the most vigorous measures. In contemplation of its arrival, he had already collected a body of twenty thousand men under General Stuart, at Hurryhurr, a town of the Madras presidency, near the Mahratta frontier; while General, afterwards LORD LAKE, received the command of the principal force, called the Army of Bengal, which was stationed in Oude. The Madras army, however, was afterwards divided into two parts, and the command of the advanced guard, consisting of ten thousand European and sepoy troops, with two thousand of the Mysore horse, was intrusted to Colonel Wellesley, whose admirable dispositions during the war with Doondiah had both won for him the confidence of the troops and conciliated the goodwill of the native powers. With this force, that enterprising officer broke up from Hurryhurr on the 9th March, and, after crossing the Toombudra river, entered the Mahratta territory. He was everywhere received by the people as a deliverer. The peasants, won by the strict discipline of his troops, and the regular payment for provisions in the former campaign, flocked in crowds with supplies, as they afterwards did in France, to the camp; while the whole inhabitants, worn out with the incessant oppression of the Mahrattas, welcomed, with loud shouts, the troops who were to introduce in its room the steadiness of British rule and the efficiency of British protection.

Holkar had left Poonah some time before, with the bulk of his army, and the garrison which he had left in that capital abandoned it on the approach of the British forces. Colonel Wellesley, therefore, deemed it unnecessary to wait the tardy movements of the infantry; and aware of the importance of gaining possession of the capital before Scindiah could assemble forces for its relief, on the threats of burning it, which they had uttered, could be executed, put himself at the head of the cavalry, and, advancing by forced marches, reached Poonah on the 19th April, and entered the city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, whom, by an extraordinary effort, he had saved from the vengeance of the retreating enemy. In the thirty-two hours immediately preceding, he had marched at the head of his horse above sixty miles—an instance of sustained effort, under the burning sun of India, which has never been exceeded in history.

46. The effects of this vigorous step were soon apparent. The Peishwa, relieved from his compulsory exile in Bombay, returned to his dominions, and was resented with much pomp, in presence of the British army, on the *musnud*, or hereditary throne of the Mahrattas. His principal feudatories renewed their allegiance to him, and even in some instances joined their troops to the British forces; and it was for a short time hoped that this great stroke of securing that monarch to the British interest, by the strong bond of experienced necessity, would be accomplished without the effusion of blood. It ere long appeared, however, that these hopes were fallacious. The jealousies and animosities of the Mahratta chiefs had been subdued by the approach of common danger; and it speedily became manifest, from the great accumulation of forces which assembled on the frontiers of the Nizam's territories, that hostilities on a very extended scale were in contemplation. Lord Wellesley's preparations were immediate, and proportioned to the greatness of the danger. General Lake assumed the command of the principal army, twenty-five thousand

strong, which had assembled in Oude; while Colonel Wellesley, now promoted to the rank of general, drew near to the threatening mass of forces which was collected on the Nizam's frontier. A long negotiation ensued, conducted by Colonel Collins, the British resident at the court of Scindiah—the professed aim of which was to smooth away the subjects of jealousy which had arisen between the two powers; its real object to gain time for Scindiah, till the preparations of the Rajah of Berar were completed, and his approach had enabled the combined forces to take the field.

47. At length, in the end of May, Scindiah being much pressed to give an explanation of his armaments, or direct the withdrawal of his troops, broke up the conference by declaring, "After my interview with the Rajah of Berar, you shall be informed whether we will have peace or war." It was evident to the persons who conducted this negotiation, that the success of the Mahratta confederacy with Hyder in 1780, which had brought the Madras presidency to the brink of ruin, had inspired the chiefs of that nation with a most extravagant opinion of their own importance; that they were wholly unaware of the vast intermediate progress which the British power had made; and deemed that the renewal of hostilities on their part would be immediately followed by the siege of Madras and expulsion of the English from India. Perceiving this, and being convinced that a rupture was inevitable, Lord Wellesley committed full diplomatic powers to his generals in the field; and General Wellesley demanded in peremptory terms, an explanation of Scindiah's intentions, and removal of his forces from the Nizam's frontier to a less threatening station. The rajah, in his turn, insisted upon the withdrawal of the British forces, to which General Wellesley at once agreed; but when the time for carrying the mutual retreat into effect arrived, the Mahrattas showed no disposition to move, and the British government received information that the combined chiefs had resolved not to

retire from their threatening position.* Upon this, the resident quitted Scindiah's court, and war began both on the Oude frontier under Lord Lake, and that of the Nizam under General Wellesley.

48. General, afterwards Lord Lake, was born in 1744, of an ancient and respectable family, which boasted of a descent from Launcelot of the Lake, one of the chevaliers of the Round Table. At the age of fourteen, he entered the army, and served with distinction both in the American and Flemish wars. In 1798 he was actively engaged in the contest with the Irish rebels: he took part in the decisive battle of Vinegar Hill, and though worsted at Castlebar by the French troops, who subsequently landed, he had his revenge at Ballynamuck, where he made prisoners a large body of the invaders. In 1800 he received the appointment of Commander-in-chief of the British forces in India. It was there that his real career began: and his achievements in Eastern warfare far exceeded anything recorded of his ancestor of the Lake, or of Arthur's knights in European story. His first

* The substance of this important negotiation was thus pithily summed up by the Duke of Wellington, in a letter to Scindiah at this period:—"The British government did not threaten to commit hostilities against you, but you threatened to commence hostilities against them and their allies; and when called upon to explain your intentions, you declared that it was doubtful whether there would be peace or war, and, in conformity, with your threats and declared doubts, you assembled a large army in a station contiguous to the Nizam frontier. On this ground I called upon you to withdraw your army to its usual stations, if your pacific declarations were sincere; but, instead of complying with this reasonable requisition, you have proposed that I should withdraw the troops which are intended to defend the territories of the allies against your designs; and that you and the Rajah of Berar should be suffered to remain with your troops assembled, in readiness to take advantage of their absence. This proposition is unreasonable and inadmissible, and you must stand to the consequences of the measures which I and myself obliged to adopt to repel your aggressions. I offered you peace upon terms of equality, and honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all the consequences."—GENERAL WELLESLEY to SCINDIAH, 6th Aug. 1803—*Well. Despatches*, iii. 277.

care, on taking the command, was to improve the efficiency of the native cavalry; and such was the docility and emulation of those brave troops, that the desultory habits to which they had been accustomed, under their native chiefs, were speedily exchanged for the precision and regularity of European discipline. It was in this previous preparation that the foundation was laid for all his subsequent successes. It supplied the deficiency which had hitherto been so painfully experienced by the British, in the campaigns of Hindustan, in combating the Eastern horse; and by engrafting the steady and obedience of Europe on the fire and celerity of Asia, reared up a body of cavalry superior to any that had yet followed the British standards in the East, and perhaps equal to any in the world, in vigour and warlike prowess. In a word, Little accomplished in India what Napoleon projected in Egypt, when he said that if he could unite the French infantry to the Manchu horse, he would conquer the world.

49. Lord Lake was one of the greatest cavalry officers that Europe has ever produced. He had the vigour of mind and the temperance which is essential to great achievement, and no one more thoroughly understood the great art of strategy—that of relinquishing lesser objects, and striking with an overwhelming force at the decisive points. But his boldness sometimes savoured of rashness; his marvellous successes caused him to underrate his enemy; his constant triumphs made him think his troops equal to anything. By neglecting the suggestions of prudence, and overlooking the necessity of combination, he sometimes ran unnecessary risks, and brought the British empire in the East into serious danger. His imprudent advance of Monson's division, and attack of Bhurtpore with inadequate means, are examples of this tendency. But if his ardent spirit, sanguine disposition, and unbounded confidence in his followers, sometimes led himself and his troops into peril, no general was more felicitous in extricating himself from it;

and none more frequently, by a quick decision and fearless advance, converted threatening danger into ultimate triumph. In rapidity of movement, determination of conduct, hardihood in difficulty, and endurance of fatigue, he never was surpassed. Alexander, at the head of his phalanx, did not throw himself with more intrepidity into the midst of the enemy's columns: Murat did not head a charge of cavalry with more chivalrous valour: Jugurtha, with his Numidian horse, did not excel him in the rapidity with which he followed up the pursuit of a beaten foe. At the head of a chosen band of light-armed British and native dragoons, he fairly ran down Holkar and the Mahratta horse on their own territory. He did not, like former generals, alike in ancient and modern times, make the discipline of European foot withstand the assaults of Asiatic horse; he combated Asia with her own weapons, and defeated her with the sword and the lance, on her own waterless plains. Generous, affable, considerate in private, he was alike beloved by his officers and adored by his men; and nothing but his sudden death in February 1808, before the Peninsular contest began, prevented him from leaving a name immortal in European, as he had already done in Asiatic annals.

50. The campaign which followed, though it lasted only five months, was one of the most brilliant in the British annals, and conducted our Eastern empire, by an uninterrupted series of victories, to the proud pre-eminence which it has ever since maintained. The instructions to General Lake, dictated by that clear perception of the vital point of attack which, as much as his admirable foresight, characterised all Marquis Wellesley's combinations, were to concentrate all his efforts, in the first instance, for the destruction of M. Perron's formidable force on the banks of the Jumna; next to get possession of Delhi and Agra, with the person of Shah Aulum, the Mogul emperor; and finally, to form alliances with the Rajpoots and other native powers beyond the Jumna, so as to exclude Scindiah from the north-

ern parts of India. General Wellesley was directed to move against the combined forces of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, on the Nizam's frontier, and distract their attention by vigorous operations, while decisive blows were struck by General Lake at the centre of their power. Subsidiary operations at the same time were to be conducted by Colonel Campbell against the province of Cuttack, and the city of Juggernaut, with the view of adding that important district, the link between the Bengal and Madras provinces to the British dominions.

51. General Lake's army commenced its march from the ceded provinces of Cawnpore on the 7th August, and on the 28th, as he drew near to Perron's force, he received a letter from that officer, proposing to enter into an arrangement by which he himself and the troops under his command might remain neutral in the contest which was approaching; but the terms proposed were deemed inadmissible, and the flag of truce returned without effecting any arrangement. On the day following, the English came up with the whole of Perron's force, drawn up in a strong position, covering the important fort of Allighur. They were immediately attacked by the British army with the greatest vigour, and after a short resistance put to flight. The fortress of Allighur was next besieged; and, as the extraordinary strength of its fortifications, armed with one hundred and eighty guns, rendered operations in form a very tedious undertaking, General Lake, after a few days' cannonading, resolved to hazard the perilous attempt of an escalade. The ditch, to use his own expression, was large enough to float a seventy-four, and the garrison, four thousand strong, both disciplined and resolute; but all these difficulties were overcome by the determined gallantry of the storming party, headed by the 76th regiment, led by Colonel Monson. After a bloody struggle, an hour in duration, the gates were blown open, and the British colours hoisted on the walls of the fortress.

52. Brilliant as was this opening of

the campaign, it was speedily succeeded by other successes important. Advancing rapidly towards Delhi, General Lake was met by General Perron, who entered into a separate negotiation, and soon passed through the British camp on his way to embark for France, with the large fortune which he had made in the Mahratta service. But he was succeeded in the command of the French subsidiary force by M. Louis, who, instead of showing any disposition to come to an accommodation, advanced in great force, and with a most formidable train of artillery. The British army, after a fatiguing march of eighteen miles, on the 11th of September found the enemy, twenty thousand strong, including sixteen thousand disciplined in the European method, with a hundred pieces of cannon, posted on a strong ridge which covered the approaches to the city of DELHI. The troops which General Lake had at his immediate disposal, as the whole of the army had not come up, did not exceed five thousand men; but with this handful of heroes he did not hesitate instantly to advance to the attack. When the men came within range, they were received by a tremendous fire, first of round and chain shot, and afterwards of grape and musketry. Advancing, however, without flinching, through the dreadful storm, the British waited till the order was given, at the distance of a hundred yards, to fire; and then, after pouring in a close and well-directed volley, rushed forward with the bayonet, and in a few minutes drove the enemy from their guns and from the field in the utmost confusion. Sixty-eight pieces of heavy artillery, thirty-seven tumbrils, and eleven standards were taken; but such was the severity of the fire to which they were exposed during their rapid advance, that in that short time four hundred of the British army were killed and wounded, and it was to the ready intrepidity of the 76th regiment that General Lake mainly ascribed the glorious result of the battle.*

* The following passage in Lord Lake's private despatch to Lord Wellesley on this

53. The immediate consequence of this victory was the capture of Delhi, the ancient capital of Hindostan, and seat of the Mogul emperors, which was taken possession of without resistance on the following day, and the liberation of the Emperor Shah Aulum from the degrading servitude in which he had long been retained by the Mah-ratta and French authorities. The English general was received by the descendant of Timour, seated on his throne with great pomp, in presence of all the dignitaries of the empire. Experience in the end proved that he had made a most beneficial change for his own interest; for if the original Tartar conqueror would have had much

to regret in the deprivation of real power with which the change in his circumstances was attended, his feeble successor found much to envy in the perfect security and unbounded luxury which he enjoyed under the liberal protection of his generous allies. The British power derived great moral influence and consideration from this auspicious alliance; and the name of the Emperor of Delhi proved of more service in the end than ever his arms could have been. But an event of more immediate importance to the success of the campaign soon after occurred. M. Louis, and five other chiefs of the French subsidiary force, despairing of their cause, delivered themselves up to the British, and were marched off to Calcutta; while the remainder of the troops under their orders, in a great degree destitute of leaders, retired, though in good order, towards Agra.

occasion, contains a remark of permanent interest, more especially in anticipation of the future progress of events in the Indian peninsula:—"I cannot avoid saying, in the most confidential manner, that, in the event of a foreign foe coming into this country, without a very great addition of force in Europeans, the consequences will be fatal; as there ought always to be at least one European battalion to four native ones: this I think necessary. I have seen a great deal of these people lately, and am quite convinced that, without King's troops, very little is to be expected: in short, the infantry of this army, as well as cavalry, should be remodelled."—*Confidential Despatch*, Sept. 12, 1803.—*Well. Desp.* iii. 312. This wise advice has been since entirely thrown away; because the English government have not since ventured, in the face of popular clamour for reduction and retrenchment, to keep up the British troops in India at their former level, far less to augment them to double their amount, as they should have been, to preserve the proper balance between the European and native forces. It was immediately after the battle of Austerlitz that Napoleon, gifted with the sagacity which amounts to prescience, formed his designs for the fortifications of Paris; and it was immediately after the battle of Delhi that Lord Lake impressed upon government the necessity of a great augmentation in the European forces in India. The future to the one has passed; and Napoleon, as we shall

in the sequel, fell, because dread of offending the Parisian populace prevented him from carrying into execution what he felt to be essential to the salvation of their independence. The future to us is still to come, though the prospect is enveloped in clouds, and sinister omens may already be discerned in the heavens; but posterity will be able to judge whether the British empire is to be an exception to the rule, and stability is to be given to our power by concessions to popular and ignorant clamour, which have proved fatal to the greatest of those who have preceded us.

54. Thither they were speedily followed by General Lake with the British army; and, on the 10th October, a general attack was made on their strong positions, intersected by ravines, covering the city from the south. The gallant sepoy troops, emulating the conduct of their European brethren in arms, under the guidance of Lieut.-Colonel Gerard, the adjutant-general of the army, drove the enemy in the finest style from the rugged ground which they occupied, and, pursuing their advantages hotly, ascended the glacis, and gained possession of the outworks, though not without sustaining a heavy loss. Two days afterwards, two thousand five hundred of the enemy came over and entered the British service; and the breaching batteries having been completed, and the fire opened with great effect on the ramparts, the garrison, six thousand strong, soon after surrendered at discretion. By this decisive blow, the last stronghold and great arsenal of the enemy fell into our hands. The stores captured were immense: one hundred and sixty pieces of brass and iron cannon were taken, with all their equipments and ammunition; while the discipline observed by the troops in the midst of their triumphs was so

extraordinary, and afforded such a contrast to the license and devastation usually attendant on military success in Hindostan, that it contributed, even more than their astonishing victories, to the belief that they were, and the wish that they should continue to be, invincible.*

55. This early and unparalleled series of successes secured the submission or alliance of all the native potentates in the north of Hindostan; and a treaty of alliance was concluded with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and another with Runjeet Sing, the Rajah of Lahore, the strength of whose military power was afterwards so seriously experienced in the Punjaub; in consequence of which fifteen hundred of the latter's ~~troops~~ joined the British camp. Meanwhile, however, Scindiah moved

* "All the inhabitants of this place (Delhi), who for a time fled, perceiving that no ravages had been committed by the troops, returned to their habitations last night. I am informed from all quarters that the inhabitants beheld with astonishment this proof of the discipline and good conduct of the army, and declare that hitherto it has been unknown in Hindostan, that a victorious army should pass through a country, without destroying by fire, and committing every excess the most injurious to the inhabitants; but on the contrary, from the regularity observed by us, our approach is a blessing, instead of bringing with it, as they at first feared, all the horrors of war, attended by rapine and murder; that their cattle remain in the fields without being molested, and the inhabitants in their houses receive every protection."—LORD LAKE to LORD WELLESLEY, October 2, 1803—*Well. Desp.* iii. 426, 427.

On this occasion, also, Lord Lake reiterates his observation of the indispensable necessity of having a large proportion of British troops to achieve success in India. "The *sepoys*," says he, "have behaved exceedingly well; but from my observations on this day, as well as every other, it is impossible to do great things in a gallant and quick style without Europeans; therefore, if they do not in England think it necessary to send British troops in the proportion of one to three *sepoys* regiments, which is, in fact, as one to six in actual numbers, from the superior strength of the native battalions, they will stand a good chance of losing their possessions in India, if a French force once get a footing in India. You may perceive, from the loss of European officers in *sepoys* regiments, how necessary it is for them to expose themselves; in fact, everything has been done by the example and exertions of the officers, without which we had not been where we are."—LORD LAKE to LORD WELLESLEY, October 10, 1803—*Well. Desp.* iii. 396.

up fourteen battalions of his best regular infantry from the Deccan by forced marches into the northern provinces; and these troops, having joined some regiments which had escaped from the wreck of Delhi and Agra, and received an ample supply of artillery, formed a formidable force, which it was of the last importance to destroy before its numbers were still further augmented by additions from other quarters. Leaving behind him, therefore, his artillery, and the greater part of his infantry, General Lake set out with the cavalry and light infantry, by forced marches, in pursuit of the enemy. After several fatiguing days' journey, he reached the spot they had quitted the day before, and received intelligence that they were not more than forty miles from the British camp. Setting out at midnight, he accomplished that distance at the head of his cavalry, in the next twenty-four hours; and about noon, on the 1st November, came up with the enemy, sixteen thousand strong, with seventy pieces of cannon, advantageously posted with their right upon a rivulet, which required to be crossed before their position was reached, and their left resting on the village of LASWAREE. The dust, which obscured all the ground in advance of the enemy as soon as the rivulet was crossed, prevented the English general from seeing the extent of the formidable array of guns which protected their front; and in his anxiety to cut off their retreat to the neighbouring hills, he resolved upon an immediate assault with the cavalry alone, before any part of the infantry had come up. The attack was made, and at first with brilliant success. Wearied as they were, the British and native cavalry forced the enemy's line at several points, penetrated into the village, and even carried a part of the artillery; but being unsupported by infantry and cannon, these gallant horsemen could make no reply to the severe fire of artillery and musketry with which they were assailed; the taken guns could not be withdrawn for want of bullocks, and, after sustaining a severe loss, they were obliged

to evacuate the ground they had gained, and retire to a short distance from the field.

56. Encouraged by this success, but yet fearful of the onset of the British infantry when it came up, the enemy sent to say, that if certain terms were allowed them, they would deliver up their guns. General Lake, being doubtful of the issue of a second attack, acceded to the proposal, and gave them an hour to carry it into effect; which, however, they took no steps to do. During this interval he formed his little army, consisting of the 76th regiment and seven weak battalions of sepoy, with a few galloper guns, and three regiments of British and five of native cavalry—in all, four thousand infantry and three thousand five hundred horse—into two columns, and when the time allowed had expired, moved on to the attack. The 76th regiment headed the array, and was directed to move against the enemy's left flank, and assault the village of Laswaree; the second column of infantry and all the cavalry were to support the onset of the first, and take advantage of any confusion which might appear in the enemy's line. With an undaunted step, the 76th, with General Lake and all his staff at their head, advanced against the terrible line of cannon which was planted along the enemy's front: so admirable was their steadiness that a staff officer observed at the moment, as they approached the fire, that an arrow discharged at one end of the line would go through half the feathers of the regiment.* No sooner, however, were they arrived within range of canister-shot than they were received by so tremendous a fire, that in a few minutes a third of their number were struck down; and at this awful moment a large body of the enemy's horse bore down to the charge. Rapidly, however, the men closed to the

centre. A close and well-directed volley from this heroic regiment repulsed the attack; but as they retired only to a little distance, and still preserved a menacing attitude on the flank of the advancing column, General Lake ordered them to be charged by the British cavalry.

57. This momentous duty was instantly and ably performed by the 29th regiment of English dragoons, who by a brilliant charge overthrew the Mahratta horse, and, by clearing the flank of the column of infantry, enabled the successive regiments, as they came up, to deploy. The whole now moved forward at a rapid pace against the enemy's batteries, and, sustaining without flinching the continued and terrific fire of his artillery, at length, by a sudden rush, made themselves masters of the guns. Even then, the left wing did not fly, but commenced, in admirable order, a regular retreat; which, however, was ultimately changed into a rout by the repeated and impetuous charges of the British and native horse, under Colonel Vandeleur. So obstinate was the resistance, so complete the victory, that of seventeen regular battalions who had engaged in the battle, the whole, with the exception of two thousand prisoners, were either killed or wounded; all the guns—seventy in number—forty-four colours, and the whole ammunition and baggage taken. By this decisive overthrow, not only was the power of Scindiah in the northern provinces completely broken, but the French influence and authority on the banks of the Jumna, which had suddenly grown up to so formidable a height, finally destroyed. But the success was dearly bought by the British army: above eight hundred of that band of heroes had fallen, or were wounded in the fight; the battle was the most severe that had yet been fought in India; Lord Lake avowed,† in his secret des-

I received this striking anecdote from the adjutant-general of the army, Lieutenant-colonel Gerard, to whom the words in the text were addressed by Major Lake, the gallant son of the commander-in-chief.

† "The action of yesterday has convinced me how impossible it is to do anything

without British troops; and of them there ought to be a very great proportion. The returns of yesterday will, I fear, prove the necessity of what I say too fully."—See LORD LAKE to LORD WELLESLEY, *Secret Despatch*, 2d November, 1803—*Well. Desp.* iii. 446.

patches to the governor-general, that, if the enemy's sepoys had had an adequate appointment of French officers, the result would have been extremely doubtful, and that the victory was owing entirely to the incomparable valour of the native English troops.

58. Successes of a subordinate kind, but nevertheless material to the issue of the campaign, at the same time took place in the eastern provinces. In the beginning of September, a British force under Colonel Harcourt broke up from the Bengal frontier, invaded the Cuttack, and a short time after reached the far-famed city of Juggernaut. Heavy rains for some weeks afterwards prevented further operations; but in the end of the month they again advanced and occupied without resistance the town of Cuttack, and some days afterwards stormed the citadel; and this rich and highly important province—a link lying on the sea-coast between the presidencies of Bengal and Madras—was permanently added to the British dominions.

59. While this splendid succession of victories was establishing the British power in the north of India, triumphs of an equally brilliant kind signalised their efforts in the western provinces. Operations commenced in the Deccan with the invasion of the territories of the Rajah of Berar, by General Wellesley, at the head of one army, and by Colonel Stevenson with another, on the 8th August. On the following day Wellesley arrived at the town of Ahmednuggur, a strong fortress defended by lofty walls of masonry, supported by towers. Without hesitating an instant, he directed an escalade, which was bravely executed, and proved successful without any very serious loss. Batteries were immediately erected against the citadel, and with such effect that it surrendered at discretion in two days—the garrison of fourteen hundred men being made prisoners. Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar now advanced towards the invader, who soon after took possession, without resistance, of the noble city of Aurungabad. Scindiah, upon that, moved as if to threaten

Hyderabad; but General Wellesley, by marching eastward along the banks of the Godavery, effectually frustrated his design, and, at the same time, covered the advance of two important convoys which were coming up to his army. Jalna, an important fort on the frontier of the Mahratta territory, was soon after carried by Colonel Stevenson by assault; and, a few days after, he surprised a considerable detachment of the enemy by a nocturnal attack, and routed them with very heavy loss; while, on the side of Bombay, the fortress of Baroach was carried by storm by Colonel Woodington. But more decisive events were approaching. The confederate chieftains, who hitherto had merely hovered round the British troops with clouds of horse followed by a few thousand irregular foot, were now joined by the flower of their forces; sixteen battalions of Scindiah's regular infantry, and an immense train of artillery, under French officers, entered their camp, and they exhibited an imposing array of fifty thousand men, of whom thirty thousand were admirable horse, with a hundred pieces of cannon.

60. This formidable concentration of force demonstrated the necessity of combined operations by the British generals; and, with a view to these, a conference took place between General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, on the 21st September. It was then agreed that a joint attack should be made on the enemy, who were about a day and a half's journey off, and reported to be encamped at Bokerdun. The two generals separated on the day following, and advanced towards the concentrated point by different routes—Colonel Stevenson by the western, General Wellesley by the eastern road, having a range of hills between them. The motive for this separation, though it may be doubted whether it was a sufficient one for a division in the neighbourhood of so great a force, was the difficulty of getting forward the united army through the narrow defiles by which both roads passed, and the chance that, if the two divisions moved by one line, the enemy would

retire by another, and the opportunity of striking a decisive blow be lost. In moving forward thus parallel to each other, the two corps were not more than twelve miles asunder; but the intervening hills rendered any mutual support impossible. In presence of an able and enterprising enemy, their position offered the same advantages which the division of the Austrian army by the lake of Garda presented to the blows of Napoleon, (*Ante*, Chap. xx. § 103). Upon arriving within five miles of the enemy, General Wellesley received intelligence that their horse had retreated, and that the infantry alone remained, exposed to the chance of defeat if quickly assailed. As the chief strength of the Mahrattas lay in their cavalry, the English general resolved upon an immediate attack, and despatched orders to Colonel Stevenson to co-operate in the proposed enterprise.

61. When he arrived, however, in sight of the enemy, he found their whole army, infantry and cavalry, with an immense artillery, drawn up in a strong position, with the river Kaitna, which could be crossed only by a single ford, flowing along their front. The sight was enough to appal the stoutest heart: thirty thousand horse, in one magnificent mass, crowded the right; a dense array of infantry, powerfully supported by artillery, formed the centre and left; the gunners were beside their pieces, and a hundred pieces of cannon in front of the line, stood ready to vomit forth death upon the assailants. Wellington paused for a moment, impressed but not daunted by the sight. His whole force, as Colonel Stevenson had not come up, did not exceed eight thousand men, of whom sixteen hundred were cavalry: the effective native British were not above fifteen hundred; and he had only seventeen pieces of cannon. But, feeling at once that a retreat in presence of so prodigious a force of cavalry was impossible, and that the most audacious course was, in such circumstances, the most prudent, he ordered an immediate attack. "Dux cautus et providens,

Scipio, victus necessitatibus, temerarium capit consilium ut statim hosti obviam iret: et, quocumque occurreret loco, prœlium consereret. 'Scio,' inquit, 'audax videri consilium: sed in rebus asperis et tenui spe, fortissima quæque consilia tutissima sunt: quia, si in occasionis momento cujus prætervolat opportunitas, cunctatus paululum fueris, nequidquam mox omissam quæras.'"^{*}

62. Wellington wisely determined to direct his attack against the Mahratta left, as the infantry, which was there crowded together, presented less formidable obstacles than the immense mass of horse which glittered on the right. With this view, the British troops were moved off to their own right: the lateral movement being covered by the cavalry and the Mysore horse; and the whole crossed the Kaitna at the ford, and immediately formed in two lines, with the cavalry in reserve, on the enemy's extreme left. The confederates upon this altered their front, and, instead of remaining parallel to the Kaitna, formed a diagonal line across the plain from that river to the village of ASSAYE. The guns were disposed along the whole front, and presented one immense battery, formidable alike by its numbers and the weight of its metal. With the pickets of the 85th and whole 74th in front on the right, and the 78th on the left, the British line marched swiftly forward to the attack; but, when they came within range, their guns were almost immediately dismounted by the superior fire of the enemy's artillery. Nothing, however, could arrest the steady advance of the

^{*} "Scipio, a cautious and prudent general, overborne by necessity, adopted the bold counsel of anticipating the enemy, and assailing him wheresoever he could be reached. 'I know,' said he, 'such a step appears audacious, but in difficult circumstances and with little hope, the boldest counsels are the safest. If you hesitate and allow the moment of action to pass away, you will wait in vain for its recurrence.'"—LIVY. Tasso expressed the same idea in the well-known lines:—

"Let us together at these gates out-fly,
And skirmish bold, and bloody fight begin;
For when last need to desperation driveth,
Who darest most he wisest counsel giveth."

TASSO, *Jerusalem Delivered*, vi. 6.

pickets and 74th regiment, who moved direct upon Assaye with the utmost intrepidity. But as they approached the enemy, and got within reach of their grape-shot, the execution became so severe that frightful chasms were soon made in their ranks, and a large body of Mahratta horse, which had got round the village unperceived, taking advantage of the openings thus made, dashed through with fearful effect, and a forest of uplifted sabres was seen in the centre of the British line.*

63. All seemed lost; but at that critical moment Wellington ordered up the British and native cavalry, under Colonel Maxwell. On they came at the gallop: the gallant 19th dragoons, headed by their heroic leader, bore down upon the Mahratta horse, now disordered by success, with irresistible force, and drove them off the field headlong into the Juh. The 74th and pickets, relieved from their assailants, now rallied with admirable discipline; and the second line coming up, a great part of the guns which had spread such havoc through the field were taken. Still, however, the enemy held Assaye, with a large body of infantry; and the cannon placed around it thundered on the attacking corps with terrific effect. But at that important juncture Wellington, having taken the guns on his left, assailed it with the 78th and a regiment of native horse, with such resolution that that important post was at length carried by storm. In this desperate conflict,

* The extraordinary loss sustained by the 74th on this occasion, was chiefly owing to the officer who led the pickets not having followed out Wellington's instructions, which were to make the attack on Assaye by a circuitous sweep, which would have kept the men for the greater part of the way out of the reach of cannon-shot; instead of which, carried away by a heroic courage, he moved direct upon the village, over a space swept like a glacia by the cannon of the enemy. "I lament," said Wellington, "the consequences of this mistake; but I must acknowledge, it was not possible for a man to lead a body into a hotter fire than he did the pickets on that day against Assaye. One company of the pickets alone, consisting of one officer and fifty men, lost the officer and forty-four rank and file."—WELLINGTON'S *Memoirs*. 24th Sept. 1803; GURWOOD, i. 393, 403.

Wellington, who led on the gallant 78th regiment in person, had a horse shot under him. The enemy resisted to the very last—the artillerymen being bayoneted at their guns; the infantry in many places lying in files on the ground, as they had stood in their ranks. During the retreat a large body of foot-soldiers collected together, and for a short time showed a determined front; but they were dispersed by a brilliant charge of Colonel Maxwell with the unconquerable 19th, in which that gallant officer lost his life.

64. Some of Scindiah's gunners, when the flight was general, fell on the earth and feigned to be dead, to avoid the sabres of the cavalry; but no sooner had the horsemen passed then they started up, turned the guns about, and opened a destructive fire on the backs of the advancing enemy. Indignant at the fraud, the British soldiers wheeled about, again stormed the batteries, and bayoneted the treacherous gunners at their pieces. At length the enemy fled on all sides, just as night set in, leaving in the hands of the British ninety-seven pieces of cannon, and almost all the ammunition and stores of the army. The Mahrattas had two thousand men slain on the field, and six thousand wounded; but the British loss was very severe, and the victor found himself weakened by above fifteen hundred killed and wounded, embracing more than a third of the whole British force. "Never," says Southey, "was victory gained under so many disadvantages.† Superior arms and discipline have often provided against as great a numerical difference, but it would be describing the least part of this day's glory to say that the number of the enemy was as five to one; they had disciplined troops in the field, under European officers, who more than doubled the British

† "Their fire," said the Duke of Wellington, "was so heavy, I much doubted at the time whether I should be able to prevail on the troops to advance; and all agree that the battle was the fiercest that has ever been seen in India. Our troops behaved admirably—the sepoys astonished me."—WELLINGTON to MAJOR MALCOLM, Oct. 3, 1803; GURWOOD, i. 437.

force; they had a hundred pieces of cannon, which were served with fearful skill, and which the British, without the aid of artillery, twice won with the bayonet."

65. After this decisive overthrow, the confederates retired twelve miles from the field of battle, where they passed the night; but no sooner did they hear of the approach of Colonel Stevenson, who, with eight thousand men, was advancing against them, than they fled headlong down the Ghauts, and reached the bottom in great confusion, without either cannon or ammunition. These losses, however, were soon restored, and the exhausted state of both corps of the British army rendered any effective pursuit of an enemy still so immensely superior in cavalry altogether impossible. Colonel Stevenson soon after reduced Asseceghur, an important fortress in the Rajah of Berar's dominions; while Wellington, by a series of masterly manœuvres, defended the territories of his allies, the Nizam and the Soubadar of the Deccan, and threw back the clouds of the Mahratta horse on their own territories. After some weeks' marching and countermarching, Scindiah, disgusted with a war in which no plunder was to be obtained, and of which the burden as well as dangers fell entirely on his own dominions, made proposals for peace. An armistice, on certain terms, was agreed to by the British general; but the conditions not having being complied with by the Mahratta chiefs, he resolved not to lose the opportunity which presented itself of determining their indecision, by striking a decisive blow against their united forces before they were thoroughly recovered from their late defeat. Having effected a junction with Colonel Stevenson, the whole moved against the enemy; and late on the evening of the 28th, after a fatiguing march in a sultry day, when the Mysore horse, which were skirmishing with the Mahratta cavalry in front, cleared away, a long line of cavalry, infantry, and artillery could be distinctly perceived, extending about five miles in length, in the

plains in front of ARGAUM. Though the men were much exhausted by the heat, Wellington deemed the opportunity too favourable to be lost; for he had fourteen battalions of infantry and six regiments of cavalry—in all about fourteen thousand men—besides four thousand irregular horse; and the enemy did not exceed forty thousand. Rapidly, therefore, the formation was made: the infantry, with the 74th and 78th on the right, and in advance, so as to enter first into action; the cavalry in the second line following the first in echelon; the Mysore and Mogul horse on the left, thrown back, so as rather to protect the rear than enter into the fight, and opposite to the immense mass of Mahratta horse which crowded the enemy's right wing.

66. As the British line advanced, the European regiments in front were received by a heavy fire from the batteries placed along the front of the enemy's line; and shortly after they were assailed in flank with the utmost fury by a large body of Persians, who engaged in a close conflict, hand to hand, with the British. After a fierce struggle, however, the Asiatic scimitar yielded to the European bayonet, and the assailants were almost wholly destroyed. Three battalions of sepoys, who succeeded next in the column, then advanced in echelon in good order, but no sooner came into cannon-shot than they disbanded and fled, though they had advanced bravely through a much heavier fire at Assaye. Wellington, however, was at hand to repair the confusion. Rallying the fugitives, and advancing at their head himself, he soon restored the day: a disorderly charge of Scindiah's horse on the left of the line was repulsed by the steadiness of another battalion of the native troops; and the British regiments in advance having carried the principal batteries which played upon their line, the whole Mahratta force went off in confusion, leaving in the hands of the victors thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. Had there been an hour more of daylight, or the delay consequent

on the breaking of the sepoy regiments not occurred, the whole of the enemy would have been destroyed; as it was, the pursuit was actively continued for many miles by the British cavalry, by moonlight, and all their elephants and baggage taken. But the singular failure of the three native regiments, albeit veteran soldiers who had formerly distinguished themselves, demonstrates the necessity of a large proportion of European to native troops in all Indian campaigns; for we have the authority of Wellington for the assertion, that if he had not been at hand to repair the disorder, the day would have been lost.

67. On the very day after the battle, Wellington marched to invest Gawilgur. This celebrated fortress is situated in a ~~hedge~~ ^{valley} of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee, and stands on a lofty pile of rocky eminences, surrounded by a triple circuit of walls, rising from the edge of inaccessible precipices. The entrances to this almost impregnable stronghold are by three narrow and steep paths, winding for a long ascent through the cross-fire of batteries, and intersected at various points by strong iron gates. After reconnoitring the different sides of this formidable fortress, Wellington resolved to attack it on the northern front, where the ground is comparatively level, though to reach that quarter required a circuit of thirty miles, over rugged intervening mountains. Thither the heavy ordnance and stores were dragged, over heights hitherto deemed impassable for all but foot-soldiers, through roads made by themselves; and at length, after great exertions, a sufficient number of cannon were placed in the trenches on that side to commence battering. With such vigour was the fire sustained, though nine heavy guns only had been brought round, that by the evening of the 14th the breach in the outer wall was declared practicable. Arrangements were immediately made for the storm, which were carried into execution on the following morning, with the most perfect success. The troops on the north side, headed by

the flank companies of the 94th regiment, mounted the breach with irresistible vigour, while a false attack on the south distracted the attention of the enemy. The outer wall was surmounted by escalade, the inner gates were blown open; and at the moment when the fugitive garrison were attempting to escape by the southern ports, they were met by the victorious British, who in that quarter also had made their way in, and all made prisoners.

68. The capture of this stronghold, deemed over all India impregnable, following such a train of disasters, at length broke the proud spirit of the Mahratta princes. Negotiations in real earnest were now resumed, and a treaty was concluded two days afterwards, between Wellington and the Rajah of Berar. By this pacification it was stipulated that the Rajah should cede to the Company all the territories which he had possessed in the Deccan, the province of Cuttack, and various districts to the south of the hills of Gawilghur. While by a subsequent treaty with Scindiah, all his territories in the Doab, between the Jumna and the Ganges; the fortresses of Baroach and Ahmednuggur, with their circumjacent territory; the whole district below the Adjunttee hills and the Godavery river, were made over to the Company. By these glorious treaties, territories containing thirty-two thousand square miles, and yielding, even under all the disadvantages of the Mahratta rule, nearly three millions sterling a-year of revenue, including "Dolhi, the ancient capital of the Mogul emperors, Agra, Gwalior, and many other fortresses, were acquired by the British government, and their influence was rendered paramount through the whole north of Hindostan.*

* By these treaties certain districts were to be ceded by the Mahratta chiefs to the Nizam. His minister, Mohiput Ram, was most anxious to secure information as to what particular countries or districts were likely to be ceded, and at a secret conference, offered Wellington ten lacs of rupees (£70,000) to obtain it. "Can you keep a secret?" asked the English general.—"Yes," replied Mohiput Ram.—"So can I," answered the

69. The termination of the Mahratta war, though it established the political supremacy of the British in India, and spread the fame of their valour over all Asia, yet left the government involved in considerable difficulties. The expenses of moving such large bodies of men to such immense distances were very great; and as the English, reversing the usual principles of Indian warfare, uniformly paid for everything which they required, their march, though hailed with blessings by the natives of the conquered provinces, proved extremely burdensome to the Company's treasury. The dangers of the war had been strongly felt in India, and seriously exaggerated in the mother country. The Company's stock had fallen in consequence, since the commencement of hostilities, from two hundred and fifteen to one hundred and sixty; no less than £1,700,000 in specie had been remitted by the Court of Directors in the course of the year: and, large as this sum was, it was exceeded by the wants of the Indian treasury. Mercantile men, unacquainted with the real state of affairs in the East, who estimated the propriety of all measures by their effect upon the value of their stock, or the amount of their dividends, and were incapable of appreciating the present sacrifices requisite to produce ultimate security to so vast a dominion, murmured loudly at these effects of Lord Wellesley's administration; and the opinion became general in Great Britain, that his inordinate ambition had involved us in endless contests, which would ultimately prove fatal to our empire in the East. So vexatious were the restrictions with which his administration was surrounded, and so disproportioned the ideas of the Directors to the grandeur or the real nature of their situation, that he tendered his resignation to government, and was only prevailed

native courts, that they have no conception that any functionary, how high soever, is above it. The conquests of the English were mainly ascribed by them to the incorruptible integrity of their officers, both civil and military, and the fidelity to engagements of their government.—AUBER, ii. 325.

on to continue at the head of affairs in India on an assurance that, as soon as the present complicated transactions with the Mahrattas were brought to a conclusion, he would be relieved from his duties.

70. Meanwhile the treaty already mentioned had been concluded with Scindiah, by which it was stipulated that he should cede Gwalior and Gohud, and receive a subsidiary force; in other words, become entirely dependent on the British government. These events, however, brought the English in contact with a still more formidable power, whose hostility it hitherto had been their studious care to avoid. Holkar commanded a powerful army, which was posted in a threatening position on the frontiers of Scindiah's territory; and as he held several valuable possessions in the Doab, which had recently been ceded to the British government, it was indispensable to come to some terms to accommodate the conflicting interests of the parties. Though that wily chieftain, with the characteristic dissimulation of a Mahratta, professed the utmost desire to cultivate the friendship of the Company, it soon appeared that he had resolved on the most determined hostility. Secret information reached the governor-general, that he was underhand instigating the tributaries and dependants of the English to enter into a confederacy against them;* and he even wrote to General Wellesley, threatening to overrun the British provinces

* "Countries of many hundred miles in extent shall be overrun and plundered; Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on the backs of human beings in continual war by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."—HOLKAR to GENERAL WELLESLEY, Feb. 21, 1804; MALCOLM, 315. In his letters to the Indian chiefs, tributary of England, he uniformly styled the English "infidel Christians, the enemies of the Mussulman faith;"—"seditious men, whom they should be prepared to do distinguished service against;" and spoke of its being the object of the religion and the rule of Mussulmans, that the whole body of the Faithful having assembled together, they should be employed, heart and soul, in extirpating the profligate infidels.—*Intercepted Corresp. of HOLKAR*—Well, *Desp.* iv. 48, 49.

with an innumerable army. At length he openly sent an agent to Scindiah's camp to solicit that chieftain to renew hostilities with the British, and at the same time he began plundering the territories of their ally, the Rajah of Jypore. Justly considering these acts as equivalent to a declaration of war, the commander-in-chief advanced into Holkar's territory.

71. General Wellesley was invested with the general direction of affairs, military as well as political, in the Deccan, and the territories of the Peishwa and Mahratta chiefs; but he had no longer any active command in the war, and the chief weight of the contest fell on General Lake in the northern provinces. Arduous as the conflict with Tippoo Sultan and Scindiah had been, this last strife was still more formidable from the recurrence of the Asiatic chief to that system of warfare in which the strength of the East, from the earliest ages, has consisted. Without despising the aid of disciplined battalions and a powerful train of artillery, it was the policy of Holkar to trust chiefly to his cavalry; to relieve his army of those encumbrances which retarded their march, and seldom failed to fall a prey in regular battles to the swift advance and daring courage of the British soldiers; and to trust for success to the encompassing the European hosts, like the Roman legions by the Parthian cavalry, with clouds of light horse, who could not be reached by the heavy-armed European squadrons. True, these irregular bodies could not withstand the charge of the English or sepoy dragoons, any more than the Saracens could the shock of the steel-clad Crusaders of Europe; but they seldom awaited their approach, and, by hovering round their columns, and cutting off their foraging and watering parties, frequently reduced to extreme distress bodies of men before whom they could not have stood a quarter of an hour in regular combat.

72. Holkar's territories, though extensive, lay in different parts of the Deccan and Hindostan; they were, for the most part, in a neglected state,

from the devastation and military license to which, from time immemorial, all the Mahratta provinces had been subjected. He was a usurper of his brother's rights; his own family had never risen to the rank of considerable potentates; and his present power was mainly owing to the vast concourse of predatory horsemen who, on the conclusion of peace by Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, flocked to his standard as the only one which promised a continuance of violence and plunder. Vast bodies of these irregular but formidable freebooters swarmed in all the northern parts of the Deccan and over Hindostan; and the number of them, amounting to little short of a hundred thousand, whom this popular chieftain had collected under his banners, was so disproportioned to the resources of his dominions, that foreign conquest had become to him, as to Napoleon, a matter of necessity. Bands of these plunderers, before they were attracted by the reputation of the Mahratta chief, had already appeared in various quarters, spreading terror and devastation wherever they went; and one, ten thousand strong, which had passed the Kistna, burst into the British dependencies, and was making for the Toombudra, with the design of crossing the Company's frontier, when it was overtaken by General Campbell, and entirely routed by a skilfully conducted surprise before sunrise, with the loss of three thousand killed and wounded. Twenty thousand head of cattle taken in their camp, demonstrated the vast extent of the depredation which in a few days these marauding horsemen could commit. Mohammed Beg Khan, the leader of the party, was wounded and made prisoner, and the whole body dispersed.

73. Important as this early success was in arresting the destructive inroads of the Mahratta freebooters, it was attended with one bad effect, in leading the British commanders to underrate the enemy with whom they had to deal; inducing the belief that the strength of their confederacy had been broken, by the reduction of Scindiah's and the Rajah of Berar's power;

and that, by a simultaneous invasion of his territories by comparatively small bodies of troops, converging from different directions, Holkar would speedily be reduced to submission. The plan of the campaign was arranged on these principles. Lord Lake, with the army of Bengal, about ten thousand strong, was to advance from the neighbourhood of Delhi, southward into Holkar's country; while lesser bodies, acting in concert with Scindiah's forces, pressed upon it from Guzerat, Malwa, and the Deccan. Colonel Murray, with two European and six native regiments, about six thousand men, was to advance from Guzerat; while Colonel Monson, with the 76th regiment and four battalions of sepoys, about three thousand men, moved upon Jyenagur, in order to menace the rear of Holkar's main army, which was ravaging the country in that neighbourhood. These movements had the effect of inducing the Mahratta chief to retreat, which he did to the eastward, with extraordinary rapidity; while General Lake, following in his footsteps, carried by assault the important fort of Rampoor, and expelled the enemy from all his possessions in that part of Hindostan. So completely was government impressed with the idea that Holkar could nowhere face the British troops, and that a short campaign at the close of the rainy season would effectually reduce his power, that the troops, on its commencement, were everywhere withdrawn to their original stations.* General Lake returned to his cantonments near Delhi, while Colonel Monson was left in the province of Malwa, above two hundred miles in advance,

* "The necessity of repelling Holkar's banditti from the frontier of Hindostan, and of reducing him to a peaceable conduct, will not lead to any serious interruption of peace, and will probably tend to consolidate our connection with Scindiah. The commander-in-chief, with the greater part of the main army in Hindostan, has returned to the cantonment of Cawnpore, and my attention is now directed to the desirable object of withdrawing the whole army from the field, and reducing the military charges."—LORD WELLESLEY to LORD CASTLEBROUGH, 6th July 1804.—*Well. Desp.* iv. 131.

in a position which it was thought would effectually preclude the possibility of the predatory chieftain's return toward his own territories.

74. Holkar's conduct now demonstrated that he was intimately acquainted with the art of war, the principles of which are often as thoroughly understood by illiterate chieftains, to whom native sagacity and practical experience have unfolded them, as by those who have most learnedly studied the enterprises of others. Rapidly concentrating his desultory bands, he fell with an overwhelming force, as soon as the decline of the rainy season would admit of military operations, upon Colonel Monson's division, left in this perilous position so far in advance, while a subordinate force, five thousand strong, made a diversion by an irruption into the province of Bundelcund. A British detachment, under Colonel Smith, of three hundred men, was there almost entirely cut off by the sudden attack of these freebooters, and with it six guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition were captured: a disgrace which was the more sensibly felt, as Colonel Fawcett, who, with five battalions lay within a few miles, and had, by imprudently separating his infantry from his artillery, brought about this disaster, instead of attempting to avenge it, commenced a retreat. Such was the consternation produced by this unwonted calamity, that it was only by the firm countenance and intrepid conduct of Captain Baillie, who commanded a small subsidiary force at Banda, the capital, in the southern portion of the province, that subordination was maintained; and the Mahrattas at length retired, finding a further advance hazardous, leaving their course everywhere marked by conflagration and ruin.

75. This disgrace was but the prelude to still greater reverses, in which, however, the high character and undaunted courage of the British troops remained untarnished. Colonel Monson, having been joined by the troops under General Don, which had captured Rampoor — which raised his

force to about four thousand men, with fifteen guns, besides three thousand irregular horse—advanced through the strong pass of Mokundra, which commanded the entrance through the mountains into Hindostan from the westward; and, contrary to the directions of General Lake, who had stationed him only to protect that defile, still pushing on fifty miles farther, carried by assault the important fortress of Heinglaisgush, a stronghold of Holkar's, garrisoned by eleven hundred of his best troops. The Mahratta chief meanwhile lay at Malwa with his whole disposable force, which exceeded forty thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were disciplined infantry, with one hundred and sixty guns. With this immense body he rapidly approached the English general; and the exaggerated rumours which preceded his march as to the strength of the Mahratta host, impressed the latter with the idea that he had no chance of safety but in an immediate retreat. Colonel Murray, who, with a powerful force, including fifteen hundred Europeans, was to have advanced from Guzerat into such a position as to have been able to render him assistance if required, had, instead of performing his part of the general plan, been unfortunately induced to fall back; and thus Monson was left alone to withstand the whole shock of Holkar's force. His troops, however, though not a fifth part of the enemy in point of number, were highly disciplined, admirably equipped, and inured to victory; and, by a daring advance upon the Mahratta chief, especially when embarrassed with getting his immense artillery across the Chumbul river, then swollen by rains, he might perhaps have achieved as decisive success as, with a similar numerical inferiority, Wellington and Lake obtained at Assaye and Laswaree.

76. But it then appeared of what importance is military skill and moral resolution in Indian warfare, and how much the brilliant accomplishment of Lord Wellesley's victories had been dependent on the daring energy, which, seizing the initiative, never lost it till

the enemy was destroyed. Monson was brave as any officer in the English army—second to none in undaunted valour at storming a breach; but he wanted the rarer quality of moral intrepidity, and the power of adopting great designs on his own responsibility. On the 6th July, Holkar was engaged in crossing the Chumbul; the fortunate moment of attack was allowed to escape, never to return, and two days afterwards the English general commenced his retreat. He did what ordinary officers would have done at Assaye, when it was ascertained Stevenson's division could not come up; and what was the result? In a few hours the subsidiary horse, now four thousand strong, which was left to observe the enemy, was enveloped by clouds of the Mahratta cavalry, and, after a bloody struggle, cut to pieces with their gallant commander, Lieutenant Lucan, whose individual heroism long averted the disaster. The infantry and guns retired without molestation to the strong Mokundra pass; and several attacks made by Holkar on the outposts stationed there, were repulsed with great slaughter. Despairing, however, after the recent disaster, of being able to make good the pass against the enemy when his infantry and numerous artillery should come up, Monson resumed his retreat, a few days after, to Kotal, and from thence to Rampoor, with great precipitation. Such were the obstacles presented by the horrible state of the roads and incessant rains, during the latter part of this journey, that the whole guns, fifteen in number, were abandoned, and fell into the enemy's hands.

77. No sooner was General (now Lord) Lake apprised of the commencement of this retreat, than he despatched two fresh battalions and three thousand irregular horse to reinforce his lieutenant; and with such expedition did they advance, that they reached Rampoor a few days after the retiring column had arrived there. Still Monson deemed it impossible to make a stand; and on the 21st August, after leaving a sufficient garrison in that fortress, he resumed his march for the

British frontier. On the day following, his progress was stopped by the Bannas river, which was so swelled by the rains as to be no longer fordable; and during the delay occasioned by this obstacle, the whole of the enemy's force arrived close to the British detachment. The situation of the latter was now truly frightful; in their front was a raging torrent, in their rear twenty thousand horsemen, continually receiving fresh accessions of strength in infantry and guns, as these successively came up. The river having at length become fordable, four battalions crossed over; and the enemy, seeing his advantage, immediately commenced a furious attack on the single battalion and pickets, which now remained alone on the other side. With such heroic constancy, however, was this unequal contest maintained by these brave men, that they not only repulsed the whole attacks made upon them, but, pursuing their success, captured several of the enemy's guns: an event which clearly demonstrated what results might have followed the adoption of a vigorous offensive in the outset, when the troops were undiminished in strength and unbroken in spirit. As it was, however, this little phalanx, being unsupported, was unable to follow up its success, and in the course of falling back to the river and effecting their passage, had to sustain an arduous conflict, and experienced a frightful loss.

78. Meanwhile Captain Nicholl, with the treasure of the army and six companies of sepoy, who had been first ferried across, proceeded to Khoshalgur, where they were attacked by a large body of Scindiah's troops, who, with the characteristic faithlessness and rapacity of Mahrattas, assailed their allies in their distress in hope of plunder, and being beat off, openly joined Holkar's camp. Almost all the irregular horse, which had come up to Rampoor, soon after deserted to the enemy; and even some companies of sepoy, shaken by the horrors of the retreat, abandoned their colours and followed their example, though in general the conduct of these faithful

troops was exemplary in the extreme. Abandoned by his horse, Colonel Monson, on his route from Khoshalgur to the British frontier, formed his whole men into a square, with the ammunition and bullocks in the centre, and in that order retreated for several days, almost always fighting with the enemy, and surrounded by fifteen thousand indefatigable horsemen, who were constantly repulsed with invincible constancy by the rolling fire of the sepoy. At length, however, this vigorous pursuit was discontinued; the firm array of the British dissolved as they entered their own territories; great numbers perished of fatigue or by the sword of the pursuers, others allowed themselves to fall into the hands of the enemy; and the sad remnant of a brilliant division, which had mustered in all, with its reinforcements on the retreat, six thousand regular and as many irregular troops, now reduced to a thousand or twelve hundred men, without cannon or ammunition, arrived at Agra in a scattered and disorderly manner about the end of August.

79. Then was seen in clear colours the precarious tenure by which our empire in India is held, and the indispensable necessity of those vigorous measures in former times, which, to an inexperienced observer, might wear the aspect of rashness. The overthrow of Monson's division resounded through Hindostan from sea to sea. Great as had been the disasters of the retreat, they were magnified by the voice of fame, ever ready to augment the extent of public and private calamity, and by the sinister reports of the native powers, whose wishes, father to their thoughts, represented the British empire in Asia as tottering to its fall. The general consternation was increased by the cruelties exercised by Holkar on the prisoners of all descriptions who fell into his hands; the Europeans were immediately put to death, and the natives who refused to enter his service, mutilated in the most shocking manner. Everywhere an alarming fermentation was apparent. The conduct of several of the allied states was such as to afford just

grounds to distrust their fidelity; that of others was verging on open hostility. Scindiah, so far from acting up to the spirit or even letter of his alliance, was secretly intriguing with, and even publicly assisting, the enemy; the Rajah of Bhurtpore, already repenting of his recent treaty, was supporting him with his treasures and his arms; the spirit of disaffection was found to have spread to some of the chiefs of the newly-acquired British provinces; even the fidelity of the sepoys was not everywhere proof against the seductions or threats of the enemy; and that general despondency prevailed which is so often at once the forerunner and the cause of public calamity.

80. But the British government in India was at that period in the hands of men whom no reverse could daunt, whose energy and foresight were equal to any emergency. Generously resolving to take their full share in the responsibility of all the measures which had turned out so unfortunately; determining to screen the commander from all blame, even for those details of execution which were necessarily

* "From the first hour of Colonel Monson's retreat," said Marquis Wellesley to Lord Lake, "I always augured the ruin of that detachment: if any part is saved, I deem it so much gain. Whatever may have been his fate, or whatever the result of his misfortunes to my own forces, I will endeavour to shield his character from obloquy, nor will I attempt the mean purpose of sacrificing his reputation to save mine. His former services and zeal entitle him to this indulgence; and, however I may lament or suffer from his errors, I will not reproach his memory if he be lost, or his bravery if he survives. We must endeavour rather to retrieve than to blame what is past; and, under your auspices, I entertain no doubt of success. Every hour, however, which shall be left to this plunderer will be marked with some calamity; we must expect a general defection of our allies, and even confusion in our own territories, unless we can attack Holkar's main force immediately with decisive success. I perfectly agree with you; the first object must be the defeat of Holkar's infantry in the field, and to take his guns. Holkar defeated, all alarm and danger will instantly vanish. Even a doubtful battle would be perilous: we must therefore look steadfastly at that grand object, and if we accomplish it, every other will be easy."—LORD WELLESLEY TO LORD LAKE, Sept. 11, 1804—*Well. Desp.* iv. 205.

At the same time Lord Lake wrote to Lord Wellesley:—"The first object, in my

opinion, is to destroy Holkar: I shall therefore do everything in my power to bring him to action at an early period, which, by his bringing his guns, and having met with success, I think very probably may soon take place. The taking a large force with me will, of course, leave our provinces in a weak and defenceless state, but as it appears the whole of India is at stake, some risk must be made to accomplish this, our principal object. Despondency is of no avail; we must therefore set to work, and retrieve our misfortune as quickly as possible. Here, my dear Lord, I must remark, that whatever may be said upon the subject, you surely cannot be implicated in the business; for all blame ought to fall upon me for detaching the force in the first instance, when I thought I had selected a corps, with an officer to command them, who would have accomplished all my wishes, and obtained the end proposed. This being the case, I certainly became responsible, in the first instance, and shall upon every occasion, both here and at home, declare publicly that you had nothing to do with the march of that detachment, and that all censure for that measure must be attributed to me, and me alone."—LORD LAKE TO LORD WELLESLEY, Sept. 24, 1804—*Well. Desp.* iv. 216. These are the principles by which empires are won and saved: here is, on the part of both these great men, the eye of Napoleon and the heart of Henry IV.

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my, his lieutenants without his orders had departed. "The success of your noble triumphs of last year," said he to Lord Lake, "proceeded chiefly from your vigorous system of attack. In every war the native states will always gain courage in proportion as we shall allow them to attack us; and I know that you will always bear this principle in mind, especially against such a power as Holkar."

81. Proceeding on these just and manly principles, every exertion was made to reinforce the main army under Lord Lake, then lying at Cawnpore, and put it into a condition speedily to take the field. It was full time that some decisive effort should be made to retrieve affairs; for the British empire in Hindostan was, in truth, in a very critical situation. Rapidly following up his success, Holkar pursued the remains of the beaten army to the banks of the Jumna; and on the British cavalry under Lord Lake approaching his position, he drew off—the infantry and guns taking the direction of Delhi, while the horse engaged the attention of the English troops by endeavouring to cut off their baggage. On the 8th of October the enemy's main force arrived before the imperial city, and summoned the garrison, consisting only of one battalion and a half of sepoys, with a few irregulars, to surrender; while his emissaries used every exertion to excite the native chiefs in the Doab to revolt against their European masters, and with such success as seriously embarrassed the operations of the British army, especially in the vital article of obtaining supplies.

82. For seven days Holkar continued before Delhi, battering its extensive and ruinous walls with the utmost vigour; but such was the resolution of the little garrison under Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, that, they not only repulsed repeated assaults, but, sallying forth, carried a battery which was violently shaking the rampart, and spiked the guns. At length the Mahrattas, despairing of storming the city, and intimidated by the approach of Lord Lake with the Bengal army, raised

the siege, and retired by slow marches through the hills in the direction of Dirc. The English general had now the fairest prospect of bringing the enemy's whole force to action, with every chance of success; for the prodigious train of artillery which accompanied him rendered his retreat very slow; and ten thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, including about two thousand five hundred Europeans, followed the British standards. But a total failure of supplies, arising from the disaffection or treachery of the native chiefs, by whom they were to have been furnished, rendered it impossible to continue the pursuit for some days; and during that time Holkar got out of the reach of immediate attack, and, crossing the Jumna with his whole force, proceeded to ravage the country, and stir up resistance to the English beyond that river. Suddenly recrossing it, however, with his cavalry alone, a few days after, he advanced by forced marches to attack Colonel Burn, who, with a detachment, had been sent to Seranhpore, after the retreat of the enemy from the neighbourhood of Delhi.

83. Lord Lake upon this made a corresponding division of his force. Putting himself at the head of the horse-artillery, two thousand cavalry, and fifteen hundred light-armed infantry, he pursued in person Holkar's horse on the one side of the river; while General Fraser, with eight thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and eighteen guns, was intrusted with the task of attacking his foot-soldiers and artillery on the other. That gallant officer, having at length, by great exertions, obtained the requisite supplies, commenced his march from Delhi; and on the 13th November came up with the Mahratta army, consisting of twenty-four battalions of regular infantry, a hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, and three thousand irregular horse—in all above twenty-five thousand men. This formidable force was drawn up with considerable skill, in a strong position, with their left resting on the fortress of Dirc, their right upon a walled village,

situated on a height about two miles distant; an extensive morass, altogether impassable, covered the greater part of their front, a large expanse of water protected from attack the whole of their rear; while their immense artillery was so disposed as to rake with concentric fire the narrow isthmus by which alone their line could be assailed.

84. Noways daunted by these formidable obstacles, General Fraser resolved to make the attack on the following morning. At daybreak the troops advanced to the charge, headed by the unconquerable 76th, led on by that general in person. They had to make a long circuit round the morass before they reached the point at which it could be passed; during the whole of which they were exposed to a galling cannonade in flank from the enemy's artillery, which, as they approached the isthmus leading to the village, became dreadfully severe. Rushing impetuously on, however, the 76th, followed by the native infantry, ascending the hill, stormed the village with irresistible gallantry. From the village, General Fraser advanced upon the main body of the enemy, who faced about, and were now posted between the morass and the lake, with the fort of Diag in the rear, and several heights crowned with artillery to defend the approach to it, interspersed in the intervening space. Such, however, was the vigour of the attack led by Fraser and Monson, that, though the enormous batteries of the enemy played with a concentric fire of round, chain, and grape shot, on the advancing column, it pushed on through the awful tempest, carrying everything before it from right to left of the enemy's original position, and, storming successively all the batteries, drove them at length, in utter confusion, into the fortress of Diag. Nothing but the heavy fire from its ramparts prevented the whole artillery of the enemy in the field from being captured; as it was, eighty-seven guns and twenty-four tumbrils were taken; two thousand men fell on the field, and great numbers perished in the lake, into which they had fled to avoid

the bloody sabres of the English cavalry. The British loss was about seven hundred killed and wounded; among the latter of whom was the brave General Fraser, to whose decision and intrepidity the success was in a great degree owing; while Colonel Monson, the second in command, who succeeded to the direction of the army upon his fall, amply demonstrated, by his bravery, that his former misfortunes had not been owing to any want of heroic courage. Among the guns taken, were, to the inexpressible delight of the soldiers as well as of that brave man, thirteen of those that had been lost in the late calamitous retreat.

85. While this important success was gained over the infantry and artillery of Holkar, a triumph equally decisive attended the operations of Lord Lake in person against his cavalry. That enterprising chief having, as already mentioned, crossed the Jumna with ten thousand horse, made for a ford of the Ganges near Hurdwar, with the design of carrying the war into Rohilcund, and the provinces beyond that river. No sooner, however, did he learn that Lord Lake, with a chosen body of cavalry, was marching against him, than he suddenly changed his course, and, flying down the Doab by forced marches, reached Furruckabad on the evening of the 16th November. Rapid, however, as were the movements of the Mahratta chief, they were exceeded by those of the English general, who, having crossed the Jumna in pursuit on the 1st November, continued to follow his indefatigable adversary with such vigour for the next seventeen days, that he not only effectually prevented him from devastating the country, except in the immediate line of retreat, but kept constantly at the distance of only a single march in his rear. During the whole of this period, both armies marched twenty-three or twenty-four miles daily, even under the burning sun of Hindostan. At length, on the evening of the 16th November, Lord Lake received intelligence that Holkar, after having been repulsed in an attack on Futtehghur, had encamped for the night under the

walls of FURRUCKABAD, twenty-nine miles distant. Though the troops had already marched thirty miles on that day, Lord Lake immediately formed the resolution of making a forced march in the night, and surprising the enemy in their camp before daybreak on the following morning.

86. No sooner was the order to move delivered to the troops at night-fall, than all fatigues were forgotten, and, instead of lying down to rest, the men joyfully prepared to resume their march during the darkness of an Indian night. The fires in the enemy's camp, and the accurate information of the guides, conducted them direct to the ground with the Mahrattas occupied. As they approached the camp, the utmost silence was observed in the British columns; the horse-artillery only were moved to the front, and advanced slowly and cautiously to within range of their tents. All was buried in sleep in the Mahratta lines; the watchfires had almost all burned out, and a few drowsy sentinels alone were watching in the east for the first appearance of dawn. Suddenly the guns opened upon them, and the sleeping army was roused by the rattle of grape-shot falling upon the tents, among the horses, and through the bivouacs. So complete was the surprise, so universal the consternation, that very little resistance was attempted. Before the squadrons could be formed, or the horses in many places unpicketed, the British dragoons were upon them; and well, in that hour, did the sabres of the 8th, 27th, and 29th, avenge the savage cruelty of Holkar's followers toward the captives in Monson's retreat. The enemy was thrown into irretrievable confusion by this impetuous attack; and, rushing promiscuously out of the camp, fled in all directions, hotly pursued by the British and native horse. Great numbers were slain in the pursuit, as well as on the field, and still more abandoned their colours, and dispersed, deeming the cause of Holkar hopeless, after so decisive an overthrow. Of the mighty host which had so lately swept like a torrent over Hindostan, a few

thousand horse only escaped with their leader across the Jumna, and joined the defeated remains of their infantry within the walls of Dieg. Holkar himself was on the point of falling into the hands of the British dragoons, and owed his escape entirely to the accidental explosion of an ammunition-waggon, which, almost by a miracle, blew his pursuers off their horses, while he himself passed unhurt. Of the victors, the greater part had ridden seventy-three miles during the preceding twenty-four hours, when they took up their ground after the pursuit, besides fighting the whole of Holkar's cavalry; an achievement far exceeding anything recorded of the boasted celerity of Napoleon's squadrons, and which is probably unparalleled in modern war.

87. Colonel Monson, whose vigour and bravery in the field were far from being accompanied by a similar degree of capacity and resolution in leading an army, had formed the design of retreating after the victory of Dieg to Muttra for supplies, of which the troops stood much in need, and which were procured with extreme difficulty, owing to the hostile disposition of the inhabitants in the country, and arrived there on the 26th November. But Lord Lake, who at once perceived the prejudicial effect which such a retrograde movement after the battle would have, by giving the enemy a plausible ground to represent it as a defeat, immediately repaired to the spot, and, reinforcing the infantry with his victorious cavalry, again moved forward his whole army, and proceeded in the direction of Dieg, where the broken remains of Holkar's army were now all assembled. On the 4th December, the troops arrived under the walls of that fortress; and operations were commenced against it as soon as the battering-train came up from Agra, which was on the 8th. The siege was prosecuted with the utmost activity, and a breach having been pronounced practicable, the lines around the town were first stormed by the 76th regiment, and on the day following the fortress itself surrendered at discretion. By

this important blow, the whole of Holkar's remaining artillery, amounting to eighty pieces, many of them of very heavy calibre, with immense stores of ammunition, were taken; but that formidable chief himself escaped with four thousand horse, and took refuge in BHURTPORE, the Rajah of which, Runjeet Sing, had during the last three months treacherously embraced his cause, and deserted the British alliance.

88. Nothing remained to complete this glorious contest but the reduction of that celebrated fortress; an object now of the highest importance, both on account of the signal treachery of the Rajah, who, on the first reverse, had violated his plighted faith to the Company, by whom he had been loaded with benefits, and of its containing the person and last resources of Holkar, who had waged so desperate a contest with the British forces. Thither, accordingly, Lord Lake moved immediately after the fall of Dieg; and the battering-train having speedily made a breach in the walls, the assault took place on the evening of the 9th January. The water in the ditch proved exceedingly deep, and during the time spent in throwing in fascines, the troops were exposed to a most destructive fire from the rampart on the opposite side. At length, however, they succeeded in passing over; but all their efforts to gain the summit of the breach proved ineffectual. The wall, which was of tough mud, which could not be broken down by the heavy guns, was imperfectly ruined; the scaling-ladders were found to be too short; and, after sustaining a very heavy loss, the troops were compelled to return to their trenches. A second assault, some days afterwards, met with still less success. The brave men reached the edge of the ditch, but it proved to be so broad and deep that all attempts to fill it up were fruitless; and, after sustaining for above an hour a dreadful fire within pistol-shot from the ramparts, the assaulting column was again obliged to retire. An attempt was soon after made by the whole of Holkar's remaining cavalry, and that of Meer Khan, another noted Mahratta freebooter, to

cut off a valuable convoy on its way from Muttra to the British camp. The convoy with its covering force was hard beset by an immense body of cavalry, in a village, when the approach of the 27th light dragoons, and a regiment of native horse, enabled them to sally out and totally rout the assailants. Meer Khan's equipage, with all his arms and a complete suit of armour, fell into the hands of the victors.

89. The siege was now prosecuted with fresh vigour by the English army, which, being reinforced by a division five thousand strong from Bombay, was raised to twenty thousand men: while the efforts of the besieged, who were greatly elevated by their former success, were proportionally increased. It was soon discovered that the troops of the Rajah were amongst the bravest and most resolute of Hindostan, comprising, in addition to the remnant of Holkar's followers, the *Jats*, or military caste of Bhurtpore, who yielded to none in Asia the palm of resolution and valour. After a month's additional operations, the breach was deemed sufficiently wide to warrant a third assault, which was made by the 75th and 76th regiments, supported by three sepoy battalions, under Colonel Don; while two other subordinate attacks were made at the same time, one on the enemy's trenches outside the town, and another on the Beem-Narain gate, which it was thought might be carried by escalade. The attack on the trenches proved entirely successful, and they were carried, with all their artillery, by Captain Grant; but the other two sustained a bloody repulse. The scaling-ladders of the party destined to attack the gate were found to be too short, or were destroyed by the terrible discharges of grape which issued from its defences; and, despite all their efforts, the brave 75th and 76th were forced down with dreadful slaughter from the assault. They were ordered out again to the assault, but the troops were so staggered by the frightful scene, that they refused to leave their trenches; and the heroic 12th regiment of sepoys marched past them with loud cheers to the breach.

90. Such was the vigour of their onset, that the brave Indian soldiers reached the summit in spite of every obstacle, and the British colours were seen for a few minutes waving on the bastion; while the 76th, stung with shame, again advanced to the assault. The bastion proved to be separated by a deep ditch from the body of the place, and the guns from the neighbouring ramparts enfiladed the outwork so completely, that the valiant band, after losing half their numbers, were in the end driven down the breach, weeping with generous indignation at seeing the prize of their heroic valour thus torn from them. The attempt was renewed on the following day with no better success. The whole of the European infantry in the army, about two thousand five hundred strong, with three battalions of native infantry, were employed in the assault, under the command of Colonel Monson. Such, however, was the height and difficulty of the breach, and such the resolute resistance opposed by the enemy, that all their efforts proved unsuccessful. A small number only could mount abreast, from the narrowness of the ruined part of the wall; and, as they pushed up, they were crushed under logs of wood, or torn in pieces by combustibles thrown among them by the besieged: while the few who reached the top, swept off by discharges of grape, which poured in by a cross-fire from either side, perished miserably. After two hours employed in this murderous and fruitless contest, in which prodigies of valour were performed on both sides, the troops were drawn off; and, after six weeks of open trenches, and four desperate assaults, which cost above three thousand brave men, the native colours still waved on the walls of Bhurtpore.

91. Although, however, the British troops had, at the close of their long career of victory, met with this unexpected check, yet many reasons concurred to recommend submission to the hitherto unsubdued Rajah. His territory was wholly occupied by the enemy; his resources were cut off; his

stores and magazines rapidly diminishing; and, even if he should be so fortunate as to withstand a repetition of the furious assaults from which he had so recently and narrowly escaped, he was well aware that, by the slower but more certain process of blockade and famine, he would in the end inevitably be reduced. On the other hand, various considerations, equally forcible, concurred in counselling an accommodation with the perfidious Rajah to the English government. Though Scindiah had, in the outset of the negotiation, consented to the cession of Gwalior and Gohud, with the adjacent territory, to the Company, and even signed a treaty in which they were formally ceded to them, yet he had never been reconciled to the loss of the former important fortress; and, from the first moment that hostilities commenced with Holkar, it became evident that he was waiting only for a favourable moment to come to an open rupture with the English, or take advantage of their difficulties to obtain its restitution. * Troops under his banner had openly attacked the escort of the treasure in Colonel Monson's retreat; the language of his court had been so menacing, the conduct of his government so suspicious, that not only had a long and angry negotiation taken place with the acting Resident, but General Wellesley had been directed to move the subsidiary force in the Deccan, eight thousand strong, to the frontier of Scindiah's territories. The prince himself, who was weak and sensual, had fallen entirely under the government of his minister and father-in-law, Surajee Row Ghautka, a man of the most prodigate character, who was indefatigable in his endeavours to embroil his master with the British government. Under the influence of these violent counsels, matters were fast approaching a crisis. The cession of Gwalior was openly required, with menaces of joining the enemy if the demand were not acceded to; and at length he announced a determination to interfere as an armed mediator between Holkar and the English, and moved a large force to the neighbour-

hood of Bhurtpore to support his demands during its long-protracted siege. The conduct of the Rajah of Berar had also become extremely questionable; hostilities, evidently excited by him, had already taken place in the Cuttack and Bundelcund: and symptoms began openly to appear in all quarters, of that general disposition to throw off the British authority, which naturally arose from the exaggerated reports which had been spread of Holkar's successes.

92. Under the influence of these concurring motives, on both sides, there was little difficulty in coming to an accommodation with the Rajah of Bhurtpore. The English government became sensible of the expediency of abandoning their declared intention of punishing him by the total loss of his dominions, for his unpardonable defection, and limiting their resentment to the reduction of his military power and ability to do further mischief; while he saw the necessity of abandoning the alliance of Holkar, and expelling him from his dominions. The terms ultimately agreed to, at the earnest suit of the enemy, were, that the Rajah should pay twenty lacs of rupees, by instalments, in four years; that he should never hold any correspondence with the enemies of the British power, whether in Europe or Asia; and that, as a security for the faithful performance of these conditions, he should forthwith surrender one of his sons as a hostage, make over the fortress of Dieg to the British troops, submit any difference he might have with any other power to their arbitration, and obtain from them a guarantee for his remaining possessions. These conditions appeared to the governor-general and council to be honourable to the British arms, and to provide for the main object of the present contest, viz. the separation of the Rajah of Bhurtpore from Holkar's interests, and the severing of the latter chieftain from the resources which his fortresses and treasures afforded. The treaty was, therefore, ratified by the governor-general; and on the day on which it was signed, the Rajah's son

arrived in the British camp, and Holkar was compelled to leave Bhurtpore.

93. As the forces of this once formidable chieftain were now reduced to three or four thousand horse, without either stores or guns, and his possessions in every part of India had been occupied by the British troops, he had no alternative but to throw himself upon the protection of his ancient enemy, Scindiah, who had recently, under his father-in-law's counsels, appeared as an armed mediator in his favour. He accordingly joined Scindiah's camp with his remaining followers immediately after his expulsion from Bhurtpore. The Mahratta horse had previously reassembled in small bodies in the vicinity of that town, in consequence of the absence of the great bulk of the British cavalry, which had been detached from the grand army to stop the incursion of Meer Khan, who had broken into the Doab, and was committing great devastations. On the 1st April, Lord Lake, having received intelligence that a considerable body of the enemy had assembled in a position about sixty miles from Bhurtpore, made a forced march to surprise them in their camp; and he was so fortunate as to come up with, utterly rout, and disperse them with the loss of a thousand slain, and return to his camp the same day, after a march in twelve hours of fifty miles. A few days after, four thousand of the enemy, with a few guns, were attacked by Captain Royle, in a strong position under the walls of Adaulutnaghur, and totally defeated, with the loss of their artillery and baggage. By these repeated defeats, the whole of this formidable predatory cavalry was dispersed or destroyed, with the exception of the small body which accompanied Holkar into Scindiah's camp.

94. Nor had the incursion of Meer Khan into Rohileund and the Doab, or the detached efforts of the Mahrattas in other quarters, been more successful. The Rajahs of Khoordah and Kunkha, in the Cuttack, instigated by the Rajah of Berar, made an incursion into the British dominions; but they

were repulsed, pursued into their own territories, and Khoordah carried by assault, by a force under the command of Colonel Harcourt. Bundelcund was for some weeks agitated by the intrigues of Scindiah, who secretly instigated its chiefs to revolt, in order to give more weight to his armed intervention in favour of Holkar; but though this movement, in the outset, had some success, in consequence of the absence of the British cavalry at the siege of Bhurt-pore, yet it was of short duration. The approach of a considerable British force speedily reduced them to submission. More difficulty was experienced from the incursion of Meer Khan, who broke into Rohilcund at the head of fifteen thousand horse; and in the middle of February occupied its capital, Moradabad. Three regiments of British, and three of native horse, were immediately despatched by Lord Lake, from the grand army before Bhurt-pore, and marched with extraordinary expedition to arrest the enemy. They arrived in time to rescue a little garrison of three hundred sepoys, which still held good the house of Mr Leicester, the collector for the district, and compelled the enemy to retire. Meer Khan fled to the hills, closely pursued by the British horse under General Smith, who, after a variety of painful marches, came up with the enemy in the beginning of March, and completely destroyed the flower of his army: and, on the 10th of the same month, they sustained a second defeat from Colonel Burn, at the head of thirteen hundred irregular horse, and lost all their baggage. Disheartened by those disasters, and finding no disposition to join him, as he had expected, in the inhabitants of Rohilcund, Meer Khan retired across the Ganges by the same ford by which he had crossed it, and after traversing the Doab, repassed the Jumna in the end of March, having, in the course of his expedition, lost half his forces.

95. No sooner was the treaty with the Rajah of Bhurt-pore signed, than Lord Lake marched with his whole force to watch Scindiah's movements,

whom Holkar had joined, and effected a junction with the detachment under the command of Colonel Martindell. This wily rajah finding the whole weight of the contest likely to fall upon him, and that he derived no solid support from Holkar's force, immediately retired from his advanced position, and expressed an anxious and now sincere desire for an accommodation. A long negotiation ensued, in the outset of which the demands of the haughty chieftain were so extravagant as to be utterly inadmissible; and Lord Wellesley bequeathed it as his last advice to the East India Directors and Board of Control, to make no peace with him, or any of the Mahratta chiefs, but on such terms as might maintain the power and reputation of the British government, and deprive them of the means of continuing the system of plunder and devastation by which their confederacy had hitherto been upheld;* and Lord Cornwallis, his successor, having arrived, this great statesman was relieved from the cares of sovereignty, and embarked at Calcutta on his return to England, amidst the deep regrets of all classes of the people, leaving a name imperishable in the rolls alike of European and Asiatic fame.†

* "Adverting to the restless disposition and predatory habits of Holkar, it is not probable that he will be induced to consent to any arrangement which shall deprive him of the means of ranging the territories of Hindostan at the head of a body of plunderers, except only in the last extremity of ruined fortune. Whatever might be the expedience, under other circumstances than those which at present exist, of offering to Holkar terms of accommodation, without previous submission and solicitation on his part, at present the offer of terms such as Holkar would accept would be manifestly injurious to the reputation, and ultimately hazardous to the security of the British government."—LORD WELLESLEY to Secret Committee, 25th June 1805—*Well. Desp.* v. 269, 270.

† As the author is now to bid a final adieu to Marquis Wellesley's administration in the East, he trusts he will not be accused of unbecoming feeling, but rather of a regard for historic truth, when he quotes, in corroboration, of the facts stated in the preceding chapters, the following passage in a letter with which, after perusing this work, that great man honoured him:—"Lord Wellesley had not the interview with Fouché of which

96. These principles, however, were not equally impressed by personal experience upon his successors. The East India Company and the Board of Control—the former intent only on the price of their stock, and the prospect of augmenting their dividends; the latter far removed from the scene of action, mainly solicitous about the husbanding of the national resources for the desperate contest with Napoleon in Europe, and unaware that a similar necessity existed to uphold the British supremacy in the East—had concurred in directing the succeeding governor-general to use his utmost efforts to bring the costly and distressing contest with the Mahratta powers to an early termination. Lord Cornwallis, however, did not live to carry these instructions into effect. The health of this distinguished nobleman, which had been declining before he left England, rapidly sank under the heat and labours of India; and he expired at Benares on the 5th October, without having brought the negotiations to a termination. They were resumed in the same pacific spirit by his successor, Sir George Barlow: treaties were in November concluded with Scindiah, and with Holkar in the beginning of January. These treaties were indeed honourable to the British arms; they provided an effectual barrier against the Mahratta invasions, and secured the peace of India for twelve years. But Lord Wellesley's principles proved in the end to be well founded. Pacific habits were found to be inconsistent with even a nominal independence on the part of these restless chieftains; conciliation, impossible with men who had been inured to rapine by centuries of violence. The necessity of thorough subjugation was at last experienced; and it was then accomplished in the

you speak, [this is now corrected]. But in all other respects he is ready to bear full testimony to the accuracy of your history, and to the impartial and beautiful spirit in which it is conceived and written."—MARQUIS WELLESLEY to MR ALISON, 20th Nov. 1840.—The imprimatur of such a man is indeed a testimony in relation to his own transactions, of which a historian may justly feel proud, the more especially as he had not the happiness of enjoying his private acquaintance.

most effectual manner. It was reserved for the nobleman who had been most fierce in his invectives against Lord Cornwallis's first war with Tippoo, to complete the conquest of the Mahratta powers; for a companion in arms of Wellington to plant the British standard on the walls of Bhurtpore.*

97. The principal articles in the pacification with Scindiah were, that all the conditions of the former treaty, except in so far as expressly altered, were to continue in full force; that the claim of the Company to Gwalior and Gohud should be abandoned by the British government, and the river Chumbul form the boundary of the two states, from Kotak on the west to Gohud on the east; and that Scindiah was to relinquish all claim to the countries to the northward of that river, and the British to the south. Various money payments, undertaken by the Company in the former treaty, were by this one remitted; and the British agreed not to restore to Holkar any of his possessions in the province of Malwa. Holkar, driven to the banks of the Hyphasis, and in extreme distress, sent to sue for peace, which was granted to him on the following conditions:—That he should renounce all right to the districts of Rampoor and Boondee, on the north of the Chumbul, as well as Koonah and Bundelcund; that he was to entertain no European in his employment without the consent of the British government, and never to admit Surajee Ghautkainto his counsels or service. Contrary to the earnest advice of Lord Lake, Sir George Barlow, the new governor-general, so far gratuitously modified these conditions, to which the Mahratta chiefs had consented, as to restore the provinces of Rampoor and Boondee to Holkar, and to abandon the defensive alliance which had been concluded with the Rajah of Jypore. This last measure was not adopted without the warmest remonstrances on the part both of Lord Lake and the abandoned rajah, who observed to the British resident with truth,

* Lord Hastings, who subdued the Mahrattas in 1817; and Lord Combermere, who took Bhurtpore in 1825.

"That this was the first time, since the English government had been established in India, that it had been known to make its faith subservient to its convenience." But everything announced that the master-spirit had fled from the helm, when Lord Wellesley embarked for England. Advantages conceded by our enemies were gratuitously abandoned in the vain idea of conciliation; and, in the illusory hope of advantages to be gained by an undecided policy, a treaty was signed, to which the illustrious statesman, who had conquered the means of dictating it, would never have consented; and future burdensome and hazardous wars were entailed upon the empire to avoid the necessity of a suitable assertion of the British supremacy at the present moment.

98. The administration of Marquis Wellesley exceeds, in the brilliancy and importance of the events by which it was distinguished, any recorded in British history. In the space of seven years, triumphs were then accumulated which would have given lustre to an ordinary century of success. Within that short period, a formidable French force, fourteen thousand strong, which had well-nigh subverted the British influence at the court of their ancient ally the Nizam, was disarmed; the empire of Tippoo Sultan, which had so often brought it to the brink of ruin, was subverted; the Peishwa restored to his hereditary rank in the Mahratta confederacy, and secured to the British interests; the power of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar crushed, and their thrones preserved only by the magnanimity of the conquerors; the vast force, organised by French officers, of forty thousand disciplined soldiers on the banks of the Jumna, totally destroyed; and Holkar himself, with the last remnant of the Mahratta horse, driven entirely from his dominions, and compelled, a needy suppliant, to sue for peace, and owe the restitution of his provinces to the perhaps misplaced generosity of the conqueror. He added provinces to the British empire in India, during his

short administration, larger than the kingdom of France, extended its influence over territories more extensive than the whole of Germany; and successively vanquished four fierce and warlike nations, who could bring three hundred thousand men, of whom two-thirds were horse, into the field. Nor was it only in military and diplomatic transactions that the administration of Marquis Wellesley was distinguished; his powerful mind was equally directed to objects of domestic utility and social amelioration. He founded the college of Calcutta, from which Haileybury College, so well known for its beneficial influence, afterwards sprang, and took the warmest interest in that institution, as well as all others calculated to elevate the intellectual character of the Hindoos, or improve the character of their governors. And he early directed the attention of the Company to the importance of encouraging the cultivation of cotton—an object which has since that time been unaccountably neglected, both by the East India Company and the British government, but which, if duly attended to, might by this time have rendered us independent of all the world for the material of our staple manufacture, and saved the tribute of *fifteen millions sterling* which is annually paid by this country to the industry of the United States.*

* "The civil servants of the East India Company can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign. They must now be viewed in that capacity, with reference not to their nominal, but their real avocations. They are required to discharge the duties of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge. Their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals, should therefore be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties."—*Memorial by LORD WELLESLEY, 10th July 1800*—PEARCE'S *Life of Wellesley*, ii. 187.

99. From maintaining with difficulty a precarious footing at the foot of the Ghauts, on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, the British government was seated on the throne of Mysore; from resting only on the banks of the Ganges, it had come to spread its influence to the Indus and the Himalaya: it numbered among its provincial towns Delhi and Agra, the once splendid capitals of Hindostan; among its stipendiary princes, the Sultan of Mysore and the descendant of the imperial house of Timour. These great successes were gained by an empire which never had twenty thousand European soldiers under its banners: which was engaged at home, at the moment, in a mortal conflict with the conqueror of the greatest Continental states; and which found in its fidelity to its engagements, the justice of its rule, the integrity of its servants, its constancy in difficulty, its magnanimity in disaster, the means of rousing the native population in its behalf, and compensating the want of British soldiers by the justice of British government, the ability of British councils, and the daring of British officers. Impressed with these ideas, future ages will dwell on this epoch as one of the most glorious in British, one of the most marvellous in European annals; and deem the last words of the British inhabitants of Calcutta to Lord Wellesley, on his departure for Europe, as not the florid language of panegyric, but the sober expressions of truth:—"The events of the last seven years have marked the period of your government as the most important epoch in the history of European power in India. Your discernment in seeing the exigencies of the country and of the times in which you were called upon to act; the promptitude and determination with which you have seized upon the opportunities of acting; your just conception and masterly use of our intrinsic strength, have eminently contributed, in conjunction with the zeal, the discipline, and the courage of our armies, to decide upon these great events, and to establish from one extremity of this empire to the other

the ascendancy of the British name and dominion."

100. General Wellesley had, a few months before his brother, set sail for the British Islands. His important duties as governor of Mysore had prevented him from taking an active part in the war with Holkar; although the judicious distribution of troops which he had made in the Deccan had secured the protection of the British provinces in that quarter, and contributed powerfully to overawe the southern Mahatta powers, and keep Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar from breaking out into open hostility. But, though not personally engaged, his active and watchful spirit observed with intense interest the progress of the contest; his council and experience proved of essential service both to the government and the armies; and his letters on the subject remain to this day an enduring monument of judgment, foresight, and penetration. His able and impartial government of Mysore, and the tributary and allied states connected with it, had endeared him to the native inhabitants; while his extensive local knowledge, and indefatigable activity in civil administration, had justly commanded the admiration of all ranks of European functionaries. But he was dissatisfied with the restrictions sometimes imposed upon him by the government at home; and, prompted to return to Europe by that hidden law which so often makes the temporary vexations of men, selected by Providence for special purposes, the means of turning them into their appointed path, he felt the influence of that mysterious yearning which, even in the midst of honours and power, prompts the destined actors in great events to pant for higher glories, and desire the trial of more formidable dangers. Addresses showered upon him from all quarters when his approaching departure was known; the inhabitants of Calcutta voted him a splendid sword, and erected a monument in their capital commemorative of the battle of Assaye; but among all his honours none was more touching than the parting address of the native

inhabitants of Seringapatam, which seemed almost inspired with a prophetic spirit. They "implored the God of all castes and of all nations to hear their constant prayer; and wherever greater affairs than the government of them might call him, to bestow on him health, happiness, and glory."

101. It is observed by Arrian, that after the return of Alexander the Great from his Indian expedition, "he laid down a general system for the blending together of his Eastern and European dominions. For this purpose he took care to incorporate in his Eastern armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Asiatics. In the Macedonian squadrons and battalions, on the other hand, he intermixed such of the Asiatics as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. The Asiatic youth delighted in the Grecian exercise and discipline, and rejoiced at being associated with the glory of their victors. Their improvement in arts and arms fully answered his expectation and rewarded his foresight." It is one of the most interesting facts recorded in history, to find experience, at an interval of two thousand years, suggesting exactly the same proportion between Europeans and their Asiatic auxiliaries, to conquerors under so surprising a diversity of external circumstances.* The lapse of time makes a vast difference in the arms by which men combat each other, and the nations which in their turn appear as the dominant race on the great theatre of human affairs. Had Alexander's followers been told that a nation of conquerors was to succeed them in the Indian plains, issuing from an obscure and then unknown island in the West, combating with weapons resembling the artillery of heaven, and who had circumnavigated the dreaded African promontories, while their descendants

were groaning under an Eastern yoke, they would have deemed the story too incredible for belief. But that lapse of time makes none in the fundamental qualities of the different races of mankind. Amidst all these marvellous changes, the pristine character of the children of Japhet and the descendants of Shem has remained unchanged: the superiority of the West over the East in the essential qualities which lead to social and military advancement, has continued the same; and the very proportion of Europeans to Asiatics in the composition of a united army, which experience suggested to Alexander after his victory over Porus in the Punjab, was impressed upon Lake on achieving the triumphs of Delhi and Agra. Nay, more marvellous still, the ultimate and decisive victory gained by the English over the Sikhs in the Punjab itself, on the very theatre of Alexander's contest with Porus—the triumphs of Sobraon and Goojerat—were gained entirely by the infusion of that very proportion of native British among the Asiatic troops.†

102. Experience has since abundantly confirmed the justice of the principles of these great men. The disasters of Monson's retreat, the first unsuccessful Goorkah invasion, the protracted contest amidst the jungles of Arracan, the two undecided campaigns against China, the unparalleled disaster of the Coord-Cabul Pass, were all mainly owing to the fatal oblivion, in the pride of continued victory, or to the not less fatal neglect, from the prevalence of a false system of economy, of the great truth which experience had impressed upon Alexander and Lake. On the other hand, all these reverses were repaired when misfortune had tamed this pride or overruled this economy;‡ and necessity, though then

† At the battles of Aliwal, Sobraon and Goojerat in the Punjab in 1847 and 1849, the proportion of English to Asiatic troops engaged was about one to three.

‡ Previous to the campaign which terminated so gloriously under the walls of Nankin in 1842, the native British military and naval forces were tripled, and the former were doubled before the last triumphant march to Cabul.

* See *ante*, Chap. XLIX. §§ 52, 54, notes, where Lord Lake suggests, the day after the battles of Delhi and Agra, this very proportion of one European to three Asiatics, which was the rule in Alexander's united armies.

at an enormous expense, brought the European troops in a fair proportion to Asiatics into the field. It is not going too far to say, that on the due observance, at whatever cost, of Alexander's and Lake's proportion of one European to three or four Asiatics, the existence of our Indian empire depends. Nor need the cost of such an augmentation of the native British forces deter a prudent and paternal government. The wisest economy is that which averts calamity by foresight: no expenses are so ruinous as those which, incurred in a moment of consternation, fall with tenfold severity on the unprepared. Let justice and equity distinguish our Eastern rule: let the vast markets of England be freely opened to Indian industry: let British capital and enterprise restore the long-neglected canals of Hindostan, and British energy repress the predatory habits of its native powers; in a word, let us treat India as a distant province of our own island, and exact nothing from its inhabitants for which we do not give a full equivalent, and there will be no difficulty in maintaining the fidelity of our native armies, the loyalty of our native subjects; and sixty thousand native British, joined to a hundred and eighty thousand Hindoo troops, will secure to us the permanent empire of the East.

103. The progress of the British empire in India bears, in many respects, a close resemblance to that of Napoleon in Europe; and the "necessity of conquest to existence," which was so strongly felt and forcibly expressed by Lord Clive, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Hastings, should make us view with a charitable eye the corresponding invincible impulse under which the European conqueror continually acted. Both empires were founded on opinion, and supported by military force; both brought a race of conquerors to supreme dominion, in opposition to the established rights and vested interests of the higher classes; both had to contend with physical force superior to their own, and prevailed chiefly by espousing the cause of one part of the native powers

against the other; both were compelled at first to supply inferiority of numbers by superiority in energy and rapidity of movement; both felt that the charm of invincibility once broken was for ever lost, and that the first step in serious retreat was the commencement of ruin. Both had gained their chief increase of power during periods of peace; the strength of both appeared more terrible on the first renewal of hostilities than it had been when they last terminated; and it is hard to say whether the open hostility or withering alliance of either was most fatal to the independence of the adjoining states.

104. But while, in these respects, these two empires were remarkably analogous to each other, in one vital particular their principles of action and rules of administration were directly at variance; and it is to this difference that the different duration of their existence is to be ascribed. The French in Europe conquered only to oppress. Seducing words, indeed, preceded their approach, but cruel exactions accompanied their footsteps, desolation and suffering followed their columns; the vanquished states experienced only increased severity of rule under the sway of the tricolor flag. The English in India, on the contrary, conquered, but this led, perhaps unintentionally on their part, to blessings. The oppression of Asiatic rule, the ferocity of authorised plunder, disappeared before their banners; multitudes flocked from the adjoining states to enjoy the security of their protection; the advance of their frontier was marked by the smiling aspect of villages rebuilt, fields recultivated, the jungle and the forest receding before human improvement. And the difference in the practical result of the two governments has been decisively established, by the difference of the strength which they have exhibited in resisting the shocks of adverse fortune. For while the empire of Napoleon sank as rapidly as it rose, and was prostrated on the first serious reverse before the aroused indignation of mankind, the British dominion in Asia,

like the Roman in Europe, has stood secure in the affections of its innumerable inhabitants, and, though separated by half the globe from the parent state, has risen superior during almost a century to the accumulated force of all its enemies.

105. After the most attentive consideration of the circumstances attending the rise and establishment of this extraordinary dominion, under Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Marquis Wellesley, it seems almost inexplicable to what cause its marvellous progress has been owing. It was not to the magnitude of the forces sent out by the mother country, for they were few, and furnished in the most parsimonious spirit; it was not to the weakness of the conquered states, for they were vast and opulent empires, well-nigh equalling in numbers and resources all those of Europe put together; it was not to their want of courage or discipline, for they had all the resources of European military art, and fought with a courage which sometimes rivalled even the far-famed prowess of British soldiers. The means of combating with resources at first slender, and always dependent for their existence on the capacity and energy of the Indian government, were found in the moral courage and far-seeing sagacity of our Eastern administration; in the incorruptible integrity and public spirit of its officers, both civil and military; in the undaunted courage of the small band of native English, and the unconquerable valour of our British officers, who brought an inferior race into the field, and taught them, by their spirit and example, to emulate the heroic deeds of their European brethren in arms. The history of the world can hardly exhibit a parallel to the vigour and intrepidity of that political administration, the courage and daring of those military exploits. And perhaps, on reviewing their achievements, the British, like the Roman annalist, may be induced to conclude that it is to the extraordinary virtue and talent of a few leading men that these wonderful successes have been owing:—"Mihi multa legenti, multa

audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militiaque, mari atque terrâ, præclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quæ res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, sæpenumero parvâ manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram, parvis cippiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc sæpe fortunæ violentiam tolerasse; facundia Græcis, gloria belli Gallis, ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi, multa agitanti, constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cunctis patravisse; eoque factum, ut divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret."*

106. Much, however, as the strenuous virtue of individuals may have contributed to the greatness of the British empire in Asia, as it did of the Roman dominion in Europe, it will not of itself explain the phenomenon. This strenuous virtue itself is the wonder which requires solution. How did it happen that Great Britain, during the course of eighty years, should have been able to furnish a race of statesmen adequate to the conception of such mighty projects; of warriors equal to the execution of such glorious deeds; men capable of seizing with unflinching courage the moment of action, of combining with profound sagacity the means of conquest, of executing with undaunted resolution the directions of genius? Still more, how was this constellation of talent exhibited when the state was involved in bloody and arduous conflicts in the western hemisphere; and how did it shine with the brightest lustre at the very moment when all its resources

* "After reading and hearing much of what the Roman people at home and abroad, by land and sea, had achieved of glorious deeds, the question occurred, What has produced such wonderful results? I know that often, with slender power, they had contended with vast armies, with inconsiderable resources waged war with opulent monarchs; that they had often felt the mutations of war; that they were inferior to the Greeks in eloquence, to the Gauls in the passion for military glory. And after weighing everything, I have arrived at the conclusion, that the extraordinary energy of a few citizens worked all these wonders, and that thence it was that poverty conquered riches, the few the many."—SALLUST, *Bell. Cat.* § 53.

seemed concentrated for the defence of the heart of the empire? It was the boast of the Romans that their republican constitution, by training all the citizens to civil or military duties, either as leaders or followers, provided an inexhaustible fund of virtue and ability for the service of the commonwealth; and that the loss even of the largest army or the most skilful commanders could without difficulty be supplied by the multitudes in every rank who off the avocations of freedom had trained to every pacific or warlike duty. Yet even the ancient Romans made it a fundamental rule of their policy never to engage in two serious wars at the same time; whereas the British empire in India has shone forth with most splendour when the parent state was engaged in vast foreign contests, which embraced the whole world in their operations. It first rose to greatness under the guidance of Clive, in the midst of the Seven Years' War in Europe; it was preserved by Hastings during the darkest season of the American conflict; it was elevated to the highest point by Wellesley, in the heat of the struggle for life and death with Napoleon. In British India, equally as in ancient Rome, the influence of the undying energy and widespread capacity springing from free institutions may be described. The natives say that the Company has always conquered because it was "*always young*;" and such in truth has ever been its character. In no other state of society but that in which a large mixture of the democratic element has spread vigour and the spirit of exertion through every rank, is to be found, for so considerable a period, so large a share of the undecaying youth of the human race.

107. But this element has usually been found in human affairs to be inconsistent with durable greatness. It has either burned with such fierceness as to consume in a few years the vitals of the state, or dwindled into a selfish or short-sighted passion for economy, to gratify the jealousy of the middle classes of society, fatal in the end to its independence. In moments of gene-

ral excitement, and when danger was obvious to the senses, democratic societies have often been capable of the most extraordinary exertion; it is in previous preparation, sagacious foresight, and the power of present self-denial for future good, that they have invariably, in the long run, proved deficient. That England, in its European administration, has experienced, throughout the contest with revolutionary France, its full share both of the strength and weakness incident to democratic societies, is evident from the consideration, that if the unforeseeing economy of the Commons had not, during the preceding peace, when danger was remote, reduced the national strength to a pitiable degree of weakness, Paris could with ease have been taken in the first campaign; and that if the inherent energy of democratic vigour, when danger was present, had not supported the country during its later stages, the independence of Britain and the last remnant of European freedom, notwithstanding all the efforts of the aristocracy, must have sunk beneath the arms of Napoleon. No one can doubt, that if a popular House of Commons or unbridled press had existed at Calcutta and Madras, to coerce or restrain the Indian government in its political energy or military establishment, as was the case in the British Isles, the British empire in the East must have been speedily prostrated. And it is equally clear that, if its able councils and gallant armies had not been supported by popular vigour at home, even the energy of Lord Wellesley and the daring of Lord Lake must alike have sunk before the strength of the Asiatic dynasties.

108. The Eastern empire of England, however, has exhibited no such vicissitudes. It has never felt the want either of aristocratic foresight in preparation, or of democratic vigour in execution; it has ever been distinguished alike by the resolution in council and tenacity of purpose which characterise patricians, and the energy in action and inexhaustible resources which are produced in plebeian governments.

This extraordinary combination, peculiar, in the whole history of the species, to the British empire in Asia and the Roman in Europe, is evidently owing to the causes which in both, during a brief period, rendered aristocratic direction of affairs coexistent with democratic execution of its purposes; a state of things so unusual, and threatened by so many dangers—an equilibrium so unstable, that its continuance, even for the brief time it endured in both, is perhaps to be ascribed only to special divine interposition. And it is evident, that if the same combination had existed, in uncontrolled operation, in the government at home; if the unconquerable popular energy of England had been permanently directed by foresight and resolution equal to that which was displayed in the East; if no popular jealousy or impatience had existed, to extinguish on the termination of war, the force which had gained it; if the assets and armies of Blake and Marlborough, Nelson and Wellington, had been suffered to remain at the disposal of a vigilant executive, to perpetuate the ascendancy they had acquired; if the two hundred ships of the line, and three hundred thousand warriors, once belonging to England, had been permanently directed by the energetic foresight of a Chatham, a Burke, or a Wellesley, to external purposes, the British European empire, in modern, must have proved as irresistible as the Roman did in ancient times, and the emulation of independent states been extinguished in the slumber of universal dominion.

109. But no such gigantic empire was intended by Providence to lull the ardent spirit of Europe, till it had performed its destined work of spreading the seeds of civilisation and religion through the globe. To Great Britain, a durable colonial ascendancy is given; but it will be found, not among the sable inhabitants of Hindostan, but among the free descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race in the American and Australian wilds. The extraordinary combination of circumstances which gave us the empire of

the East, could not remain permanent: aristocratic constancy and democratic vigour can coexist only for a brief space, even in the most favoured nation. Already the great organic change of 1832, and the extension of the direct influence of British popular power upon Eastern administration, have gone far to shake the splendid fabric. When the time arrives, as arrive it will, that adverse interests, ignorant philanthropy, or prejudiced feeling, in the dominant island, shall interfere with vested rights, violate existing engagements, or force on premature changes, in the East, as they have already done in the West Indies, the discontent of the inhabitants will break out into inextinguishable revolt. When, to gratify the jealousy of popular ascendancy, the military and naval strength of the state is prostrated in the Asiatic, as it has already been in the European world, the last hour of our Indian empire has struck. Distant provinces may be long ruled by a wise, vigorous, and paternal central government; but they cannot remain for any considerable time under the sway of a remote and self-interested democratic society. The interests of the masses are, in such a case, directly brought into collision: the prejudices, the passions of the ruling multitude, soon prove insupportable to the inhabitants of the subject realm; the very spirit which the central empire has generated, becomes the expansive force which tears its colonial dependencies asunder. Whether the existing contest between the different classes of society in the British Islands terminates in the lasting ascendancy of the multitude, or of the establishment, by democratic support, of a centralised despotism, the result will be equally fatal to our supremacy in the East—in the first case, by terminating the steady rule of aristocratic foresight; in the last, by drying up the fountains of popular energy.

110. But whatever may be the ultimate fate of the British empire in India, it will not fall without having left an imperishable name, and bequeathed enduring benefits to the hu-

man race. First of all the Christian family, England has set its foot in the East, not to enslave but to bless; alone of all the conquering nations in the world, she has erected, amidst Asiatic bondage, the glorious fabric of European justice. To assert that her dominion has tended only to social happiness, that equity has regulated all her measures, and integrity pervaded every part of her administration, would be to assert more than ever has been, or ever will be produced by human nature. Doubtless many of her deeds have been cruel and ruthless—many of her designs selfish and oppressive. But when interest has ceased to blind, or panegyric to mislead, the sober voice of truth will confess, that her sway in Hindostan has contributed in an extraordinary degree to correct the disorders of society; to extricate from its oppression the labouring, to restrain by just administration, the tyranny of the higher orders; and that public happiness was never so equally diffused, general prosperity never so thoroughly established among all ranks, as under the British rule

since the descendants of Shem first came to sojourn on the banks of the Ganges. Already the fame of its equitable sway, and its thorough protection of all classes, has spread far and sunk deep into the mind of the East. Mahommedan prejudice has been shaken by the exhibition, amidst its severities, of Christian beneficence; and even the ancient fabric of Hindoo superstition has begun to yield to the ascendant of European enterprise. Whether the appointed season has yet arrived for the conversion of the worshippers of Brahma to the precepts of a purer faith, and for the vast plains of Hindostan to be peopled by the followers of the cross, as yet lies buried in the womb of time. But, whatever may be the destiny of Asia, the British standard has not appeared on its plains in vain; the remembrance of the blessed days of its rule will never be forgotten; and more glorious even than the triumph of her arms, have been the seeds of future freedom which the justice and integrity of English government have sown in the regions of the sun.

CHAPTER L.

CONTINENTAL SYSTEM, AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT OF NAPOLEON. JULY 1807—
AUGUST 1812.

1. WHEN the battle of Trafalgar annihilated the prospect of invading England, and extinguished all his hopes of soon bringing the maritime war to a successful issue, Napoleon did not abandon the contest in despair. Quick in perception, he saw at once that the vast preparations in the Channel must go for nothing; that the flotilla at Boulogne would be rotten before a fleet capable of protecting its passage could be assembled; and that every successive year would enable England more exclusively to engross the com-

merce of the world, and banish his flag more completely from the ocean. But he was not on that account discouraged. Fertile in resources, indomitable in resolution, implacable in hatred, he resolved to change the method, not the object, of his hostility. He indulged the hope that he would succeed, through the extent and terror of his Continental victories, in achieving the destruction of England, by a process more slow indeed, but in the end, perhaps, still more certain. His design toward this object consisted of two

parts, both essential to the success of the general project, and to the prosecution of which his efforts, during the whole remainder of his reign, were directed.

2. The first part of his plan was to combine all the Continental states into one great alliance against England, and compel them to exclude, in the most rigid manner, the British flag and British merchandise from their harbours. This system had long obtained possession of his mind; he had made it the condition of every treaty between a maritime state and France, even before he ascended the consular throne. The adroit flattery which he applied to the mind of the Emperor Paul, and the skill with which he combined the northern powers into the maritime confederacy in 1800, were all directed to the same end; and accordingly the exclusion of the English flag from their harbours was the fundamental condition of that alliance.* The proclamation of the principles of the armed neutrality by the northern powers at that crisis, filled him with confident expectations that the period had then arrived when this great object was to be attained. But the victory of Nelson at Copenhagen dissolved all these hopes and threw him back to the system of ordinary war.

* The Directory had previously adopted the system of compelling the exclusion of English goods from all the European harbours; but the multiplied disasters of their administration prevented them from carrying it into any general execution. By a decree, issued on 18th January 1798, it was declared, "That all ships having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any English merchandise, shall be held good prize, whoever is the proprietor of such merchandise, which should be held contraband from the single circumstance of its coming from England or any of its foreign settlements; that the harbours of France should be shut against all ships having touched at England, except in cases of distress—and that neutral sailors found on board English vessels should be put to death." Napoleon, soon after his accession to the consular throne, issued a decree, revoking this and all other decrees passed during the Revolution, and reverting to the old and humane laws of the monarchy in this particular; but in the exultation consequent on the battle of Jena, he very nearly returned to the violence and barbarity of the decree of the Directory.—*Ann. Reg.* 1800, 54, 55; and 1807, 226, 227.

fare, afterwards so cruelly defeated by the battle of Trafalgar. The astonishing results of the battle of Jena, however, again revived his projects of excluding British commerce from the Continent; and thence the BERLIN DECREE, to be immediately considered, and the anxiety which he evinced at Tilsit to procure, by any sacrifices, the accession of Alexander to the confederacy.

3. The second part of the plan was to obtain possession, by negotiation, force, or fraud, of all the fleets of Europe, and gradually bring them to the great central point near the English coast, from whence they might ultimately be directed, with decisive effect, against the British shores. By the Continental System he hoped to weaken the resources of England, to hamper its revenue, and, by the spread of commercial distress, break up the unanimity which then prevailed among its inhabitants. But he knew too well the spirit of the ruling part of the nation to expect that, by the spread of commercial distress alone, he would succeed in the contest. He was desirous of reducing its strength by a long previous blockade, but it was by an assault at last that he hoped to carry the day. In order to prepare for that grand event, he was at the utmost pains to increase his naval force. Amidst all the expenditure occasioned by his military campaigns, he proposed to construct, and to a certain extent actually did construct, from ten to twenty sail of the line every year; while vast sums were annually applied to the great naval harbours at Antwerp, Flushing, Cherbourg, and Brest. The first, from its admirable situation and close proximity to the British shores, he considered as the great outwork of the Continent against England; he regarded it, as he himself has told us, as "itself worth a kingdom;" and but for the invincible tenacity with which he held to this great acquisition, he might with ease have obtained peace in 1814, and have left his family at this moment seated on the throne of France. But it was not with the fleets of France alone that he intended

to engage in this mighty enterprise; those of all Europe were to be combined in the attempt. The navies of Denmark and Portugal, in virtue of the secret article in the treaty of Tilsit, were to be demanded from their respective sovereigns and seized by force, if not voluntarily surrendered; that of Russia was to come round from the Black Sea and the Baltic to Brest and Antwerp, and join in the general crusade; until at length a hundred ships of the line and two hundred thousand men were prepared, on the coasts of the Channel, to carry to the shores of England the terrors of Gallic invasion. "When in this manner," said Napoleon, "I had established my ground, so as to bring the two nations to wrestle, as it were, body to body, the issue could not be doubtful, for we had forty millions of French

* Napoleon's projects, in regard to the maritime war against England, have been already explained; but this is a point of such vital importance to the future security of the British empire, that it will well bear a second note from an additional authority. "He said," says Las Cases, "that he had done much for Antwerp, but nothing to what he proposed to have done. By sea, he proposed to have made it a mortal point of attack against the enemy; by land, he wished to render it a sure resource in case of great disasters—a true point of refuge for the national safety; he wished to render it capable of containing an entire army after defeat, and of resisting a year of open trenches, during which the nation might have risen in a mass for its relief. The world admired much the works already executed at Antwerp—its numerous dockyards, arsenals, and wet-docks; but all that, said the Emperor, was nothing—it was but the commercial town; the military town was to have been on the other bank, where the land was already purchased; three-deckers were to have been there constructed, and covered sheds established to keep the ships of the line dry in time of peace. Everything there was planned on the most colossal scale. Antwerp was itself a province. That place, said the Emperor, was the chief cause of my being here; for, if I could have made up my mind to give up Antwerp, I might have concluded peace at Chatillon in 1814."—LAS CASES, vii. 43, 44.

Gigantic as these designs for Antwerp were, they were but a part of what Napoleon meditated or had constructed for his grand

against fifteen millions of English. I would have terminated by a battle of Actium."*

4. It was therefore no momentary burst of anger or sudden fit of exaltation, occasioned by his unparalleled triumphs, which induced Napoleon, by his celebrated decree from Berlin, to declare the British Islands in a state of blockade. It was the result of much thought and anxious deliberation, of a calm survey of the resources at his disposal, and the means of resistance which yet remained to his antagonists. The treaty of Tilsit gave the English government ample room for serious reflection on the dangers which now beset them. The accession of Russia to the Continental league was thereby rendered certain; the secret articles of the treaty, of which, by great exertions, they soon obtained possession,†

frigates, with the most splendid fortifications for their protection: the Emperor intended to have prepared that harbour to receive thirty more line-of-battle ships of the largest size. Innumerable works had been prepared to receive and protect the flotilla which was to be immediately concerned in the invasion of England; Boulogne was adapted to hold 2000 gun-boats; Vimereux, Etaples, and Ambleteuse, 1000 more. The harbour of Flushing was to have been rendered impregnable, and enlarged so as to hold twenty of the largest ships of the line; while dockyards for the construction of twenty line-of-battle ships were to be formed at Antwerp, and constantly kept in full activity. So immense were the preparations on the French coast for the invasion of England! The Emperor frequently said that Antwerp was to him an entire province; a little kingdom in itself. He attached the greatest importance to it, often visited it in person, and regarded it as one of the most important of all his creations."—LAS CASES, vii. 51, 57. It is not a little curious that, within twenty years after his fall, the English government should have united its forces to those of France to restore this great outwork against British independence to the dominion of Belgium, and the rule of the son-in-law of France.

† They were obtained by the agency of the Count d'Antraigues.—HARD, ix. 431, note.—In the King's speech, on the 21st January 1803, it was said—"We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that no sooner had the result of the negotiations at Tilsit confirmed the influence and control of France over the powers of the Continent, than his majesty was apprised of the intention of the enemy to combine those powers in one general confederacy, to be directed either to the entire subjugation of this kingdom, or to the imposing upon his majesty an

urg. where they had
vated out of the solid rock a basin capable of
holding fifteen ships of the line and as many

made them acquainted with the intention of Franco and Russia, not only to unite their forces against Great Britain, but to compel Denmark and Portugal to do the same. In addition to having their flag proscribed from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Bothnia, they had the prospect of seeing all the maritime forces of Europe arrayed against their independence. The assistance of Sweden could not much longer be relied on, pressed as she would soon be by her colossal neighbour; the harbours of South America were still closed to her adventure; the neutrality of North America was already more than doubtful, and would certainly be soon abandoned, to range the United States by the side of France, in open enmity against Great Britain. Thus had England, proscribed from all civilised commerce over the whole world, and weakened in her resources by the internal suffering consequent on such a deprivation, the prospect of soon being compelled to maintain a contest with all the naval and military forces of Europe, directed by consummately insecure and ignominious peace. That for this purpose it was determined to force into hostility against this country, states which had hitherto been allowed by France to maintain or to purchase their neutrality; and to bring to bear upon different points of his majesty's dominions the whole of the naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Denmark and Portugal. To place those fleets out of the power of such a confederacy, became, therefore, the indispensable duty of his majesty." The complete accuracy of these assertions has been abundantly proved by the quotations from the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, already given; and ample confirmation of them will appear in the sequel of this chapter. Ministers, in the course of the debates which ensued on the Copenhagen expedition, were repeatedly called upon to produce their secret articles, or specify what private information they had received; but they constantly declined doing so, and in consequence it became a very general opinion at the time, that there were, in reality, no such secret articles, and that this assertion was put forward without foundation in the King's speech, to palliate an aggression which, of its own merits, was indefensible. It is now proved, however, that they had the secret information, and that they had the generosity to bear this load of obliquity rather than betray a confidence which might prove fatal to persons high in office in the French government. This was fully explained, many years afterwards, when the reasons for con-

stant ability, and actuated by inveterate hostility against her independence and renown. A clear and constant perception of this prospect is indispensable both to the formation of a just opinion on the measures to which she was speedily driven in her own defence, and of the character of the illustrious men who, called to the direction of her councils and armies in such a gloomy situation, speedily raised her fortunes to an unparalleled pitch of glory and prosperity.

§. The English government in 1806, after the occupation of Hanover by the Prussian troops, had issued an order, authorised by Mr Fox's cabinet, declaring the coasts of Prussia in a state of blockade. That the English navy was amply adequate to establish an effectual blockade of the two rivers which constitute the only outlet to Prussian commerce, cannot be doubted, when it is recollected that their fleets at that very moment kept every hostile harbour closed from the North Cape to Gibraltar.* This blockade, however, and one at the same time decalment no longer existed, by Lord Liverpool in parliament.—*Parl. Deb.* x. 1.

* As this order in council is referred to by the French writers and their supporters in this country, as a vindication of the Berlin Decree, its provisions merit attention. It proceeds on the narrative, "That the Prussian government has, in a forcible and hostile manner, taken possession of the electorate of Hanover, and has also notified that all British ships shall be excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the north of Europe, and not suffered to enter or trade therein;" and then declares, "That no ship or vessel belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects be permitted to enter or clear from any ports of Prussia, and that a general embargo or stop be made of all Prussian ships and vessels whatever, now within, or which shall hereafter come into, any of the ports, harbours, or roads of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels, but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of the cargoes on board of the said ships or vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained."—*Ann. Reg.* 1806, 677. This was followed, upon 16th May 1806, by an order in council, signed by Mr Fox, which, "considering the new measures adopted by the enemy for the obstruction of British commerce, declared the whole coasts, harbours, and rivers, from the Elbe to Brest inclusive, as actually blockaded; provided always that this blockade shall not

clared of the coasts of the Channel gave Napoleon an excuse for the famous Berlin Decree against English commerce, which, on the preamble "that the British government had violated the law of nations, so far as regarded neutral vessels; that it regards as enemies every individual belonging to a hostile state, and, in consequence, makes prize, not merely of the crews of merchant vessels equipped as privateers, but also of those of such vessels when merely engaged in the transport of merchandise; that it extends to the ships and the objects of commerce that right of conquest which does not properly belong except to public property; that it includes commercial cities and harbours, and mouths of rivers in the lordships of blockade, which, on the best interpretation of the law of nations, is applicable only to fortified places; that it declares harbours blockaded before which it has not a single ship of war, although a place cannot be considered as blockaded till it is in such a manner beset that entry cannot be obtained without imminent danger; that it even declares

extend to neutral vessels having on board merchandise not belonging to the enemies of his Majesty, and not contraband of war; excepting, however, the coast from Ostend to the mouth of the river Seine, which is hereby declared subject to a blockade of the strictest kind." There can be no doubt that the coasts thus declared in a state of blockade were, in the strictest sense, subject to such declaration, since the peril of leaving the harbours they contained was such that hardly one of the enemy's armed vessels ventured to incur it. This decree, such as it was, was repealed as to all ports from the Elbe to the Ems inclusive, by a British order in council of 26th September 1800.—MARTENS, v. 469, *Sup.* These orders in council, thus providing only for the blockade of harbours and coasts, which it was at the moment in the highest degree perilous to enter, or for the *interim detention* of the Prussian cargoes, in retaliation for the unprovoked invasion of Hanover by the Prussian troops, and exclusion of British commerce, in pursuance of the orders of Napoleon already detailed, were clearly within the law of nations, as admitted by the French Emperor himself, and, in truth, a most moderate exercise of the rights of war. They afford, therefore, no excuse or palliation whatever for the Berlin Decree.—*Ann. Reg.* 1806, 677; and see the *previous* Prussian proclamation, excluding British trade, on 28th March 1806. *Ibid.* 692; and MARTENS, *Sup.* v. 435.

blockaded places which all its naval forces are inadequate to blockade, as entire coasts and a whole empire; that this monstrous violation of the law of nations has no other object but to obstruct the communications of other people, and elevate the industry and commerce of England upon the ruins of that of the Continent; that this being the evident design of England, whoever deals on the Continent in British merchandise by that very act favours its designs, and becomes participant in them; that this conduct of England, worthy of the first barbarous ages, has hitherto turned to its own great profit and the detriment of all other states; and that the law of nature entitles every belligerent to oppose its enemy with the arms with which it combats, and the mode of hostility which it has adopted, when it disregards every idea of justice and liberality, the result of civilisation among mankind." On this preamble it declared—

6. "1. The British Islands are placed in a state of blockade. 2. Every species of commerce and communication with them is prohibited; all letters or packets addressed in English, or in the English characters, shall be seized at the post-office, and their circulation interdicted. 3. Every British subject, of what rank or condition whatever, who shall be found in the countries occupied by our troops or those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war. 4. Every warehouse, merchandise, or property of any sort, belonging to a subject of Great Britain, or coming from its manufactories or colonies, is declared good prize. 5. Commerce of every kind in English goods is prohibited; and every species of merchandise belonging to England, or emanating from its workshops or colonies, is declared good prize. 6. The half of the confiscated value shall be devoted to indemnifying those merchants whose vessels have been seized by the English cruisers, for the losses which they have sustained. 7. No vessel coming directly from England, or any of its colonies, or having touched there since the publication of the present decree, shall be received into any harbour. 8. Every

vessel which, by means of a false declaration, shall have effected such entry, shall be liable to seizure, and the ship and cargo shall be confiscated as if they had also belonged to England. 9. The prize-court of Paris is intrusted with the determination of all questions arising out of this decree in France, or the countries occupied by our armies; that of Milan, with the decision of all similar questions in the kingdom of Italy. 10. This decree shall be communicated to the Kings of Spain, Naples, Holland, and Etruria, and to our other allies, whose subjects have been the victims, like our own, of the injustice and barbarity of English legislation. 11. The ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of marine, of finance and of justice, of police, and all post-masters are charged, each in his own department, with the execution of the present decree."*

7. Such was the famous Berlin decree against English commerce, which was only an extension to all Europe of the declaration and order that all English merchandise should be liable to confiscation, which had been issued by Napoleon at Leipsic on the 18th of October preceding, and at Hamburg on the 3d November. It was not allowed to remain an instant a dead letter. Orders were despatched in all directions to act upon it with the utmost rigour. With undisguised reluctance, but trembling hands, the subject monarchs and prefects prepared to carry the stern requisition into execution. So strongly was its unjust cha-

* Two days after the publication of the Berlin Decree, Napoleon wrote the following highly characteristic letter to Junot, then governor of Paris:—"Take especial care that the ladies of your establishment take Swiss tea; it is as good as that of China. Coffee made from chicory is noways inferior to that of Arabia. Let them make use of these substitutes in their drawing-rooms, instead of amusing themselves with talking politics like Madame de Staël. Let them take care also that no part of their dress is composed of English merchandise; tell that to Madame Junot: if the wives of my chief officers do not set the example, whom can I expect to follow it? It is a contest of life or death between France and England; I must look for the most cordial support in all those by whom I am surrounded."—NAPOLEON TO JUNOT, 23d Nov. 1807; D'ABRANTES, ix. 287, 288.

racter and ruinous tendency felt in Holland, that Napoleon's own brother, Louis, king of that country, at first positively refused to submit to its iniquity;† and at length could only be prevailed on, in the first instance, to promulgate it in the foreign countries occupied by the Dutch troops, reserving its execution in his own dominions

† "This decree," says Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, "was as unjust as it was impolitic. The command that it should be obeyed by the Kings of Spain, Holland, Naples, and Etruria, was the commencement of universal empire, if it had any meaning; if not so intended, it was senseless. The ground of justification put forth in the decree, viz., that England applies the right of blockade, not only to fortified places and the mouths of rivers, but to whole coasts, when the law of nations only authorises that rigour in the case of places so closely invested that they cannot be entered or quitted without danger," is itself its chief condemnation; for a nation whose vessels can proceed to a distance from its frontiers, even to the waters of the countries belonging to its enemies, is undoubtedly better entitled to say that it blockades coasts and ports, than a nation without a navy to say that it blockades an island surrounded by numerous fleets. In this last case it is the Continental power which voluntarily places itself in a state of blockade. Besides, wrong cannot authorise wrong, nor injustice injustice. The 4th and 5th articles of the Berlin Decree are atrocious. What! because the English seize merchants travelling from one place to another, and subject the vessels of individuals to ill treatment, shall we, in an age of reason, dare to seize every Englishman, and whatever of their property we can lay hold of? This was augmenting and justifying the injury of the English government. The 6th article is barbarous, the 8th still worse. Here, by a single stroke of the pen, the property of all Frenchmen who, up to that period, had traded in English goods, is taken from them: vessels even thrown on the coast by tempests are to be refused admission into any port. Enough has been said to justify the extreme repugnance of the King of Holland to carry this decree into execution: it threw him into the utmost consternation; he felt at once that it would speedily prove the ruin of Holland, and afford a pretext for oppressing it. This measure appeared to him as singular and revolutionary as denationalising. He ventured to write to the Emperor that he believed this gigantic measure to be calculated to effect the ruin of France, and all commercial nations connected with it, before it could ruin England. Obligated, however, to carry it into effect, under the penalty of a complete rupture with France, he only endeavoured to do so in the least illegal and most independent manner possible."—LOUIS BUONAPARTE, *Documents sur la Hollande*, i. 294, 307, 308.

till it should be ascertained whether the measures already in force should prove insufficient. So strongly did this opposition on the part of his brother irritate Napoleon, that he declared in a fit of ill-humour, "that if Louis did not submit to his orders he would cause domiciliary visits to be made through the whole of Holland." Nevertheless, as Louis perceived, what every person in the country knew, that this rigorous decree, if fully acted upon, would occasion the total ruin of his dominions, it was enforced in a very loose manner in the United Provinces.

8. In the North of Germany, however, it was not only most rigorously put in force, but the decree was made a pretence for a thousand iniquitous extortions and abuses, which augmented tenfold its practical oppression. An army of locusts, in the form of inspectors, customhouse officers, comptrollers, and other functionaries, fell upon all the countries occupied by the French troops, and made the search for English goods a pretext for innumerable frauds, vexations, and iniquities. "They pillaged, they plundered," says Bourrienne, "on a systematic plan, in all the countries of the north of Germany to which my diplomatic mission extended. Rapine was in a manner established by law, and executed with such blind fury, that often the legalised robbers did not know the value of the articles they had seized. All the English merchandise was seized at Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and the other Hanse Towns; and Berthier wrote to me, that in that way I should obtain ten millions of francs for the Emperor. In point of fact, I compounded with the proprietors for twenty mil-

* A striking instance, which has been already noticed, occurred, a few months after the promulgation of the Berlin Decree, of the utter impossibility of carrying such a monstrous system of legislation into execution. Shortly after the Berlin Decree had been issued, there arrived at Hamburg an order for the immediate furnishing of fifty thousand great-coats, two hundred thousand pair of shoes, sixteen thousand coats, thirty-seven thousand waistcoats, and other articles in proportion. The resources of the Hanse Towns were wholly unequal to the supply of so great a requisition in so short a time; and

lions, (£800,000); and yet such was the demand for these useful articles, that when exposed to sale by the proprietors, after paying this enormous ransom, their advanced prices brought them a very handsome profit."*

9. The British government replied to the Berlin Decree, in the first instance, by an order in council of 7th January 1807, issued by Lord Howick, which, on the preamble of the French decree, and the right of retaliation thence arising to Great Britain, declared, "that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, if both belong to France or her allies, and shall be so far under their control as that British vessels are excluded therefrom; and the captains of all British vessels are hereby required to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to such other port, to discontinue her voyage; and any vessel, after having been so warned, or after having had a reasonable time allowed it for obtaining information of the present order in council, which shall, notwithstanding, persist in such a voyage to such other port, shall be declared good prize." The object of this order was to deprive the French, and all the nations subject to their control, which had embraced the Continental System, of the advantages of the coasting trade in neutral bottoms; and, considering the much more violent and extensive character of the Berlin Decree, there can be no doubt that it was a very mild and lenient measure of retaliation. This order was relaxed soon after as to vessels containing grain or provisions for Great Britain, and as to all vessels whatever belonging to the Hanse Towns, if employed in any after trying in vain every other expedient, Bourrienne, the French diplomatic agent, was obliged to contract with English houses for the supply, which speedily arrived; and while the Emperor was denouncing the severest penalties against the possession of English goods, and boasting that by the Continental System he had excluded British manufactures from the Continent, his own army was arrayed in the clothes of Leeds and Halifax, and his soldiers would have perished amidst the snows of Eylau but for the seasonable efforts of British industry. — BOURRIENNE, vii. 292, 294.

trade to or from the dominions of Great Britain.

10. After the treaty of Tilsit, however, had completely subjected the Continent to the dominion or control of the French Emperor, it soon appeared that some more rigorous and extensive system of retaliation was called for. A few months' experience was sufficient to show that the Berlin decree, while it rigorously excluded every species of British manufacture or colonial produce from the ports of the Continent, by no means inflicted a proportional injury upon the inhabitants of the countries where its provisions were put in force; and that in truth it opened up a most lucrative commerce to the industry and colonies of *neutral powers*, at the expense of the vital interests of the British empire. By prohibiting, under the penalty of confiscation, the importation of every species of British produce, it necessarily left the market of the Continent open to the manufacturing industry and colonial produce of other states; and this in the end could not but prove highly injurious to English industry. The obvious and direct retaliation would have consisted in prohibiting the importation into the British dominions of the produce of France, or of its dependencies which had embraced the Continental System, whether in their own or neutral bottoms; but it was extremely doubtful whether this would have been by any means a retribution equally injurious. England was essentially a commercial state. The resources from which she maintained the contest were in great part drawn from the produce of her colonies or manufactories; and the general cessation of commercial intercourse, therefore, could not fail to be felt with more severity in her dominions than in the Continental nations. What to them, considered as a whole, was secondary, to her was vital; the suffering which with them would be diffused over a wide circle, to her would be concentrated in the narrow space of a few counties. In these circumstances some measure seemed indispensable which should inflict upon

the enemy, not merely the same *injustice*, but the same *suffering* which he had occasioned; and, by causing his subjects to feel in their own persons the consequences of his aggression, produce that general discontent which might arm them against his authority, or render necessary a return to more equitable measures.

11. Under the influence of these ideas, the celebrated Orders in Council of 11th November 1807 were issued, which, on the preamble of the British Islands having been declared by the Berlin decree in a state of blockade, and of all importation of British merchandise having been absolutely prohibited, and of the mitigated measure of retaliation, adopted in the Order in Council of 7th January 1807, having proved inadequate to the object of effecting the repeal of that unprecedented system of warfare, declared that from henceforth "all the ports and places of France and her allies, from which, though not at war with his Majesty, the British flag is excluded, shall be subject to the same restrictions, in respect of trade and navigation, as if the same were *actually blockaded in the most strict and rigorous manner*: and that all trade in articles the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed to be unlawful, and all such articles declared good prize; declaring always that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to capture or detention of any vessel or cargo which shall belong to a country not declared by this order subject to a strict blockade, which shall have cleared out with such cargo from such port to which she belongs, either in Europe or America, or from some free port in the British colonies, under circumstances in which such trade from such free port is permitted, direct to some port or place in the colonies of his Majesty's enemies, or from those colonies direct to the countries to which such vessel belongs, or to some free port in his Majesty's colonies; nor to any vessel or cargo belonging to a country not at war with his Majesty, which shall have cleared

out from some port in this kingdom, and shall be proceeding direct to the port specified in her clearance; nor to any vessel or cargo belonging to any country not at war with his Majesty, which shall be coming from any port or place in Europe declared by this order to be subject to a strict blockade, destined to some port or place in Europe belonging to his Majesty, and be on her voyage direct thereto." All vessels contravening this order are declared good prize. "And whereas countries not engaged in the war have acquiesced in the orders of France, and have given countenance and effect to these prohibitions, by obtaining from agents of the enemy certain documents styled 'certificates of origin,' therefore, if any vessel, after having had reasonable time to receive notification of the present order, shall be found carrying any such certificate, it shall be declared good prize, together with the goods on board."*

12. Divested of the technical phraseology in which, for the sake of legal precision, these orders are couched, they in effect amount to this: Napoleon had declared the British Islands in a state of blockade, and subjected all goods of British produce or manufacture to confiscation within his dominions, or those of the countries subjected to his control, and prohibited from entering any harbour all vessels which had touched at any British port; and the English government, in reply, proclaimed France and all the Continental states in a state of blockade, and declared all vessels good prize which should be bound for any of their harbours, excepting such as had previously cleared out from, or touched at, a British harbour. Thus France prohibited all commerce with England, or

* By a supplementary Order in Council, the severe enactments of this regulation were declared not to extend to "articles of the produce and manufactures of the blockaded countries which shall be laden on board British ships;" and by a more material one, issued six weeks afterwards, it was provided, "that nothing in the order of 11th November shall be construed so as to permit any vessel to import any produce or manufactures of the enemy's colonies in the West Indies, direct from such colonies to any port in the British dominions."

traffic in English goods, and England prohibited all commerce between any of the states which had embraced the Continental System and each other, unless in vessels bound for some British harbour.

13. Napoleon was not slow in replying to these menacing measures. By a decree dated from Milan on 17th December 1807, he declared—"1. That every vessel, of whatever nation, which shall have submitted to be searched by British cruisers, or paid any impost levied by the English government, shall be considered as having lost the privileges of a neutral flag, and be regarded and dealt with as an English vessel.—2. Being so considered, they shall be declared good prize.—3. The British Islands are declared in a state of blockade. Every vessel, of whatever nation, and with whatever cargo, coming from any British harbour, or from any of the English colonies, or from any country occupied by the English troops, or bound for England, or for the English colonies, or for any country occupied by the English troops, is declared good prize.—4. These rigorous measures shall cease in regard to any nations which shall have caused the English government to respect the rights of their flag, but continue in regard to all others, and never be released till Great Britain shows a disposition to return to the law of nations as well as those of justice and honour." It may safely be affirmed, that the rage of belligerent powers, and the mutual violation of the law of nations, could not go beyond these furious manifestoes. They produced, as might have been expected, most important effects, both on the Continent and in the British Isles, and gave rise to memorable and luminous debates in parliament, in which all that could be advanced, both for and against the justice and expedience of these measures, was fully brought forward.

14. On the one hand, it was strongly urged by Lord Grenville, Lord Howick, and Lord Erskine—"Let the case at once be stated in the manner which has produced the whole controversy.

France, on 21st November, issued her decree, which announced the intention to distress this country in a way unauthorised by the public law, subjecting to confiscation the ships and cargoes of neutrals with British merchandise, or going to, or coming from Great Britain with their accustomed trade. Such a decree undoubtedly introduced a rule which the law of nations forbids, as being, even as between belligerents, and much more as with neutrals, an aggravation of the miseries of war, and unauthorised by the practice of civilised states. If carried into execution, it would vest the suffering belligerent with the right of retaliation; and indeed, as between the belligerents only, it may be admitted that the mere publication of such a decree would authorise the nation so offended to disregard the law of nations towards the nation so offending. But that is not the present question; the point here is, not whether we would have been justified in retaliating upon France the injury she has inflicted upon us, but whether we are justified in inflicting, in our turn, a new and still more aggravated species of injury on *neutral* states. If A strikes me, I may retaliate by striking him, and neither law nor reason will weigh very nicely the comparative severity of the blow given from that at first received. But it is a new application of the term retaliation, to say, that if A strikes me, I may retaliate by striking B. If the interdiction of a neutral from trading with us is submitted to by him from favour to the belligerent, he directly interposes in the war, and his character of a neutral is at an end; if he does so from terror or weakness, in that case too he ceases to be a neutral, because he suffers an unjust pressure to be affixed upon us. But, admitting that, the question remains, what right have we to retaliate upon a neutral upon whom the decree has never been executed—who in no shape has been made either the instrument or the victim of oppression by the enemy?

15. "Now that is the real question,

VOL. VII.

and the only question here. America, the only great maritime power which has not now taken a decided part in the contest, was virtually excluded from its operation. The air was white with her sails; the sea was pressed down with her shipping, nearly half as numerous as our own, bringing her produce into every port of England, and carrying our commodities and manufactures into every corner of Europe. Up to the date of the Orders in Council, she continued to take, without the least defalcation, ten millions of our manufactures, and she carried to other nations what was beyond her own consumption. She carried on this traffic, in the face of the French decree of 21st November, when we could not have done it for ourselves. She did this, it is true, from no feeling of friendship towards us, but from regard to her own interests; but Providence has so arranged human affairs, that, by a wise pursuit of self-interest, the general interests of mankind are advanced. We had so much the start of other nations that we had only to lie by, and they, for their own purposes, came to our relief. America smuggled our goods into France for her own interest, and France bought them for hers. The people cheered the Emperor at the Tuileries every day, but they broke his laws every night. The Berlin decree, in fact, had become a dead letter, either from the connivance, or licenses for contraband trade issued by the French government; she had no ships to carry her decrees into effect; and the barbarous system of the enemy was rapidly falling into that neglect in which Mr Pitt, with great sagacity, left the corresponding decree of the Directory in 1798.

16. "Such was the state of matters, when in an evil hour our own government interfered, and gave a helping hand to the enemy. The Orders in Council were the real executors of the Berlin decree. Under them we employ our own shipping to stop our own trade upon the sea; we make prisons of our own ports to terrify away the neutral seamen, who other-

wise would carry on our traffic, and find a vent for our manufactures; and play the very game of France, by throwing neutral powers into her arms instead of our own. And this, it seems, is retaliation! Can we who do such things object to the Irish rebels, who burned the notes of an obnoxious banker to ruin his trade? Our Orders in Council have thrown the mistake of the ignorant Irish into the shade. The order of 7th January 1807 was liable to none of these objections. It introduced or adopted no new or illegal principle; it merely reprobated the illegal decree of France, and asserted the right of retaliation by actual blockade—a restriction which, it is admitted on all hands, neutrals must submit to. But the order of the 11th November stands in a very different situation. Sir William Scott has told us, in the case of the *Maria*, (Robinson, i. 154), that no blockade can be made by the law of nations, unless force sufficient is stationed to prevent an entry. Can this be predicated of all Europe put together? Is every harbour and river from Hamburg to Cadiz, so closely watched that no vessel can enter any of them without evident risk of capture? Such a proposition is clearly out of the question; and therefore government has issued an Order in Council, which its own prize courts, if adjudicating in conformity with their former principles, must declare to be contrary to the law of nations, and therefore refuse to execute.

17. "Nor is it in this view only that these orders are illegal. They purport to interrupt the commerce of neutral and unoffending nations, carrying on their accustomed traffic in innocent articles, between their own country and the ports of our enemies, not actually blockaded, and even between their own country and our allies; they compel neutrals, under the pain of confiscation, to come to our ports, and there submit to regulations, restrictions, and duties, which will expose them to certain destruction the moment they approach the enemy's shore; they declare all vessels good prize which carry documents or certificates

declaring that the articles of the cargo are not the produce of his Majesty's dominions, contrary alike to the law of nations and the rights and liberties of the people of this realm. Such a monstrous system of aggression never was and never should be successful. Let us leave to our enemies the guilt of discord and bloodshed, and seek to support our country by the virtues of beneficence and peace. The idea that you can starve the enemy into submission, or the adoption of a more reasonable mode of hostility, is founded on an essential and fatal mistake in regard to the relative situation of Great Britain and the Continental states in the contest. The former must, of necessity, be the greatest sufferer. The Continental nations will lose only articles of luxury, but the British will be deprived of those of necessity: sugar may rise to an extravagant price in Germany, but the manufacturers will be deprived of their daily bread in England. The greatest calamity which could befall this country, in her present predicament, would be a war with America, both as depriving her of the chief vent for her manufactured industry, and of the advantage of neutral carriers, who would contrive, for their own profit, to elude every Continental blockade, in order to introduce them into the Continental states. And surely the present moment, when we have all Europe, from the North Cape to Gibraltar, arrayed against us, is not that when it is expedient, gratuitously and unnecessarily, to withdraw so beneficial a customer from our markets, and add his forces to those of the enemy."

18. On the other hand, it was argued by Lord Hawkesbury, the Advocate-General, and Lord Chancellor Eldon—"It is in vain to refer to the law of nations for any authority on this subject, in the unprecedented circumstances in which this country is now placed. What usually passes by that name is merely a collection of the *dicta* of wise men who have devoted themselves to this subject in different ages, applied to the circumstances of the world at the period in which they

wrote, or circumstances nearly resembling them, but none having the least resemblance to the circumstances in which this country is now placed. Such as they are, however, they all admit, what indeed common sense dictates, the right of retaliation, or of resisting an enemy by the same means by which he attacks ourselves. Nothing can be more expedient in the general case, than to adhere, with scrupulous exactness, to the law of nations; but if one belligerent commences a violation of it, it is sometimes indispensable, in order to put an end to the enormity, to make the enemy feel its effects. In some cases the most civilised nations have been driven to the melancholy necessity of putting prisoners to death, to terminate a similar practice on the part of their enemies. Doubtless, in the general case, quarter should be given; but during the fury of a charge, or the tumult of an assault, it is universally felt, by the experience of mankind, that a less humane rule must be followed. Every belligerent should usually adhere to the ordinary instruments of human destruction; but if your enemy fires red-hot shot, you are entitled to do the same. Russia herself acted on this principle in repelling, when still a neutral power, the aggress-

* Lord Howick's (afterwards Earl Grey) letter to the Danish minister, who complained of the British order of 7th January, was a very able state paper, and among other things observed—"The French government, in adopting a measure at once so violent in itself, and so unjust in its consequences, committed a manifest act of aggression, though immediately levelled at Great Britain, against the rights of every state not engaged in the war, which, if not resisted on their part, must unavoidably deprive them of the privilege of a fair neutrality, and suspend the operation of treaties formed for the protection of their rights in relation to Great Britain. The injury which would be sustained by England, if she suffered her commerce with foreign nations to be thus interdicted, while that of the enemy with them should remain unmolested, is so manifest that it can require no illustration. It never could have been supposed that his Majesty would submit to such an injury, waiting in patient acquiescence till France might think proper to attend to the slow and feeble remonstrances of neutral states, instead of resorting immediately to steps which might check the

violence of France: she authorised the seizure of all ships proceeding to France. Lord Howick himself, in his letter to the Danish minister, in relation to the order of 7th January, had clearly vindicated the justice, not only of his own measure, but of the more extensive measure based on the same principles, which was ultimately adopted.*

19. "The Berlin decree of 21st November is at once the foundation and the justification of the present proceeding. That decree declared the British Islands in a state of blockade, and prohibited all commerce, even in neutral ships, in the produce or manufactures of this country—it went so far as even to exclude the possibility of one neutral nation trading in safety with another. But it is said that this threatened blockade was not, in point of fact, carried into effect; and that, in some other less exceptionable mode, its consequences might have been avoided. But it is immaterial whether it was executed at sea or not; unquestionably it received execution, and the most rigorous execution, at land. Foreign ships were only enabled to come to this country with their foreign produce—they were not permitted, under the pain of confiscation, to take away our goods in return—and can it be said, that this is not a real execution?

violence of the enemy, and retort upon him the evils of his own injustice. Other powers would have had no right to complain, if, in consequence of this unparalleled aggression, the King had proceeded immediately to declare all the countries occupied by the enemy in a state of blockade, and to prohibit all trade in the produce of these countries; for as the French decree itself expresses it, the law of nature justifies the employment against our enemies of the same arms which he himself makes use of. If third parties suffer from these measures, their demands for redress must be directed against that country which first violates the established usages of war, and the rights of neutral states. Neutrality, properly considered, does not consist in taking advantage for the neutral's profit of every situation between the belligerents, whereby emolument may be made, but in observing a strict and honest impartiality, so as not to afford advantage in the war to either, and particularly in so far restraining its trade to what it had ordinarily been in time of peace, as to prevent one belligerent escaping the effect of the other's hostilities."—Lord Howick's Letter to Mr Ruz, 17th March 1807—*Parl. Deb.* x. 403, 407.

20. "The French government justify, in the preamble of their decree, their proceedings, on the ground of the previous proclamation of the late administration in April 1806, which declared the coasts of the Channel in a state of blockade. But that is a mistake in point of fact; for in no one single instance did they declare either a harbour, or a coast containing several harbours, in a state of blockade, without having previously invested it. The coasts of the Channel, it is well known, when this blockade was declared, were so closely invested, that not a pram could venture to leave the range of their own batteries without incurring the most imminent risk of capture. The French government, on the other hand, in their decree, declared this country in a state of blockade, not only without making any attempt to invest it, but without being able to send out a single vessel to endanger the neutral vessels who might attempt to violate the blockade. Therein lay the difference, the vital difference, between the proceedings of the two countries: the British government declared coasts and rivers blockaded when their maritime force was so great, and so stationed, that the enemy themselves evinced their sense of the reality of the investment by never venturing to leave their harbours; the French declared an imaginary blockade on the seas, and acted upon it in their condemnations on land, when they not only had not a single vessel at sea to maintain it, and when their enemies were insulting them daily in their very harbours. Such a proceeding was as absurd as if England, without having a soldier on the Continent, were to declare Bergen-op-Zoom or Lille in a state of blockade, and act upon this order by seizing all goods belonging to citizens of those towns, wherever she could find them in neutral bottoms on the high seas.

21. "But it is said the neutral nations did not acquiesce in these decrees, and therefore we were not justified in retaliating in such a way as would affect their interests. Where, then, did they resist? What followed the

Berlin decree? Did the three nations whom the decree materially affected—Denmark, Portugal, and America—either remonstrate or take up arms to compel its repeal? Not one of them did so. The Danish government, indeed, complained in strong terms of the British order of 7th January 1807, but were completely silent on the previous and far stronger Berlin decree of 21st November 1806, to obviate which alone it was issued. This temper savoured pretty strongly of the principle of the armed neutrality, which it has ever been the anxious wish of the Danish government to establish as the general law of the seas. Portugal was not to be blamed, because she had no force at her command to make any resistance; and accordingly the port of Lisbon was notoriously the *entrepot* for violating our orders of 7th January, and restoring to the enemy, under neutral colours, all the advantages of a coasting trade. But America was completely independent of France; and has she done anything to proclaim her repugnance to the French decree? When the corresponding decree of the French Directory was issued in 1798, it was noticed in the President's speech as highly injurious to the interests of the United States, and such as could not be allowed to exist without subverting the independence of their country. What has America now done in relation to the Berlin decree? Nothing; and that, too, although Napoleon himself announced his resolution to make no distinction between the United States and other neutrals in this particular, and acted upon this resolution in the Spanish decree issued on the 17th February, which contained no exception whatever in favour of the Transatlantic states. Having acquiesced in the violation of the law of nations in favour of one belligerent, America is bound, if she would preserve her neutral character, to show a similar forbearance in regard to the other.

22. "But it is said these orders are injurious to ourselves, even more than to our enemies, and that they exclude us from a lucrative commerce we otherwise might have carried on in neutral

bottoms, either by connivance or licenses with our enemies. Let it be recollected, however, that when these orders were issued, we were excluded from every harbour of Europe except Sweden and Sicily; and these sufficed for what trade we could have carried on with the Continental states, or what we can have lost by our retaliatory orders. It is in vain to pretend that these decrees were never meant to be acted upon by Buonaparte, and that, but for our Orders in Council, they would have sunk into oblivion. Such a dereliction of a great object of settled policy is entirely at variance with the known character of the French Emperor, and his profound hostility to this country, the ruling principle of his life. It is contradicted by every newspaper, which, before the orders were issued, were full of the account of the seizure of English goods in every quarter of Europe; and by his unvarying state policy, which in every pacification, and especially at Tilsit, made the rigorous exclusion of British goods the first step towards an accommodation."

Upon a division, both Houses supported ministers; the Upper by a majority of 127 to 61; the Lower by 214 to 94.

23. In endeavouring, at the distance of five-and-thirty years, to form an impartial opinion on this most important subject, it must at once strike the most cursory observer, that the grounds on which this question was debated in the British parliament, were not those on which its merits really rested, or on which they were placed by Napoleon at the time, and have been since argued by the Continental historians. On both sides in England it was assumed that France was the first aggressor by the Berlin decree, and that the only question was, whether the Orders in Council exceeded the just measure of retaliation, or were calculated to produce more benefit or injury to this country? Considered in this view, it seems impossible to deny that they were at least justifiable in point of legal principle, whatever they may have been with reference to poli-

tical expedience. The able argument of Lord Howick to the Danish minister is unanswerable as to this point. If an enemy adopts a new and unheard-of mode of warfare, which affects alike its opponent and neutral states, and they submit without resistance to this novel species of hostility, either from a feeling of terror or a desire of profit, they necessarily come under obligation to be equally passive in regard to the measures of retaliation which the party so assailed may think it necessary to adopt. If they act otherwise, they lose the character of neutrality, and become the disguised, but often the most effective and the most valuable, allies of the innovating belligerent.

24. But was the Berlin decree the origin of the commercial warfare? or was it merely, as Napoleon and the French writers assert, a retaliation upon England, by the only means at the disposal of the French Emperor, for the new and illegal species of warfare, which, in the pride of irresistible maritime strength, its government had thought fit to adopt? That is the point upon which the whole question—so far as the legality of the measures in question is concerned—really depends; and yet, though put prominently forward by Napoleon, it was scarcely touched on by either party in the British parliament. Nor is it difficult to see to what cause this extraordinary circumstance was owing. Both the great parties which divide that assembly were desirous of avoiding that question. The Whigs did so because the measure complained of by Napoleon, and on which the Berlin decree was justified by the French government, had been mainly adopted by Mr Fox, and subsequently extended by Lord Howick; the Tories, because they were unwilling to cast any doubt on the exercise of maritime powers, in their opinion of essential importance to this country, and which gave them the great advantage of having their political adversaries necessarily compelled to support the general principle on which the measures in question had been founded.

25. History, however, must disregard all these temporary considerations, and in good faith approach the question, whether, in this great controversy, England or France was the real aggressor. And on this point, as on most others in human affairs, where angry passions have been strongly excited, it will probably be found that there were faults on both sides. Unquestionably the most flagrant violation of the law of nations was committed by Napoleon; as, without having a ship on the ocean, or a single harbour of England invested, he took upon himself to declare the whole British Islands in a state of blockade—a proceeding similar to what it would have been had England proclaimed a strict blockade with her arm-in-war of Strassburg or Magdeburg. Most certainly also the resolution of the French Emperor to reduce England by means of a Continental System, had been formed long before the proclaiming the blockade of the French coasts in April 1806, by Mr Fox; inasmuch as it had been announced and acted upon eight years before, on occasion of the conquest of Leghorn, and had formed the first condition of his pacification with every maritime state since that period. But still the British historian must lament that the government of this country had given him so plausible a ground for representing his measures as retaliatory only, by decreeing, in May 1806, the blockade of the whole French coasts of the Channel. True, this was something more than a mere paper blockade; true, it was supported by the greatest maritime force in existence; true, it was so effective that not a French ship of war could venture, without imminent risk, out of the protection of their batteries. Still, the declaration of a whole coast, several hundred miles in length, in a state of blockade, was a stretch unusual in war, and one which should, in an especial manner, have been avoided in a contest with an antagonist so unscrupulous in the retaliatory measures which he resorted to, and so dexterous at turning any illegal act to good account, as the French Emperor.

26. In regard to the policy of the Orders in Council, there is perhaps less difficulty in forming a decided opinion. It was foretold at the time, what subsequent experience has since abundantly verified, that, in the mutual attempt to starve each other out, the manufacturing state, the commercial emporium, would of necessity be more exposed to suffering than the widespread circle of nations with whom she carried on mercantile transactions; on the same principle on which a besieged town must, in the end, be always reduced by the concentric fire of a skilful assailant. The ruin and suffering on the one side is accumulated on a single spot, or within a narrow compass; on the other it is spread over an extensive surface. The sum-total of distress may be, and probably will be, equal on both sides: but how wide the difference between the garrison which sustains it all on a single breach, or in a few hospitals, and the army without, which repairs its losses by the resources of a great empire! Sound policy, therefore, recommended, on the commencement of this novel and dangerous species of hostility, the adoption of a system on the part of Great Britain which should bind more closely the cords which united her to the few remaining neutrals of the world; and which, by opening up new markets for her produce in states beyond the reach of the French Emperor, might enable her to bid defiance to the accumulated hostility of all the nations who were subject to his control. The very reverse of all this was the consequence of the Orders in Council, and thence the chief part of the national suffering in Great Britain during the latter years of the war. It is worthy of observation that the able argument of Lords Grenville and Howick on the inexpediency of the Orders in Council, as tending to exclude British industry out of the markets opened by the activity and skill of neutral traders, received no sort of answer on the part of administration. Nor, indeed, could it do so; for it was obvious that any satisfactory reply was impossible. This important subject, however, will more

properly come under consideration in a subsequent volume, when the practical operation of the Continental System and the Orders in Council for several years is to be developed; and the able arguments on the part of the English Opposition are recounted which, together with the multiplied complaints of the neutral powers, and the abandonment of the Continental System by Napoleon, at length brought about their repeal.

27. There is, however, one measure on the part of the British government connected with commercial transactions, on which, from the very outset, a decided opinion may be hazarded. This is the bill introduced by Mr Perceval, and which passed both houses of parliament,* for prohibiting the exportation of Peruvian bark to the countries occupied by the French troops, unless they took with it a certain quantity of British produce or manufactures. This was a stretch of hostility unworthy the character of England, and derogatory to the noble attitude she had maintained throughout the war. No excess of intemperance on the part of the enemy, no measures on their side, how violent soever, should have betrayed the British government into such a measure, which made war, not on the French Emperor, but on the sick and wounded in his hospitals. How much more dignified, as well as politic, was the conduct of the Duke of York in 1794, who, when the French Committee of Public Salvation had enjoined their troops to give no quarter, issued the noble proclamation already noticed, [*Ante*, Chap. xvi. § 56, note], which commanded the British soldiers to deviate in no degree from the usages of civilised warfare. But such was the exasperation now produced on both sides by the long continuance and desperate character of the contest, that the feelings of generosity and the dictates of prudence were alike forgotten, and an overwhelming, and in some instances mistaken feeling of state necessity, led

men to commit many actions foreign alike to their usual principles and their previous conduct.

28. Long as the preceding disquisition on the Continental System and the Orders in Council has been, it will not, to those who consider the importance of the subject, appear misplaced. It relates to the ruling principle, the grand object of Napoleon's life; one which he pursued with a degree of perseverance with which no other object was followed, and which, by imposing on him the necessity of general obedience, left him no other alternative but universal empire or total ruin. As such it is closely linked with the attack on Spain and Portugal, and the long-continued carnage of the Peninsular war; the seizure of the Roman States, and incorporation of the Ecclesiastical dominions with his own by the successor of Charlemagne; the incorporation of the ephemeral kingdom of Holland with the great empire; in fine, the grand invasion of Russia in 1812, and the unspeakable horrors of the Moscow campaign. In the history of Napoleon, more perhaps than that of any other man that ever existed, the close connection between one criminal act and another, and the irresistible force of the moral law by which the audacious in wickedness are impelled from one deed of darkness to those which succeed it, till a just retribution awaits them in the natural consequences of their own iniquities, is clearly evinced. The lustre of his actions, the bright effulgence of his glory, has shed an imperishable light over every step of his eventful career; and that mysterious connection between crime and punishment, which in most men is concealed by the obscurity of their lives, and can only be guessed at from the result, or believed from the moral laws of the universe, is there set forth, link by link, in the brightest and most luminous colours.† The grandeur of his views, the capacity of his intellect, preclude the idea

* In the Lords, by a majority of 110 to 44; in the Commons, by 92 to 29.—*Parl. Deb.* x. 1170 and 1325.

† "Quanto vita illius preclior ita scordia flagitiosior est. Et profecto ita se res habet, majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in oculo patitur."—SALLUST, *Bell. Jugurth.*

of any cause having co-operated in his fall but the universal and irresistible laws of nature; and the first genius and greatest captain of modern times was subjected to the most memorable reverse, as if to demonstrate the utter inability of the greatest human strength to combat the simple law which brings upon the impassioned prodigal the consequence of his actions.

29. It is observed by Dr Johnson, that no man ever rose to supreme power among men, in whom great qualities were not combined with certain meannesses which would be deemed inconceivable in ordinary men. Never was the truth of this singular but just remark more clearly evinced than by Napoleon on this great subject of the Continental System. While the humbling of England was the first object of his life from this period—while it was the secret key to all his negotiations, all his wars, and all his conquests—while, to enforce its rigorous execution, he put all the forces of Christendom in motion, and hurled the strength of the South in desperate fury against the power of the North, he himself was the first to set the example of the evasion of his own decrees, and, for a temporary profit to himself, to establish a system which in a great degree subverted the whole objects for which these mighty risks and sacrifices were undergone. Many months had not elapsed after the publication of the Berlin decree, before it was discovered that a lucrative source of revenue might be opened up by granting, at exorbitant prices, licenses to import British colonial produce and manufactures; and though this was done under the obligation of exporting French or Continental produce to an equal amount, this condition soon became elusory. Old silks, satins, and velvets, which had completely gone out of fashion, were bought up at fictitious prices; and, when the vessels which took them on board were clear of the French coasts, they were thrown into the sea, and rich cargoes of English goods brought back in return. Such was the exorbitant rates at which these were sold, that they yielded a very

handsome profit to the merchants, after paying an enormous ransom to the Emperor for the licenses, and defraying the cost of all the French goods which were lost to give a colour to the transaction. British manufactures and colonial produce rose to an extravagant price; and, as a natural consequence, they became the fashion, and the object of universal desire. A pair of cotton stockings were sold for six or seven shillings, and worn by ladies, and in dress, in preference to the finest silk; sugar was soon five shillings, coffee ten shillings a-pound. These enormous prices excited the cupidity alike of those who were engaged in promoting, and those whose duty it was to repress the contraband traffic; the vast profits of such cargoes as could be sold on any terms, compensated the loss of several in the perilous undertaking; and fiscal corruption, taking example from the open sale of licenses at the Tuileries, seized every opportunity of realising a temporary profit from the sufferings of the people.*

30. England was not slow in following the example thus set by the French Emperor. Even more dependent than

* The following instance will illustrate the mode in which the love of gain, in all the imperial functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, counteracted all the state objects of the Berlin Decree. The English, in the summer of 1707, had made themselves masters of Heligoland, from whence enormous quantities of British produce were smuggled into Holstein, whence again they were conveyed, at a charge of from 33 to 40 per cent, within the French custom-house line. This regular traffic being well known to the imperial authorities, and probably secretly connived at by them for a share of its enormous profits, Bourrienne, then the French resident at Hamburg, represented to Napoleon that he had much better at once authorise the trade on these terms, and realise for himself this contraband profit. Napoleon adopted the proposal, and in consequence 60,000,000 francs' worth of English produce (£2,400,000) was in 1811 imported openly into that town alone, at a profit of 33 per cent to the Emperor! The same system was soon after adopted in Prussia: but notwithstanding this relaxation, the legions of douaniers and coast-guards who were quartered on the country were so prodigious that they were of necessity in part lodged in the public prisons and hospitals, and the unhappy captives and patients crowded into confined and unhealthy corners.—BOURRIENNE, vii. 237, 238, 240.

her great antagonist on the disposal of the national produce, the British government gladly availed themselves of a system which promised to mitigate, in so important a particular, the severity of the Continental blockade, and restore, under the safeguard of imperial licenses, the wonted encouragement of European wealth to British industry. Thence arose a system on both sides, the most extraordinary and inconsistent that ever existed upon earth. While the two governments were daily carrying on their commercial warfare with increased virulence; while Napoleon was denouncing the punishment of *death* against every government functionary who should connive in any way at the introduction of British merchandise,* and consigning to the flames all the bales of English manufactures that could be discovered by fiscal cupidity in all the extensive dominions subjected to his control; while these terrible severities were carried into rigorous execution wherever his influence reached, and piles of British goods were frequently burnt in the public market-places of all the chief Continental cities, and unhappy wretches shot† for conniving at the lucrative contraband traffic in the forbidden articles; while the English Court of Admiralty was daily condemning merchant vessels which had contravened the Orders in Council, and issuing the strictest injunctions to its cruisers to

carry them into full execution; both governments were the first to set the example of the open and undisguised violation of the very decrees to which they required such implicit obedience in others. British licenses were openly sold at the public offices in London, and became the vehicles of an immense commerce with the Continent: and Napoleon at length carried the system of authorising this illicit traffic to such a height, that by a decree issued from Antwerp in July 1810, it was expressly declared, "Subsequent to the 1st August no vessel shall issue from any of our ports, bound for any foreign port, without being furnished with a license, signed with our own hand." Thus the Continental System, and the retaliatory measures of the Orders in Council, were mutually abandoned by the governments on both sides, though obedience to them was rigorously exacted as the first of public duties from their subjects. The whole prohibitions of the Orders in Council disappeared before the magic of a writing from Downing Street; and the boasted *grande pensée* of Napoleon degenerated into a mere pretext for exacting, under the name of licenses, an immense annual profit for the behoof of the great Imperial Smuggler in the Tuileries.

31. To such a height was this practice carried by the French Emperor, that it opened up new channels of commerce to British industry, quite equal, on the Continent of Europe, to those his decree had destroyed; and the suffering experienced in England during the continuance of the Continental System was almost entirely owing, not to this Berlin decree, but to the loss of the great North American market, which the Orders in Council ultimately closed against British industry. Thus, in this the greatest measure of his life, on which he staked his influence, his fame, his throne, the mighty intellect of Napoleon was governed by the same regard to inferior interests which prompted the Dutch, in former times, to sell ammunition and provisions at an exorbitant rate to the inhabitants of a town besieged

* The Imperial Decree, November 18, 1810, created provost-marshal for the summary punishment of all custom-house officers, carriers, coach-guards, tide-waiters, and others engaged in repressing illicit commerce, and authorised them to pronounce and carry into instant execution the most severe and infamous punishments, including death, without appeal or respite of any kind.—*Moniteur*, 18th Nov. 1810, and MONTGAILLARD, vii. 54.

† At Hamburg, in 1811, under the government of Davoust, an unhappy father of a family was shot for having introduced into his house a little sugar-loaf, of which his family stood in need; and at that very moment, perhaps, Napoleon was signing a license for the importation of a million such loaves. Smuggling on a small scale was punished with death, and the government carried it on upon the greatest scale; the same regulations filled the European prisons with victims and the imperial coffers with riches.—BOURRIENNE, vii. 233, 234.

by their armies: resolved, at all events, to make gain by their hostilities, and if they could not reduce their enemies to subjection, at least realise a usurious profit from their necessities. To such a length did the license system proceed under the Imperial government, that it constituted a principal source of the private revenue of the Emperor; and we have the authority of Napoleon himself for the assertion, that the treasure thus accumulated, in ~~has~~ specie, in the vaults of the Tuileries, amounted, at the opening of the Russian war in 1812, to the enormous and unprecedented sum of four hundred million francs, or above sixteen millions sterling.*

32. The return of Napoleon to Paris, after the glorious termination of the Polish campaign, diffused a universal enchantment. Never, since the commencement of the Revolution, had the triumph of their arms been so glorious, and never had the French people such universal cause for exultation. No commercial crisis had brought the treasury to the brink of ruin, as at the close of the campaign of Austerlitz; no gloomy presentiments of a future desperate war in the north, as at Jena, alloyed the buoyancy of their present transports. The public funds had risen to an unparalleled degree. The 5 per cents, which were at 42 on Napoleon's seizure of power in 1797, and which his regular government soon raised to 60, and the victory of Austerlitz to 70, now reached the unprecedented height of 93. Public confi-

* The accounts and details of this immense treasure were all entered in a little book kept by the Emperor's private treasurer, and no part of them appeared in the public accounts of the nation or the armies. The greater part of it was drawn out and applied to the necessities of the state during the disasters of 1813 and 1814; and in this resource is to be found one great cause of the stand made by him against the forces of combined Europe in those memorable years. As the expenses of the state always exceeded the income under Napoleon's government, and the contributions levied by the armies, how vast soever, were all absorbed in the cost of their maintenance, the secret fund must have been chiefly, if not entirely, realised from the sale of licenses, and its great amount furnishes an index to the extent to which that traffic was carried.—*LAS CASES*, iv. 115.

dence was restored as if by enchantment. The great contest appeared to be over: the forces of the south and the north had been brought into collision, and the latter had been discomfited; the strength of Russia, instead of an inveterate antagonist, had been converted into the firmest support of the French empire; and, emerging from all the gloom and darkness of a Polish winter, the star of Napoleon again appeared resplendent in the zenith. His standards had been advanced in triumph to the Niemen; the strength of Prussia was to all appearance irrevocably broken; Austria had been throughout overawed, Russia at last defeated. No power of the Continent seemed to be longer capable of withstanding the French Emperor; for the forces of Sweden, far removed from the theatre of European strife, would soon, it was foreseen, be compelled to yield to the domineering influence of Alexander. England alone maintained, with unconquerable resolution, the maritime contest: but the very greatness of the triumphs of the two hostile powers on their respective elements, precluded, to all appearance, the possibility of their being brought into collision; and, like land and sea monsters, the lords of the earth and the deep regarded each other with fruitless rage and impotent fury.

33. So unprecedented a series of triumphs might have turned the heads of a nation less passionately devoted than the French to military glory, and it will excuse much in the way of flourishing declamation. But the oratorical effusions of the public bodies in France went beyond every allowable limit. There was not the exultation of freemen, but the adulation of slaves; and the classical scholar recognised with pain, in their studied flowers, the well-known language of Byzantine servitude. Already it had become evident that the passions of the Revolution, withdrawn from their original objects, had become wholly centred on military aggrandisement; and that the generous glow of freedom, chilled by suffering or extinguished by disappointment, was wholly absorbed in

selfish ambition—the grave in every age of durable liberty.” “We cannot adequately praise your Majesty,” said Lacépède, the president of the senate; “your glory is too dazzling: those only who are placed at the distance of posterity can appreciate its immense elevation.” “The only *éloge* worthy of the Emperor,” said the president of the Court of Cassation, “is the simple narrative of his reign; the most unadorned recital of what he has wished, thought, and executed, of their effects, past, present, and to come.” “The conception,” said Count de Fabre, a senator, “which the mother of Napoleon received in her bosom, could only have flowed from *Divine inspiration*.”

34. Shortly after the return of the Emperor, a military spectacle of the most animating and imposing kind took place in the French capital. The Imperial Guard made its entry in state into Paris, amidst an enthusiasm and transport which can hardly be imagined by any but those who were eyewitnesses to the vehemence of the military ardour which in France had succeeded to the passions of the Revolution. A triumphal arch was erected on the road to Mayence, at a considerable distance from Paris, from which, to the capital, the way was thronged by innumerable spectators. In brilliant order and proud array the Guard marched through a double file of soldiers, by the Porte St Martin to the Tuileries, where they defiled under the new triumphal arch, in the Place Carrousel, opened for the first time on that day. There they deposited their eagles in the Palace—they piled their arms, and then passed through the gardens of the Tuileries to the Champs Élysées, when they sat down to a repast laid with ten thousand covers. The animating strains of the military bands, which made the air resound along the whole length of this magnificent procession; the majestic aspect of the soldiers, who were almost all picked men, bronzed by service, undaunted in aspect; the admirable discipline which they preserved, and the recollection of their recent glorious exploits, with the renown of which the

world was filled, thrilled every heart with transport. In the evening the theatres were all opened gratis; universal delirium prevailed. At the same time, gratuities of a more substantial and durable kind were bestowed on the soldiers. All arrears, besides free gifts to the amount of 18,000,000 francs, (£720,000), were paid in cash to the army, of which the wounded obtained a triple share, and pensions from five hundred francs, (£20), and upwards were permanently settled on them, which, in the case of the officers, rose in some cases to 10,000 francs (£400) a-year. It was spectacles of this heart-stirring kind, intermingled with the astonishing external triumphs which he achieved, and the desirable benefits he conferred on his followers, which gave Napoleon his magical influence over the French people, and make them still look back to his reign, notwithstanding the numberless calamities with which it was at last attended, as a brilliant spot in existence, the recollection of which obliterates all the remembrance of later times, and fixes every eye by a glow of almost insupportable brightness.

35. Napoleon, seeing his advantage, took the favourable opportunity which this burst of enthusiastic feeling afforded, to eradicate the last remnants of popular institutions from the constitution. In the speech which he addressed to the legislative body on his return from Poland, he announced his intention “of simplifying and bringing to perfection the national institutions.” It soon appeared what was in contemplation: the “simplifying” consisted in the destruction of the only remaining relic of popular power; the “bringing to perfection,” in vesting the whole powers of legislation in a council of state, presided over by the Emperor, and composed entirely of persons paid by government, and appointed by himself. It has been already mentioned, that by the existing constitution three public bodies were required to concur in the formation of the laws: the council of state, the members of which were richly endowed, and all appointed by the Emperor; the tribunate, in which

the laws were discussed and approved of, and the members of which, though also in the receipt of salaries from government, were to a certain degree dependent on popular election; and the legislative body, which, without enjoying the privilege of debate, listened in silence to the pleadings of the orators appointed by the council of state, for the measures proposed by government, and those of the tribunate, either for or against their adoption.

But, notwithstanding the influence of the Emperor over a legislature thus in a great part appointed, and wholly paid by himself, the debates in the tribunate occasionally assumed a freedom which displeased him; and while he was willing to allow any latitude in argument, the discussions in the council of state, addressed to himself or his confidential advisers, he could not tolerate public harangues in another assembly, calculated to arouse extraneous or controlling influence, or revive in any form the passions of the Revolution. For these reasons, he resolved on the entire suppression of the tribunate, which, having been already reduced from a hundred to fifty members, and stripped by imperial influence of its most distinguished orators, had lost much of its consideration; and on the raising of the age requisite for admission into the legislative body from thirty to forty years, a period of

life when it might be presumed that much of the fervour for political innovation would be extinguished. The previous discussion on the laws proposed by government, which alone enjoyed the power of bringing them forward, was appointed to take place in three commissions, chosen from the legislative body by the Emperor; but their debates were not to be made public. Thus was a final blow given to popular influence in France, and the authority of the executive rendered absolute in the legislative, as it had long been in the other departments of government, just eighteen years after that influence had been established, amidst such universal transports, by the Constituent Assembly.* Knowing well the selfishness of mankind, which is ever brought so prominently forward during the convulsions of a revolution, Napoleon was careful to prepare the way for this great change by every possible appliance to the interests of the members of the tribunate. They were all nominated to lucrative situations under government, as prefects, public prosecutors, or presidents; and such as could not be provided for in this way, were promoted to situations in the newly created audit-chamber. The event showed that he had not miscalculated the temper and dispositions of the popular leaders.

37. What effect did this important

* The project of extinguishing the tribunate had been long entertained by Napoleon. In the council of state, on 1st December 1803, he said—"Before many years have elapsed, it will probably be advisable to unite the tribunate to the legislative body, by transferring its powers to committees of the latter assembly. The senate, too, feebly constituted in the outset, will require some strengthening. The other legislative bodies have no consistency; none of them could secure the nation from becoming the prey of a colonel of hussars who may have four thousand men at his disposal. The only institutions which offer any security to the public safety are the senate and electoral colleges."

"The legislative body," said he, on 29th March 1806, "should be composed of individuals who, after the termination of their public services, have some private fortune to fall back upon, without the necessity of giving them a pension for their subsistence. Nevertheless, there are every year sixty legislators discharged from the legislative body, whom

you know not what to make of: those who are not in office carry back nothing but ill-humour to the departments. I would wish to see there proprietors of a certain age, married, attached by the bond either of children or of some fortune to the public welfare. These men would come annually to Paris, would speak to the Emperor, and live in his circle, and return to their departments illuminated with the slender share of his lustre which had fallen on their heads. The public functionaries should also be members of the legislative body: you cannot render the legislature too manageable: if it becomes so strong as to be seized with the desire of ruling, it would destroy the executive, or be destroyed by it."—*PELET*, 148, 152—an able and authentic brief record of the discussions in the council of state, at which the Emperor presided, and embodying his opinions on the most important subjects of government: of which an accurate and valuable translation has just been published by Mr Cadell at Edinburgh, executed by the author's valued friend, Captain Basil Hall.

change, which annihilated all the objects for which the Revolution had been commenced, and restored government to a despotic form, more strict and powerful than that of the old monarchy, produce in France? Did it convulse that enthusiastic empire to its centre, and revive again the terrible democratic fervour of 1789? Did clubs reappear, and popular ambition arise from its ashes, and the stern virtue of the old patriots obliterate the more modern illusions of military glory? It did none of these things. It was hardly noticed amidst the blaze of the Emperor's triumphs; it did not excite a murmur, or awaken an expression of discontent from Calais to the Pyrenees. Numbers of pamphlets appeared on the subject, but they were all in warm and earnest commendation of the change. One would have supposed that two centuries, instead of eighteen years, had rolled over the head of the nation; that the days of Mirabeau and Danton were already forgotten; that the transports of Gracchus had melted away into the servility of Constantinople. The very body which was to be annihilated was the first to lick the hand which was destroying it; if liberty arose in France amidst the tears of suffering and by the light of conflagration, it expired amidst eunuch servility and Eastern adulation.

38. When the fatal decree was read in the hall of the tribunate, thunders of applause shook the walls, and Carrión Nisas, a member of that body and cousin of Cambacérès, exclaimed, "This communication has been accompanied with so many expressions of esteem and affection, on the part of our sovereign, for his faithful subjects in the tribunate; these assurances are of such inestimable importance, they have been brought forward with so much lustre, that I am sure, gentlemen, I am the organ of your sentiments when I propose that we should lay at the foot of the throne, as the last act of our honourable existence, an address which may impress the people with the idea that we have received the act of the senate without re-

gret at the termination of our political existence, without disquietude for the destinies of our country, and that the sentiments of love and devotion to the monarch which animated our body, will live for ever in the breast of all its members." The address was voted by acclamation, and these sentiments found a responsive echo in the legislative assembly. Its president, Fontanes, said, in the name of the whole body, "The majesty of the national assembly is about to revive under the auspices of a great man; these walls, which once resounded with so much clamour, were astonished at their silence, and that silence is about to terminate. Popular tempests shall no longer roll there: they will be succeeded by wise and temperate discussions. He who has enchained the demon of faction, no longer desires that voices respectful but free should be banished from these walls. Let us show ourselves worthy of such a gift: let the tribune reappear without its storms; let truth shine there in its native lustre, mingled with the radiance of wisdom. A great prince must love its éclat: it alone can fitly illuminate his path. What has he to fear from it? The more he is regarded, the more majestic he appears; the more he is scrutinised, the more objects of admiration are discovered." These extravagant sallies excited no general burst of indignation; they were silently read in the *Moniteur*; and the tribunate, the last relic of freedom, sank unheeded into the grave.* "When the citizens," says Rousseau, "fallen, into servitude, enjoy neither liberty nor the power of choice, terror and selfishness convert their suffrages into acclamations—deliberation is at an end; every one adores in public, and execrates in private. Such was the manner in which the senate was regarded under

* "The change," says Bignon, "in the age of eligibility to the legislative body, and even the suppression of the tribunate, now so important in our eyes, were hardly thought of in 1807; and so little was public opinion regarded, that the former change was introduced by the sole authority of the Emperor, without the concurrence of any of the legislative bodies."—BIGNON, 398, 399.

the Roman Emperors. How little did the eloquent apostle of freedom anticipate another confirmation of the same remark from the very people whom his fervent declamations had roused to such unanimous enthusiasm in the cause of liberty!

39. The complete success of this great infringement on the only remaining popular part of the constitution, encouraged Napoleon to undertake still more decisive measures against the liberties of the people. Six weeks after, an imperial decree professing to establish the freedom of the press, in reality annihilated it, by enacting that no bookseller was to publish any work without its having previously received the sanction of the censors of the press. The same restriction had previously been imposed on journals and periodical publications; so that from this time forward down to the fall of Napoleon, no thought could be published to the world without having first been approved by the imperial authorities. Under the active administration and vigilant police of the empire, these powers were so constantly and rigorously exercised, that not only was the whole information on political subjects or public affairs, which was permitted to reach the people, strained through the imperial filters, but all passages were expunged from every work which had a tendency, however remote, to nourish independent sentiments, or foster a feeling of discontent towards the existing government. So far was this carried, that when the Allies entered France in 1814, they found a large proportion of the inhabitants ignorant of the battle of Trafalgar. The years of the empire are an absolute blank in French literary annals in all matters relating to government, political thought, or moral sentiment. The journals were filled with nothing but the exploits of the Emperor, the treatises by which he deigned to enlighten the minds of his subjects on the affairs of state, or the adulatory addresses presented to him from all parts of his dominions. The pamphlets and periodicals of the metropolis breathed only the incense

of refined flattery, or the vanity of Eastern adulation.

40. Talent in literature took no other direction but that pointed out by the imperial authorities; genius sought to distinguish itself only by new and more extravagant kinds of homage. The press, so far from being the safeguard of the people against these evils, became their *greatest promoter* by exerting all its powers on the side of despotism. Whoever attentively considers the situation of France, the most enlightened monarchy of Europe, and so recently teeming with democratic fervour, during the ten years of the imperial government, will at once perceive the groundless nature of the common doctrine, that the press is, under all circumstances, the bulwark of liberty, and that despotism is impossible where it exists. They will rather concur in the opinion of Madame de Staël, that the effect which this mighty instrument produces is entirely dependent on the power which gains possession of its resources; that it is only in a peculiar state of the public mind, and when a certain balance exists between political parties, that it is exerted beneficially on the side of freedom, and that at other periods, or under the influence of more corrupted feelings, it may become the instrument of the most immovable popular or imperial despotism which ever was riveted upon mankind.*

* Observe the picture of the identity of the effects of the press under the imperial despotism of Napoleon, and the democratic tyranny of the majority in the American Union, as delineated by two master hands, Madame de Staël and M. de Tocqueville.—“This police, for which we cannot find terms adequately contemptuous, was the instrument which Buonaparte made use of to direct public opinion in France; and in truth, when there is no such thing as the freedom of the press, and the censors of the press, not confining themselves to erasing, dictate to writers of every description the opinions they are to advance on every subject of politics, religion, manners, books, and individual character, it may be conceived into what state a nation must fall which has no other nutriment for its thoughts but such as a despotism authorizes it to permit. It is not surprising, therefore, that French literature and criticism descended to the lowest point during the empire. The restrictions on the press were far less severe under Louis XIV.

41. Under the combined influence of the entire suppression of the liberty of the press, and the unvaried activity of imperial censors and police agents, every approach even to a free discussion on public affairs, or the principles either of government or social prosperity, was stifled in France and its dependent monarchies; and one half

of Europe, in the opening of the nineteenth century, and at the close of a struggle for extended privileges and universal information, was brought back to a darkness more profound than that of the middle ages. Never did papal ambition draw so close the fetters on human thought as imperial France did; the Jesuits were not

than under Napoleon. The profound saying, "Paper will receive anything," never received a more appalling illustration. The journals were filled only with addresses to the Emperor, with his journeys, those of the princes and princesses of his family, the etiquettes and presentations at court. They discovered the art of being tame and lifeless at the epoch of the world's overturn; and, but for the official bulletins which from time to time let us know that half the world was conquered, one might have believed that the age was one only of roses and flowers, and sought in vain for words except those which the ruling powers let fall on their prostrate subjects. A few courageous individuals published books without the censorship of the press, and what was the consequence? They were prosecuted, the impression seized, the authors banished or shot like unhappy Palm. These terrible examples spread such a general terror, that submission became universal. Of all the grievances which the slavery of the press produced, perhaps the most bitter was the daily spectacle of those we held most dear insulted or reviled in the journals or works published by authority, without the possibility of making a reply, over half of Europe."—DE STAEL, *Rev. Franç.* ii. 377, 383.

So far Madame de Staël, in painting the perversion of the press to the purposes of despotism in imperial France; mark now the picture of its operation in America, under the unrestrained sway of a numerical majority of electors. "Among the immense crowd," says Tocqueville, "who, in the United States, take to the career of politics, I have met with few men who possess that independence of thought, that manly candour which characterised the Americans in their war of independence. You would say, on the contrary, that all their minds are formed on the same model, so exactly do they adopt the same opinions. I have sometimes met with true patriotism among the people, but rarely among their rulers. This is easily explained—supreme power ever corrupts and depraves its servants before it has irrevocably tainted its possessors. The courtiers in America, indeed, do not say, 'Sire! Your Majesty!' Mighty difference! But they speak without intermission of the natural intelligence of their many-headed sovereign; they attribute to him every virtue and capacity under heaven; they do not give him their wives and daughters to make his mistresses—but, by sacrificing their opinions, they prostitute themselves to his service. What revolts the

mind of a European in America, is not the extreme liberty which prevails, but the slender guarantee which exists against tyranny. When a man or a party casts the United States from injustice on the part of the majority, to whom is he to apply for redress? To public opinion? It is formed by the majority. To the legislative body? It is elected by the majority. To a jury? It is the judicial committee of the majority. To the executive power? It is appointed by the majority, and is the mere executor of its wishes. How cruel or unjust soever may be the stroke which injures you, redress is impossible, and submission unavoidable. I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America. The majority raises such formidable barriers to liberty of opinion, that it is impossible to pass them; within them an author may write whatever he pleases, but he will repent it if he overstep beyond them. In democratic states, organised on the principles of the American republic, the authority of the majority is so absolute, so irresistible, that a man must give up his rights as a citizen, and almost assure his quality as a human being, if he means to stray from the track which it lays down. If over the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event will arise from the unlimited tyranny of the majority; anarchy will be the result, but it will have been brought about by despotism." To the same purpose is the opinion of President Jefferson, the ablest advocate for democratic principles that ever appeared in the United States:—"The executive power," says he, "is not the chief danger to be feared; the tyranny of the legislature is the danger most to be feared." What testimonies from such minds, to the identity of the effect so long observed by political writers, as produced by unrestrained power, whether in an absolute despot or an irresponsible numerical majority; and of the necessity of establishing the foundations of the breakwater which is to curb the force of either imperial or democratic despotism in another element than that by which its own waves are agitated! And how remarkable a confirmation of the profound remark long ago made by Aristotle, that courtiers and demagogues not only bear a strong resemblance to each other, but are in fact the same men, varying only in the external character according to the ruling power which they severally worship!—TOCQUEVILLE, *De l'Amérique*, ii. 145, 146, 156, 157; JEFFERSON'S *Correspondence*, iv. 452; and ARISTOTLE, *De Pol.* c. 27.

such active agents in the extension of spiritual, as the police were in the establishment of temporal power. Madame de Stael and Madame Récamier were illustrious instances that the jealousy of the imperial government could not be relaxed even by the most brilliant or captivating qualities of the other sex. The former, long the object of Napoleon's hostility, from the vigour of her understanding and the fearlessness of her conduct, was at first banished forty leagues from Paris, then confined to her chateau on the Lake of Geneva, where she dwelt many years, seeking in vain, in the discharge of every filial duty to her venerable father, to console herself for the loss of the brilliant intellectual society of Paris. At length the rigour of the espionage became such, that she fled in disguise through the Tyrol to Vienna; and hunted out thence by the French agents, continued her route through Poland into Muscovy, where she arrived shortly before the invasion of 1812, happy to find in the dominions of the imperial autocrat that freedom which old Europe could no longer afford. Her brilliant work on Germany was seized by the orders of the police and consigned to the flames; and France owes the preservation of one of the brightest jewels in her literary coronet to the fortuitous concealment of one copy from the myrmidons of Savary. The world has no cause to regret the severity of Napoleon to the illustrious exile, whatever his biographer may have; for to it we owe the *Dix Années d'Exil*, the most admirable of her moral sketches; the three volumes on Germany, the most eloquent of her critical dissertations; and the profound views on the British constitution, with which she has enriched her great work on the French Revolution.

42. Madame Récamier shared the enmity of Napoleon from her generous attention to her persecuted friend. She had resisted his advances of an amorous kind, and this was an offence not to be forgiven. Her friendship for Madame de Stael was the pretence for this severity. A transient visit of

a few days to Coppet was assigned as a reason for including her also in the sentence of banishment. The graces which had won the admiration of all Europe, and which had disdained the advances of the Emperor himself, were consigned, in a distant province, to the privacy of rural retirement; and the ruler of the East and West deemed himself insecure on the throne of Charlemagne, unless the finest genius then in Europe, and the most beautiful woman in France, were exiled from his dominions.* The arrival of her friend, Madame Récamier, at the place of banishment of Madame de Stael, proved the greatest alleviation of the ennui under which the latter laboured during her exile from Paris. It was said to be "the alliance of Genius and Beauty."

43. Another decree of the senate

* Napoleon's jealousy of Madame Récamier's beauty and influence carried him to still more unjustifiable lengths. Her husband, who was a great banker in Paris, became bankrupt, and he seriously proposed in the council of state, that she should be subjected to a joint responsibility with him for the debts of the bank! "I am of opinion," said he, "that in case of bankruptcy, the wife should be deprived of all her conjugal rights; because our manners sanction the principle, that a wife must follow the fortune of her husband; and that would deprive her of all inducement to make him continue his extravagancies." "The class of bankers," says Pelet, the impartial reporter of these important debates, "always excited the Emperor's jealousy, because they were an independent class who had no need of the government, while the government often stood in need of their assistance. Besides that, in wishing to render Madame Récamier responsible for her husband's debts, he was actuated by a special spite against that celebrated lady. The little court with which she was surrounded, on account of her incomparable beauty, excited his jealousy, as much as the talents of Madame de Stael. Elevated as he was above all others, he could not see without pain, that she shared with him the public attention. He was more irritated by it than he would have been by a decided opposition to his government. Even the celebrity of M. Gall, and his well-known system of craniology, excited his jealousy; he could not endure that he should be more talked of than himself."—PELET, *Opinions de Napoléon dans le Conseil d'Etat*, 261. The well-known story told in Boswell of Goldsmith, at Antwerp, taking the pet, because two handsome young ladies at the window of the inn excited more attention than himself, is nothing to this.—BOSWELL'S *Johnson*.

soon after inflicted a mortal wound on the independence of the judicial establishment, by enacting that their commissions for life should not be delivered to them till after five years' previous service, and then only on the condition that their conduct had been entirely satisfactory to the Emperor. He reserved to himself the exclusive power of judging on the continuance or dismissal of every judicial functionary, from the highest to the lowest, with the aid of commissioners, appointed and exclusively directed by himself. From this time the independence of the bench over the whole French empire was totally destroyed, and practically every judge held his office during the pleasure merely of the Emperor. Several instances of arbitrary dismissal of judges, if they pronounced decrees disagreeable to government, took place; but they were less frequent than might have been expected, from the universal spirit of slavish submission which seized the magistrates of every grade, and rendered them not merely, during the whole reign of Napoleon, the servile instruments of his will, but led them formally, after his fall, to invoke the re-establishment of despotic power.

44. Following up the same arbitrary system, it was enacted by an imperial decree on 11th January 1808, that not only should every seaman or passenger on board a vessel arriving in any harbour of France, who should declare that it came from an English harbour, or had been searched by English cruisers, receive a third of the value of the vessel or cargo, but that every public functionary who should connive in the slightest degree at the infringement of any of the decrees against English commerce, should be brought before the criminal court of the department of the Seine, which was erected into a tribunal for that special purpose, and indicted for *high treason*. Bales of English goods, of great value, were publicly burned in all the chief cities of the countries which directly or indirectly acknowledged the French influence; and at the moment that the

unhappy owners were begging from the executioners a few shreds which the flames had spared, to cover their children from the inclemency of the weather, the Emperor, by means of licenses, was daily carrying on an extensive commerce in these very articles, and amassing enormous sums at the Tuileries, by the sale of the right to deal in those goods, the traffic in which brought death to any inferior functionary.

45. Meanwhile, the thirst for public employment in France, always great among that energetic and aspiring people, rose to a perfect mania. The energy of the Revolution, the ardent passion for individual elevation which constituted its secret but main spring, was now wholly turned into that channel; and by a change of circumstances, remarkable indeed, but not unnatural, the same desire which, when revolutionary elevation was practicable, convulsed all the nation with democratic fervour, now that court favour was the only avenue to promotion, led to the extremity of oriental obsequiousness. The prefects, who had the patronage of all the numerous government offices within their jurisdiction, held a court, and exercised an influence equal to that of petty sovereigns; the ministers of state were besieged with innumerable applications for every office that fell vacant; the Emperor himself received hundreds of petitions for every situation in his gift, from the highest to the lowest. All ranks, classes, and parties concurred in this selfish struggle. The old noblesse, with a few honourable exceptions, vied with each other for the most trifling appointments in the imperial antechambers; the patriots of 1789 burned with ardour to share in the advantage of the imperial government; even such of the blood-stained Jacobins of 1793 as the guillotine and subsequent proscriptions had spared, sank down into obscure pamphleteers* or functionaries in the

* Barère was employed in this capacity by Napoleon, and dragged out an obscure existence as a hired pamphleteer, and eulogist of the imperial government, till its fall in 1814. — *Biog. des Contemporains*, ii. 115, 116.

employment of the despot who had extinguished their extravagant chimeras. "All the terrorists," says Sir James Mackintosh, "took refuge under Buonaparte's authority. The more base accepted clandestine pensions or insignificant places. Barrère wrote slavish paragraphs at Paris; Fouché was provided for by an obscure consulship in Spain; Fouché, one of the most atrocious of the terrorists, had been gradually formed into a good administrator under a civilised despotism."* When such was the disposition of those who had been the leading parties in the Revolution, both on the royalist and republican side, it may readily be conceived with what eagerness the rising generation, the young men who had grown up to manhood amid the blaze of Napoleon's glory, who knew of the fervour of democracy only as a hideous dream of former days, the immense mass who looked to advancement in life, and saw no hope of attaining it but in the favour of government, rushed into the same career, and how completely every feeling, down to the fall of Napoleon, was absorbed in the general desire to bask in the sunshine of imperial favour. Such was the universality and vehemence of this passion, that it superseded every other feeling, whether private, social, or political, and with the exception of a few rigid republicans, such as Carnot and Lafayette, swept before it the whole democratic principles of France.

46. The Constituent Assembly had paved the way for this great alteration by the suppression of the privileges of the nobles, and the annihilation of all provincial and local authority, which necessarily devolved, in every branch of the administration, either on the popular assemblies or the central government: the Legislative Assembly followed it up by banishing all the clergy and landholders, and issuing the iniquitous decrees for the confiscation of their property; and the Convention put the finishing stroke by inhumanly massacring its leading members, and rendering the reparation of this injustice even to their heirs impossible, by

* MACKINTOSH'S *Works*, III. 194.

alienating their possessions to the millions of revolutionary proprietors. It is in these frightful deeds of national injustice that we are to look for the remote but certain cause of the rapid centralisation of the subsequent governments, and the unbounded extent of the imperial authority. When Napoleon succeeded to supreme power, he found all local or subordinate sources of influence or authority closed up or annulled, and nothing remained but the central government. The people had effectually succeeded in destroying the counteracting influence of all other bodies or individuals in the state, but they had been unable to retain in their own hands the power which they had, in the first instance, erected on their ruins. Then, as ever in human affairs, the multitude found themselves incapable of self-government; and the only question really was, by whom their rulers were to be nominated. But it was soon found that such had been the corruption, selfishness, incapacity, or wickedness of the functionaries appointed by the masses, that by common consent they had been deprived, either formally or tacitly, of their power of nomination; and every appointment, without exception, in the empire, flowed from the central government.

47. Not only were the whole members of the council of state, the senate, and the legislative body, selected by the Emperor, but he had the appointment of all the officers in the army and navy, and the police, whether local or general; all the magistrates of every degree: the judges, whether supreme or inferior; all persons employed in the collection of the revenue, the customs, and excise; all the ministers of the church; all the teachers of youth—all the professors in the universities, academies, and schools; all persons in the post-office, or concerned in the administration of the roads, bridges, harbours, fortresses, and cities in the empire. The Emperor skilfully availed himself of this immense patronage to flatter the vanity and feed the cupidity of the middle class who had brought about the Revolution. "The vanity,"

says Mackintosh,* "of that numerous, intelligent, and active part of the community—merchants, bankers, manufacturers, tradesmen, lawyers, physicians, surgeons, artists, actors, men of letters—had been humbled by the monarchy, and had triumphed in the Revolution. They rushed into the stations which the gentry, emigrant, beggared, or exiled, had filled; the whole government fell into their hands. In a country deprived of its whole original landed proprietors by the confiscations of the Revolution, bereaved of commerce and colonies by the events of the war, and almost destitute of capital or private fortunes from the preceding convulsions, these different employments constituted the only avenues to subsistence or eminence which remained to those who were either averse to, or above the rank of, manual labour or retail trade. This state of matters, incident to a people highly excited and inspired with the strongest feelings of individual ambition, alone can account for the universal passion for government employment which seized all ranks of the French nation during the latter years of the reign of Napoleon. And before we censure them as volatile and inconsistent, when we contrast this mania with the democratic fervour of 1789, we would do well to reflect whether any other people, under similar circumstances, would have remained more steadfast to their original professions; and whether both dispositions of the public mind were not, in truth, at bottom, the result of the same thirst after individual distinction, varying in the effect it produced according to the change in the means of obtaining elevation which the altered circumstances of society had occasioned."†

48. Napoleon seized with all his wonted ability on the extraordinary combination of circumstances which had thus in a manner thrown absolute

power into his hands. "His system of government," says Madame de Staël, "was founded on three bases—To satisfy the interests of men at the expense of their virtue; to deprave public opinion, by falsehoods or sophisms perpetually repeated from the press; and to convert the passion for freedom into that for military glory. He followed up this system with rare ability." The Emperor himself has given us some important information on his designs, and what he had effected in this respect. "I had established," said he, "a government the most compact, carrying on its operations with the most rapidity, and capable of the most nervous efforts of any that ever existed upon earth. And, truly, nothing less was required to triumph over the immense difficulties with which we were surrounded, and produce the marvels which we accomplished. The organisation of the prefectures, their action, and results, were alike admirable. The same impulse was given at the same instant to more than forty millions of men; and by the aid of these centres of local activity, the movement was as rapid at all the extremities as at the heart of the empire. Strangers who visited us were astonished at this system; and they never failed to attribute the immense results which were obtained to that uniformity of action pervading so great a space. Each prefect, with the authority and local patronage with which he was invested, was in himself a little Emperor; but nevertheless, as he enjoyed no force except from the central authority, owed all his lustre to official employment, and had no natural or hereditary connection with the territory over which his dominion extended, the system had all the advantages of the feudal government, without any of its inconveniences. It was indispensable to clothe them with

* MACKINTOSH'S *Works*, iii. 189.

† Napoleon has left some valuable observations on this important subject. "One excuse for the boundless thirst for employments which existed under the empire," said he, "is to be found in the misfortunes and convulsions of the Revolution. Every one was displaced; every one felt himself under

the necessity of seating himself again; and it was in order to aid that feeling, and give way to that universal necessity, that I felt the propriety of endowing all the principal offices with so much riches, power, and consideration; but in time I would have changed that by the mere force of opinion."—LAS CASES, vii. 102.

all that authority; I found myself made dictator by the force of circumstance; it was necessary, therefore, that all the minor authorities should be entirely dependent on and in complete harmony with the grand central moving power. The spring with which I covered the soil required a prodigious elasticity, and unbounded tension, if we would avert the stroke which were levelled at our authority. Education may subsequently effect a change; but our generation was inspired with such a thirst for power, and exercised it in so arrogant a manner, to give it the mildest name, and at the same time were so headlong in their passion to fawn upon greatness and wear the chains of slavery, that no other system of government was practicable."

49. But with all his admiration for the centralised government which he had established, and of the machinery of little emperors, prefects, majors, adjuncts, and other functionaries, by which it was carried into effect, no man knew better than Napoleon that it was not in such a system that the foundation for a durable dynasty on the throne could be laid. The system of prefects enjoying absolute power, but deriving all their consideration from transient government appointments, was in reality nothing else but the old and long-established rule of oriental pashalics, held in subjection by a vigorous sultan; and all history told that such governments rarely descended in the same family, to the third generation from the original founder. "An aristocracy," says Napoleon, "*is the true, the only support of a monarchy*; without it, the state is a vessel without a rudder—a balloon in the air. A true aristocracy, however, must be ancient; therein consists its real force; and that was the only thing which I could not create. Reasonable democracy will never aspire to anything more than obtaining an equal power of elevation to all. The true policy in these times was to employ the remains of the aristocracy with the forms and the spirit of democracy. Above all, it was necessary to take advantage of the ancient historic names

—it was the only way to throw the halo of antiquity over our modern institutions. My designs on this point were quite formed, but I had not time to bring them to maturity. It was this,—that every lineal descendant of an old marshal or minister should be entitled at any time to get himself declared a duke by the government, upon proving that he had the requisite fortune; every descendant of a general, or governor of a province, was to obtain the title of count upon exhibiting a similar endowment. This system would have advanced some, excited the hopes of others, awakened the emulation of all, without injuring any one; pretty toys, it is true, but such as are indispensable for the government of men. Old and corrupted nations cannot be ruled on the same principle as simple and virtuous ages: for one, in these times, who would sacrifice all to the public good, there are thousands and millions who are influenced only by their interests, their vanity, or their enjoyments. To attempt to regenerate such a people in a day would be an act of madness. The true genius of the workman consists in making a right use of the materials which he has at his disposal, to extract good even from the elements which appear at first sight most adverse to his designs; and therein is the real secret of the revival of titles, ribbons, and crosses. And, after all, these toys are attended with few inconveniences, and are not without some advantages. In the state of civilisation in which we are placed, they are proper to awaken the respect of the multitude, and not without influence in producing a feeling of self-respect in their owners: they satisfy the vanity of the weak, without giving any just cause of offence to the strong."

50. Proceeding on these principles, a *senatus-consultum*, in March 1808, re-established hereditary titles of honour, under the denomination of Prince, Duke, Count, Baron, and Chevalier. The persons so ennobled were empowered to entail a certain income, under the name of majorats, in favour of their direct descendants. This was

the first formal re-establishment of a nobility ; but Napoleon had previously, on repeated occasions, exercised the power of conferring titles on the leading persons in his government or army without any other authority than his own will ; and among others had, by a patent dated 28th May 1807, created Lefebvre Duke of Dantzic, with a hereditary succession to his son ; and all the marshals of the empire, as well as the grand officers of the imperial court, had already been created princes or dukes, shortly after the campaign of Austerlitz. But these titles were all connected with foreign estates or possessions, or named after some glorious foreign exploit, and did not infringe, except indirectly, on the equality in France itself, which it had been the great object of the Revolution to establish. Now, however, this fundamental principle was openly violated ; and in the lifetime of the generation which had waded through oceans of blood to abolish these distinctions, they were re-established in greater numbers, and in a more rigid style of etiquette than ever. There is nothing surprising, however, in this ; on the contrary, it was the natural consequence of the passions which produced the Revolution. "Napoleon's nobility," says Mackintosh, "was an institution framed to secure the triumph of all those vanities which had produced the Revolution, and to guard against the possibility of a second humiliation. It was composed of a revolutionary aristocracy, with some of the ancient nobility, compelled to lend lustre to it by accepting titles inferior to their own, with many lawyers, men of letters, merchants, &c., whom the ancient system of the French monarchy had formerly excluded from such distinction."*

51. Such a stretch, coming so soon after the universal passion for equal-

* These observations at once explain the cause of this change. It is a secret envy of the lustre of rank which makes men declaim against its vanity when it is beyond their reach ; when they have the prospect of gaining it, they become its most strenuous supporters. Republics, in old and corrupted societies, are never estab-

lished but from the prevalence of an extravagant and insatiable thirst for riches or distinction in the majority of the middle classes. Thence the easy and rapid transition from the excitement of democracy to the servility of adulation, equally conspicuous in France after the Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848.

ity, which, bursting forth in 1789, had since convulsed France and Europe, was of itself sufficiently remarkable ; but it was rendered still more so by the speeches by which it was ushered into the legislative body. "Senators!" said Cambacérès, "know that you are no longer obscure plebeians or simple citizens. The statute which I hold in my hand confers on you the majestic title of Count. I myself, senators, am no longer merely the citizen Cambacérès ; as are the other great dignitaries of the empire, I am a prince, your most serene highness ! and my most serene person, as well as all the other holders of the great dignities of the empire, will be endowed with one of the grand-duchies reserved by the imperial decree of 30th March 1806. As the son of a prince cannot, in the noble hierarchy, descend to a lower rank than that of a duke, *all our children* will enjoy that title. But the new order of things erects no impassable or invidious barrier between the citizens ; every career remains open to the virtues and talents of all ; the advantage which it awards to tried merit will prove no injury to that which has not yet been put to the test." Thunders of applause shook the senate at this announcement ; and that body, composed almost entirely of persons of plebeian birth, whom success in the Revolution had raised to eminence, and many of whom had voted in the Convention for the death of Louis, not only accepted with gratitude the imperial gift, which was thus the price of abandoning all their former principles, and put on with alacrity the state livery which was the badge of their servitude, but *unanimously* embodied their devotion in an address to the Emperor on the occasion, which must be given entire, as one of the most memorable monuments of political tergiversation and

baseness that the history of the world has to exhibit.*

52. The institution of this new hereditary noblesse was attended with one peculiarity, which was at once indicative of the ephemeral basis on which it was founded, and the incapability of the infant order to answer any of those important purposes in the state which an ancient and independent aristocracy affords. Most of the new nobles were soldiers of fortune; almost all of them were destitute of any property but such as their official emoluments, or the opportunities they had enjoyed of foreign plunder, had afforded. To obviate this inconvenience, and prevent the new nobility from degenerating into a mere set of titled menials, or pensioned functionaries, Napoleon fell upon the expedient of attaching to these titles rich endowments, drawn from the revenues of foreign countries conquered by the French arms, or held by them in subjection. All the French marshals and the chief dignitaries of the empire

* "Sire! the senate presents to your august Majesty the tribute of its gratitude for the goodness which has prompted you to communicate, by his most Serene Highness, the Chancellor of the Empire, the two statutes relative to the creation of imperial titles, of the 30th March 1806, and the 10th August in the same year. By that great institution, Sire, your Majesty has affixed the seal of durability to all the others which France owes to your wisdom. In proportion, Sire, as one observes the mutual links which connect together the different parts, so multiplied and yet so firmly united, of that great fabric; in proportion as time, which alone can develop the full extent of its benefits, shall have fully unfolded them, what effects may not be anticipated from your august wisdom! A new value given to the recompenses which your Majesty never fails to award to real merit, in what obscurity soever fortune may have placed it, and how varied soever may be the services which it has rendered to the state; new motives to imitate such great examples; fresh bonds of fidelity, devotion, and love towards our country, its sovereign and his dynasty; a closer bond of union between our institutions and those of confederate or friendly nations; fathers recompensed in what is most dear to them; the recollections of families rendered more touching; the memory of our ancestors enshrined; the spirit of order, of economy, and of conservatism strengthened by its most obvious interest, that of its descendants; the first bodies of the empire and the most noble of our institutions drawn closer together; all

were in this manner quartered on the German or Italian states, and large sums, drawn from the industry and resources of their inhabitants, annually brought to the great central mart of Paris to be expended. The increase of opulence to the imperial capital was thus indeed most sensible; and in a similar proportion did the imperial government, the author of so many benefits to its citizens, become popular and respected; but the effects of this perpetual abstraction of wealth from other countries to the metropolis of the great nation, were to the last degree vexatious to their inhabitants, and proved one considerable cause of the deep-felt and far-spread hatred which ultimately occasioned its fall. In this respect Napoleon not only evinced none of his wonted sagacity, but acted in direct opposition to what common sense dictated as the fitting course for a monarch of a great and varied empire. How different was the policy of the Romans, who not only left at the disposal of the municipali-

dread of the return of the odious *Feudal System* for ever abolished; every recollection foreign to what you have established extinguished; the splendour of the new families deriving fresh lustre from the rays of the crown; the origin of their illustration rendered contemporary with your glory; the past, the present, and the future attached to your power, as, in the sublime conceptions of the great poets of antiquity, the first link of the great chain of destiny was placed in the hands of the gods;—such, Sire, are the results of the institution to which your Majesty has given life. The combination of such important results, affording security to those to whom the present is as nothing when there is no guarantee for the future, consolidates in its foundations, fortifies in all its parts, brings to perfection in its proportions, and embellishes in its ornaments, the immense social edifice, at the summit of which is placed the resplendent throne of the greatest of monarchs."—*Moniteur*, 11th March 1807; and *Monro*, vi. 306, 308. The extraordinary nature of this address will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected that a considerable portion of these obsequious senators, now so ready to wear the imperial livery, and form a part in the great pyramid which supported the throne, were once furious Jacobins, stained with the worst atrocities of the Reign of Terror; and almost all at one period ardent supporters of the principles of liberty and equality. It is sufficient to mention the names of Cambacérès, Fouché, Sièyes, Merlin de Douai, Beugnot, Corradet, Fontanes, Fabre de l'Aude, &c., besides a host of others.

ties in their extensive dominions the greater proportion of their local revenues, but annually remitted large sums from the imperial treasury for the construction of edifices of utility or embellishment in all their principal cities; so that the sway of the Emperors was felt chiefly in the increasing opulence and splendour of their provincial capitals!*

53. It was another part of Napoleon's system, which he laboured assiduously to promote, to effect an amalgamation, or *fusion* as he called it, of the ancient with the modern noblesse,

with the design that, burying in oblivion former discord, they should cordially unite in resisting any further changes, and supporting the imperial throne. With this view he not only opened his antechambers to the old nobility, who rushed in crowds to occupy them; but promoted to the utmost of his power the distribution of the ancient families through the innumerable offices of his dominions, and did all that he could, by the offer of splendid establishments, to overcome the repugnance of the high noblesse to matrimonial alliances with

* As a specimen of the manner in which the imperial generals or dignitaries were endowed out of the revenues of the conquered or subject states, it may be sufficient to cite those who were allocated on the domains of the small Electorate of Hanover, with the total revenues assigned to each, as a first gift out of the spoils of the empire. Many were far more richly endowed afterwards—some three or four fold, as additional riches came to the disposal of the mighty conqueror.

	Total revenue ultimately received.		Gift in money.
	Bestowed from Hanover.	ultimately received.	Gift in money.
	Francs, or L. a-year	Francs.	Francs.
Berthier, Prince of Neufchâtel,	140,000	5,600	405,000
Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo,	100,000	4,000	201,000
Mortier, Duke of Treviso,	100,000	4,000	198,000
Duroc, Duke of Friuli,	85,000	3,400	200,000
Ney, Duke of Elchingen,	83,000	3,320	229,000
Augereau, Duke of Castiglione,	80,000	3,200	172,000
Massena, Duke of Rivoli,	80,000	3,200	183,000
Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza,	66,000	2,700	150,000
Davoust, Duke of Auerstadt,	60,000	2,400	410,000
Soult, Duke of Dalmatia,	53,000	2,150	305,000
Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzic,	50,000	2,000	200,000
Prince Lebrun,	50,000	2,000	200,000
Lannes, Duke of Montebello,	50,000	2,000	328,000
Marshal Bessières,	50,000	2,000	200,000
Gen. Sebastiani,	40,000	1,600	150,000
Juno, Duke of Abrantes,	35,000	1,450	200,000
Gen. Friand,	30,000	1,200	100,000
Gen. Loison,	30,000	1,200	100,000
Generals Victor, Oudinot, St Hilaire, Gardeneu, Gazan, Caffarelli, Dupas, Lasalle, Klein, Songs, Dorsenne, Rapp, each 20,000. On Hanover, in all, 100,000 on an average,	240,000	9,600	1,200,000
Generals Hullin, Drouot, Compans, Gudin, Verdier, Bonnaire, Lacoste, Daru, and others, in all, 13,25,000 each. On Hanover, in all, 120,000 on an average,	325,000	13,000	1,300,000
Marmont Duke of Ragusa, Maret, Fouché, Decrès, Regnier, Mollien, Gaudin, Champagny, Lemarrois, Clarke, Crotel, Bertrand, Moncey, Perignon, Servières, Marchand, Ségur, Dupont, 20,000 each, in all 19 individuals. On Hanover, in all, 100,000 on an average,	350,000	15,200	1,900,000
Mouton, Belliard, Savary, Lauriston, each 15,000. On Hanover, in all, 80,000 on an average,	60,000	2,400	240,000
General Becker,	12,000	480	30,000
Regnaud St Jean d'Angely, Dufermier, Lacroix, Gen. Grouchy, Gey, Nansouty, Bigot, each 10,000 in all. On Hanover, in all, 50,000 on an average,	60,000	2,400	300,000

Total, 2,259,000 £91,000 yearly.

—HARD. x. 488-500; *Pièces Just.*; and THIERS, *Consulat et l'Empire*, viii. 180, 140.

the soldiers of fortune who had risen from the ranks to greatness under the banners of the empire. In one respect this system succeeded even beyond his expectation. Fondly attached, notwithstanding all their reverses, to feudal ideas, clinging still, notwithstanding a total change of manners, to antiquated customs, the old nobility found themselves suddenly elevated to an extraordinary and unlooked-for degree of importance in the court of the new Emperor; and, by the grace of their manners, the brilliancy of their conversation, and their perfect familiarity with the formalities and etiquette of the ancient regime, soon acquired a marked superiority in that field over the soldiers or civilians of humble birth whom the changes of the Revolution had elevated to greatness.

54. By a singular, but not unnatural feeling also, they were destitute of the scruples at accepting offices in the household which persons of less illustrious descent might have felt. A Montmorency would willingly become maid of honour to the Empress, or even descend to lace her shoe, which a lady of plebeian birth might have deemed a degradation. It is for the same reasons, that persons of good family are in general so much more courteous in their manners to their inferiors than *parvenus*. The distinction of their birth superseded the necessity of its perpetual and vexatious assertion. Thus the court was soon filled with the descendants of the old noblesse; and widely as the Emperor opened his doors for their reception, amply as he multiplied the chamberlains, equerries, lords in waiting, ladies of the bedchamber, squires, pages of the antechambers, and other functionaries of the palace, he found it impossible to keep pace with the crowds of titled applicants who incessantly besieged its gates for admission. The new nobility soon conceived a violent jealousy at these intruders who had supplanted them in the court circles, and openly testified their animosity even in presence of the Emperor himself. The system of fusion met with very little success with the ladies of

the rival classes of nobility; but the substantial advantages of great fortune and dignified station reconciled the plebeian duchesses to the superior favour shown to their patrician rivals; while the brilliant uniforms, high stations, and military lustre of the young generals, induced not a few of the daughters of the oldest families in France to ally their fortunes to the sons of those upon whom their parents would have deemed it a degradation to have bestowed a look.*

55. Notwithstanding all his efforts, however, it was impossible for Napoleon to conceal from the clear-sighted republicans of France, that the restoration of hereditary titles of honour was an entire departure, in the most vital point, from all the principles of the Revolution. In fact, the only surprising thing is, that he himself did not perceive how completely its ultimate effect was subversive of all the passions which had agitated France in 1789, and during the whole fervour of its subsequent changes. It was in vain to say that titles of honour were now restored as a personal, not a hereditary distinction; that the career of merit both in the civil and military department, was open to all; and that every peasant's son might indulge the hope, by bravery in the field, of fighting his way from the humble rank of a grenadier to a marshal's baton and duke-

* The reasons assigned by Napoleon in the council of state for the employment of the ancient in preference to the modern noblesse, were as follows:—"It is among the old families that you can alone find still some remains of great fortune; by that means they exercise a great influence on government. How could you compose a court with the men of the Revolution? You find in their ranks only honourable functionaries without fortune, or opulent contractors without character—a court of salaried officials would be at once onerous to the state, and without dignity in the eyes of the people. If the old fortunes are divided by distributions on death, they are restored by successions: the new fortunes have nothing to look to in that way; on the contrary, they are surrounded by needy relatives. Government can now no longer enrich as formerly its servants by the domains of the crown or confiscations: it ought, therefore, as much as possible, to take advantage of fortunes already made, and employ them in its service."—PELET, *Council d'Etat de Napoléon*, 107, 108.

dom; or, by skill and address in diplomacy, of advancing from the position of a tradesman to the dignity of ambassador and prince of the empire. During the reign of Napoleon indeed, and under the pressure of those national difficulties which rendered it indispensable to look for talent in every grade, even the lowest in the state, there might be some foundation for this observation; and doubtless the aspiring temper of the *tiers état* could not but feel gratified at beholding the number of their own, or an inferior rank, who now as warriors or statesmen occupied the highest stations in the empire. So powerful was this feeling, and so strong the jealousy still felt of the old noblesse, that the *tiers état* and peasants in France generally and cordially supported the institution of the new noblesse, from the hope that they themselves or their sons might obtain a place in it, and thus be placed on a level with the haughty noblesse, whose family lustre they admired, while they hated themselves.

56. But, to those who carried their views beyond the reign of the Emperor or the existing generation, and looked to the present institutions as a guarantee of republican equality in future times, these considerations afforded little matter for consolation. They could not disguise from themselves that the new imperial dignities, though the reward of merit to the present holders, would become the birthright of descent to the next generation; they could not hope that the same stirring and anxious events would always continue, which at present rendered it necessary for government to throw themselves for support on the middle classes of the people; and they anticipated with dismay the time when, during the pacific periods of subsequent reigns, the imperial nobility would come to monopolise the influence, offices, and power of the state, as completely as ever had been the case by their feudal predecessors in the days of Francis I. or Louis XIV. What was the origin of all nobility but personal merit? Every family, how great soever in its subsequent

stages, had some obscure citizen for its original founder; the first king had been a fortunate soldier. If an aristocracy existed at all obstructing the rise of inferior citizens, and monopolising for a privileged class the influence and riches of the state, it would be no consolation to the friends of equality to assert that it took its origin from the revolutionary, not the feudal wars, and that its paladins were to be found, not in the Round Table of Charlemagne, but among the marshals of Napoleon.

57. In truth, the Emperor was too far-sighted not to feel the justice of these observations; and although in his addresses to the people he was cautious to hold out the new nobility as the reward of merit only, yet he secretly felt that it was in fact the revival of a family distinction. But he was also aware that the favour of the populace is not to be relied on for the durable support of government; that a hereditary monarchy cannot exist without a hereditary aristocracy, whose interests are entwined with its fate; and that without such lasting support, founded on the permanent interest of a privileged class, his throne would probably be lost by his descendants as speedily as it had been won by himself. All history, and especially that of the Asiatic empires, proved that no family, how great soever in its general founder, could long keep possession of the throne, unless it had cast its anchor either in the interests of a hereditary nobility, or the force of religious attachment centred in the descendants of a single family. And the friends of freedom, had they possessed more penetration than at that time, or even now, prevails on this subject in France, might have been consoled by the reflection, that, however hostile to that passion for equality which formed the leading principle of the Revolution, such an aristocracy formed an essential element toward the establishment of lasting freedom; and that, although there were many instances in which its exclusive spirit had proved an insurmountable bar to the elevation of the middle classes of

society, there was not one example of liberty not having entirely perished under the debasing influence of a centralised despotism, when such a barrier was not left to resist its encroachments.

58. The rapidity with which court etiquette, and all the minutiae of regal manners, now spread, exceeds belief, and, notwithstanding the abundance of contemporary proof, appears almost incredible in a country so recently ~~ruined~~ by revolutionary passions. The old archives of the monarchy were ransacked to discover the whole details of the ancient ceremonials; whoever could point out an additional bow to be made, a more respectful mode of presenting an address to be adopted, a more gorgeous display of pomp or splendour to be introduced, was regarded as a benefactor of the human race. The ancient ceremonies at the rising and retiring to rest of the kings were re-established, though abridged in some of their details; the antiquated forms of presentation were revived; and it was seriously debated at court whether the fatiguing form of dining in public once a-week should not be restored. In magnificence and splendour the imperial court far exceeded not only anything in Europe, but all that the pride of Louis XIV. had conceived. The whole royal palaces, with the exception of Versailles, were refurnished in the most sumptuous style; the value of the plate and furniture which they contained was estimated at fifty millions of francs, or two millions sterling. At the marriage of the Empress Maria-Louisa, four queens held her train. In the antechambers of the Emperor, seven kings were sometimes to be seen. And when this occurred, it was just seventeen years after it had been written, with general consent, over the principal archway of the Tuileries—"Monarchy is abolished in France, and will never be restored."

59. While not merely the forms of monarchical, but the essence of despotic power, were in this manner re-established in France, amidst the general concurrence of the nation, the

Emperor was careful to accompany the change with such substantial benefits and real ameliorations, as amply reconciled the great mass of the citizens to the loss of the once-prized democratic power, which had brought such unheard-of disasters on their possessors and the whole community. Though completely despotic, the imperial government had one incalculable advantage; it was regular, conservative, and systematic. The taxes were heavy, but the public expenditure was immense, and enabled the people to pay them with facility; no forced loans or arbitrary confiscations swept off, as in the time of the Republic, the accumulations of years by one fell exaction; no uncertainty as to enjoying the fruits of industry paralysed in any branch of employment the hand of the labourer. Everything was orderly and tranquil under the imperial sway; the Emperor demanded, indeed, more than half their sons from his subjects of every degree, but a boundless career was opened to the conscripts; and visions of a marshal's baton or a general's staff floated before the eyes of many a youthful aspirant, who was destined to an early and unheeded grave on the field of battle, or amidst the horrors of the hospital.

60. The stoppage of all external commerce, combined with the vast and constantly increasing expenditure of government, produced an extraordinary degree of vigour in domestic industry and internal communication. The roads, the canals which connected the provinces with each other, were covered with waggons and boats laden with the richest merchandise. The cultivators everywhere found an ample market for their produce in the vast consumption of the armies; the manufacturing cities vied with each other in activity and enterprise; and even commercial wealth, reviving from its ashes under the firm rule of the Emperor, exerted its energies on internal traffic, and, turning inwards, promoted home circulation through the great arteries of the empire. Beet-root was largely cultivated as a substitute for the sugar-cane; and though the sac-

charine matter obtained from that useful vegetable was inferior in sweetness and richness to that which the West India Islands yielded, yet it was superior in clearness and delicacy, and, as a native production, was justly admired. Lyons, Rouen, and the Flemish cities again resounded with the activity of the artisan; their ruined fabrics were restored, the empty warehouses replenished; and the vast internal consumption of the empire, secured from all foreign competition, rapidly raised from the dust the prosperous manufactures of the monarchy, which the confiscations of the Revolution had to all appearance destroyed. The Emperor set an example at once of prudent economy and noble magnificence, in the management of his personal expenses and the embellishment of his palaces. He annually saved twelve or fifteen millions of francs, (£480,000 or £600,000), out of his civil list; and it was from this source that he provided the funds which adorned and embellished the royal palaces of France, and enriched them with furniture which cost above three millions sterling.

61. Much as this extraordinary flood of internal prosperity was owing to the rapid circulation of wealth, occasioned by the great expenditure, exceeding thirty millions sterling, which was drawn from the ordinary revenue of the Empire,* more still was to be ascribed to the enormous sums, amounting to half as much more, which were extracted from the richest states of continental Europe in the shape of subsidies, contributions, or the maintenance of the imperial armies, which was all expended, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of the French people.

* Revenue of the empire, exclusive of contributions from foreign states and all extraordinary supplies:—

	France,	£
1808.	664,879,901	of 26,600,000
1809.	723,613,020	„ 29,000,000
1810.	744,392,027	„ 29,700,000
1811, including Roman States,	907,295,667	„ 36,300,000
1812.	876,206,180	„ 35,300,000
1813.	824,273,740	„ 33,000,000

—DUC DE GAETA, i. 307, 308.

It is not going too far to say, that the sums drawn during these years, directly or indi-

The immense sums, amounting to above twenty-four millions sterling, have been already mentioned which were extracted from Prussia and the countries between the Elbe and the Vistula, in two years subsequent to the irruption of the French armies into their territories, in October 1806. But exorbitant as this was, it constituted but a part of the great scheme of foreign plunder which formed so important an element in, or rather the entire basis of, the general system of the imperial government. We have the authority of the able and impartial French biographer of Napoleon for the assertion, “that since their departure from the heights of Boulogne, two hundred thousand French soldiers had been constantly fed, clothed, paid, and lodged, at the expense of foreign states; above four hundred million francs of contributions (£16,000,000) had, in addition, been levied in money or goods, from the countries occupied by the imperial troops; the treasury had received part of this sum, and the remainder, expended on the services of the army, had reduced by one-half the amount required from the French exchequer for its support. A few years before, Louisiana had been sold by the First Consul to America, to obtain a supply for the pressing wants of the treasury; on his return from the campaign of Austerlitz, the Emperor found the treasury exhausted, and the bank on the eve of insolvency; but the campaign of the two next years gave him a year's revenue in advance in the coffers of the state, besides a large reserved treasure in the vaults of the Tuileries.” When such extraordinary supplies were obtained by foreign

rectly, by plunder, contributions, tribute in subsidies from foreign states, amounted to at least half as much more; and the sums, from the difference in the value of money, were equal to almost double their nominal amount in the currency of Great Britain. Thus during the last six years of Napoleon, an annual expenditure equal to nearly a hundred millions sterling in England took place in the French empire; of which more than a third was drawn from foreign countries. It is not surprising that such a government for the time should be popular, notwithstanding its despotic character and the conscription.

plunder for the French treasury, it is not surprising that a very great degree of prosperity should have pervaded all its departments, and in an especial manner made itself felt at the metropolis. In truth, all the great and splendid works thenceforward undertaken by the Emperor, and which have shed such an imperishable lustre round his name, were carried on by funds wrung, directly or indirectly, from the suffering inhabitants of his subject territories. But these public works were really so splendid, and founded on such noble designs, that the expenditure on them, from whatever source derived, could scarcely be a subject of regret. Canals, the only internal mode of communication then known, in an especial manner attracted the attention of the Emperor. Ten great canals, destined to unite the principal rivers of France to each other, were set on foot. They joined the Scheldt and the Meuse; the Meuse and the Rhine; the Rhine, the Saone, and the Rhone; the Scheldt and the Somme; the Somme, the Oise, and the Seine; the Seine, the Saone, and the Rhone; the Seine and the Loire; the Loire and the Cher; the north sea and the Mediterranean. By this means a vast internal net-work of canals was spread over France, uniting its most distant provinces, and affording an outlet in every direction for its produce. Extensive chains of locks were constructed, under the special directions of the Emperor, to surmount the summit levels in the interior of the country, which were soon executed with that skill which has deservedly made the French engineers the admiration of the world. Indescribable was his anxiety to hasten these great works. "If we do not use diligence," said he, "not three of these canals will be finished before we are in our grave. Wars and the reign of fools will succeed, and these noble undertakings will remain unfinished. I wish to make the glory of my reign consist in changing the face of the Empire. The execution of great improvements is as indispensable to the interest of my people as to my own satisfaction."

62. And these works undertaken and executed under the imperial government, were really such as to justify the enthusiastic admiration of a people even less passionately devoted than the French to public splendour. They were thus noticed in the report of the minister of the interior in August 1807, when Napoleon met the Chambers after his return from Tilsit; and after making every allowance for the exaggerated style of such state papers, much remains to attract the admiration of succeeding ages, and demonstrate the great objects to which, in domestic administration, the ambition of the Emperor was directed. "Thirteen thousand leagues of public roads have been kept in order or repaired; the two greatest works undertaken for centuries, the roads of Mont Cenis and of the Simplon, have, after six years of labour, been completed. The road from Spain to Italy is in progress: the Apennines are the theatre of a series of works which will unite Piedmont to the shores of the Mediterranean, and complete the union of Liguria to France: eighteen rivers have seen their navigation improved or prolonged beyond hitherto impassable barriers, by means of locks, dykes, or towing-paths: four bridges have been erected during the last campaign: ten others are in full progress: ten canals, almost all commenced during the present reign, are in full activity. Nor do the maritime harbours offer fewer prodigies. Antwerp, so recently insignificant, has become the centre of our great maritime preparations; for the first time that part of the Scheldt sees vessels of seventy-four and eighty guns floating on its bosom: fourteen ships of the line are on the stocks within its walls; many are finished, and have descended to Flushing: that harbour has seen its docks deepened, its entrance improved, and it is already capable of containing a squadron: at Dunkirk and Calais, piers have been constructed; at Cherbourg two vast breakwaters erected; at Rochefort and Marseilles equally important maritime improvements are in progress.

63. "The existence of our cotton

manufactures being secured, investigations are in progress for the discovery of places suited to the culture of that important article: the improvement of the linen fabrics has been the object of constant solicitude. Veterinary schools have been established, and already fill the army and the fields with skilled practitioners: a code is preparing for the regulation of commerce: the School of Arts and Mechanics at Compiègne flourishes, and has been transferred to Chalons: others on a similar plan are in the course of formation: Italy opens an extensive mart for our industry: the war, changed into a contest for commercial independence, has become the great stimulant to French industry: every one of our conquests, while it is a market closed to England, is a new encouragement afforded to French enterprise. Nor has the capital of this great empire been neglected; it is the Emperor's wish that that illustrious city, become the first in the universe, should befit by its splendour so glorious a destiny.

64. "At one extremity of Paris a bridge has been completed, to which victory has given the name of Austerlitz; at another, a second is commencing, to which Jena will afford a still more glorious appellation; the Louvre advances to its completion, marking, in its matured progress, through centuries, the successive ages of Francis I., of Henry IV., of Louis XIV., restored to life by the voice of Napoleon. Fountains without number flow night and day in all parts of the city, testifying even to the humblest classes, the care which the Emperor bestows on their most trifling accommodation. Two triumphal arches are already erected, or founded, one in the centre of the palace inhabited by the Genius of Victory; the other at the extremity of the most beautiful avenue of the finest city in the world. The Tomb of Desaix has been erected on the summit of the Alps, whose rugged precipices are not less startled at the monument of our perfection in the arts, than they were at the passage of the artillery drawn by the arms of valour. The fine arts in France are occupied almost entirely in tracing on marble or canvass the glo-

rious exploits of our armies: while the mind of the Emperor, ever meditating fresh triumphs, has selected for his antagonist the Demon of Ignorance; and, by the establishment of twelve colleges for the study of law, and gratuitous schools for the teaching of medicine in all the principal cities of the empire, has laid the foundation of the extension of general knowledge in the most essential subjects of public instruction." Magnificent as these undertakings were, they formed but a part of what was contemplated by Napoleon. "We must never forget," said he, "the cry of the peasants when vexed by subaltern agents, — 'Ah! if the king but knew it!' Believe me, I have good reasons for not slumbering on my seat. I know the French people: they will fully appreciate my long anxieties: I owe such to the efforts which I demand of them. Nothing but my vigilant superintendence can retain so many subalterns in their duty. That surveillance must be incessant; it must extend to the minutest details. I fear neither fatigue nor long journeys; they always give me things to see."

65. When the French people saw this magnificent announcement of internal improvement, contemporaneous with the official promulgation of the treaty of Tilsit, the conquest of Prussia, the restoration of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and the erection of the kingdom of Westphalia, it is not surprising that they were dazzled by the brilliancy of the spectacle, and yielded to the pleasing illusion that the Revolution, nursed in violence and baptised in blood, was to sink to rest amidst a blaze of unprecedented glory. But the querulous discontent and substantial oppression of other nations might even then have taught them that this splendid fabric rested on a dangerous foundation, and that the system was not likely to be durable which impoverished all others to enrich one favoured state. And a sagacious observer of this long and glowing enumeration of the internal projects of the Emperor, could hardly have avoided the inference, that the government had now drawn to itself the patronage and direction of

domestic improvement of every description; that the very magnitude and universality of public undertakings proved that private enterprise had sunk into the dust; and that, reversing the whole principles of the Revolution, the welfare of society had come to depend on the point of the pyramid.

66. The finances of France, in an especial manner, occupied the attention of the Emperor; and the talent of his subjects, adapted beyond any other people in Europe to organisation and accuracy in matters of detail, brought that important branch of administration to an extraordinary degree of perfection. The system of accounts by double entry, so well known to merchants, was introduced into every department of the finances, and secured a degree of precision hitherto unknown in the public service. At the same time, a new court, entitled the "Cour des Comptes" was established with M. Marbois for its president, especially destined to audit all the public accounts. The official exposition set forth by his ministers, notwithstanding the care taken to envelop it in mystery, by concealing the enormous amount of foreign contributions, annually exhibited an excess of expenditure above income.* But no reliance can be placed on these statements as a true picture of the financial condition of the empire, when

* The budget exhibited to the chambers for 1808, was as follows:—

INCOME, in Francs.	
Direct contributions,	295,241,654
Registers and crown lands,	181,458,491
Customs,	75,973,797
Lottery,	12,804,480
Post-office,	8,524,586
Excise,	82,772,692
Salt and tobacco, by the Alps,	5,104,198
Salt mines,	3,000,000

664,870,901
or £26,600,000

EXPENDITURE, in Francs.	
Public debt,	74,000,000
Pensions,	81,000,000
Civil list,	28,000,000
Judges,	22,000,000
Foreign relations,	9,000,000
Minister of the Interior,	52,000,000
— of Finance,	21,000,000
— of Treasury,	9,000,000
— of War,	201,649,000

Carry over, £448,549,000

ten or fifteen millions sterling were annually drawn from foreign nations by contributions or subsidies, which did not appear in the yearly budgets; and all the armies quartered beyond the frontiers of the empire, whether in Germany, Italy, or the Spanish peninsula, were systematically and invariably maintained and paid at the exclusive expense of the inhabitants of the states they were quartered in. It is sufficient to observe, therefore, that as long as the empire of Napoleon endured over foreign nations, no want of money was ever experienced at the imperial headquarters, and that the sums extracted from them during its continuance amounted to at least a half of those derived from the legitimate taxation of his own subjects. But in addition to this, the internal taxation of France was established on the best principles, by that salutary intermixture of indirect with direct taxation, which can alone diffuse the public burdens, in a just and equal manner, over the whole community. The longer his experience extended, the more was he attached to the admirable system of indirect taxation, the only secure basis for the permanent income of a great nation. "The principle I should wish to see established," said he, on 20th February 1806, "is to introduce a great number of moderate indirect taxes, susceptible of

	Brought over, £448,549,000
Ordnance,	131,880,000
Marine,	117,200,000
Religion,	14,000,000
General Police,	1,055,000
Negotiations,	8,000,000
Miscellaneous,	6,216,000

730,000,000

or £29,200,000

—DUC DE GAETA; and MONTGAILL, vi. 304, 305.

The kingdom of Italy alone yielded to Napoleon a yearly tribute of 100,000,000 francs, or £4,000,000, and for this we have the authority of his own words; but no mention of this contribution, any more than of the £3,400,000 paid annually by Spain and Portugal, or the £24,000,000 levied on the north of Germany, appears in these annual budgets.

—Séance, April 7, 1806; PELET.

What a picture of the result of the Revolution which had confiscated the whole property of the church! Army and ordnance, 336,000,000 francs yearly, or £13,500,000. Religion for 42,000,000 of people, 14,000,000 francs, or £556,000 annually!

augmentation when the public necessities call for their increase." Nor was Napoleon less alive to the necessity, amidst such immense industrial undertakings, of providing a currency adequate to their execution. He had not embraced the doctrine of the political economists, that the best way to make a nation prosperous is to engage it in vast undertakings, and after rendering its issue of paper dependent on the specie in the hands of the bankers, send its metallic circulation headlong out of the country. He increased the capital and shares of the bank of France from 45,000,000 francs to 90,000,000, (£3,600,000). "The bank," said he, "should be to France what the Thames is to London." At the same time he lowered the rate of interest, where it was six per cent, to five; where it was five, to four. "I am going," said he, "to introduce a law which is not according to the ideas of your *ideologues*: it is to lower the rate of interest to five per cent." Nor did the important subject of the management of the poor escape his attention; on the contrary, it awakened it in the highest degree. "The principle should be," said he, "that every mendicant should be arrested: but to arrest him to put him in prison would be barbarous and absurd. You must make his arrest the means of converting the idle mendicant into an industrious citizen. I attach the greatest importance, and as great idea of glory, to the destruction of mendicity. Funds are not wanting; but everything appears to me to advance slowly. We must not pass over the earth without leaving some traces which may commend our memory to posterity. Use the utmost diligence; make everywhere the necessary inquiries: you have to aid you intelligent prefects, young auditors, zealous engineers. The winter evenings are long; get ready portfolios which may give us something to occupy them, and enable us to bring that great undertaking, the '*extirpation of mendicity*,' to maturity."*

* Napoleon to the Minister of the Interior, Nov. 2, 1807, and Sept. 17, 1807.—BIGNON, vii. 93-103; THIERS, *Cons. et l'Empire*, viii. 126, 180.

67. But the march of despotism is not for ever on flowers; nor is it blessings and splendid improvements only which it confers upon its subjects. It soon appeared that the brilliant public works and bewildering enumerations of great undertakings, with which the minister of the interior dazzled the eyes of the people, were but the splendid covering with which Napoleon was gilding over the old and well-known chains of Roman servitude. On the 1st February 1810, the penal code made its appearance; and the few real patriots who had survived the storms of the Revolution, perceived with grief, that out of four hundred and eighty crimes which it enumerated, no less than two hundred and twenty were state offences. In this long and portentous enumeration were included almost all the offences embraced under the denomination of *lese-majesty* in the jurisprudence of the lower empire; among others, the non-revelation of crimes affecting the security of the state which have come to any one's knowledge; illegal societies or assemblies of any kind; and seditious offences, committed either by writings published or unpublished, images or engravings. The punishment of such non-revelation was declared to be the galleys, if the crime not disclosed was *lese-majesty*; imprisonment from two to five years, if seditious. So special and minute were the crimes against the security of the state, and so slender the evidence required to establish them, that in troubled times, and in the hands of a despotic monarch, they furnished the most ample means of totally extinguishing the liberties of the people, and rendering every person amenable to punishment who in the slightest degree obstructed the measures of government.

68. Imprisonment has ever been the great instrument of despotic power; it is not by heart-rending punishments inflicted on its victims in presence of the people, but by the silent, unseen operation of confinement and seclusion, that the spirit of freedom has in general been most effectually broken. Founded as the empire of Napoleon

was on the suppression, or rather turning into another channel, of all the passions of the Revolution, and succeeding, as it did, to a period when great political parties had been interested in their preservation, it was not to be expected that this formidable engine was to remain powerless in his hands. It is a remarkable fact, highly characteristic of the ambitious spirit which inspired, and the absence of all regard for real freedom which distinguished, the whole changes of the Revolution, that not one of the successive parties which were elevated to power during its progress ever thought of the obvious expedient essential to anything like freedom, of limiting by law the period to which imprisonment, at the instance of government, without bringing the accused to trial, could extend. Each was perfectly willing that arbitrary imprisonment should continue, provided only that they enjoyed the power of inflicting it. During the Reign of Terror, this iniquitous system was carried to a height unparalleled in any former age; and above two hundred thousand state captives at one time groaned in the prisons of France. Even under the comparatively regular and constitutional sway of the Directory, it was still largely acted upon. The first use of their power made by each faction, as they got possession of the executive, was to consign all the dangerous persons of the opposite parties to prison; and we have the authority of Napoleon for the assertion, that at one time the state prisoners under their rule amounted to sixty thousand, and when he took possession of power, they were still nine thousand.

69. Under his own vigorous but humane administration, the amount was much lessened, but still it was considerable; and great numbers of persons constantly remained in jail, without any means either of procuring their liberation or forcing on their trial. Their number and unhappy condition had long attracted the attention of the Emperor; and at length a decree was passed regulating their treatment and places of confinement, and defining the

authorities by whom their detention was to be authorised. By this decree eight state prisons were established in France, viz.—Samur, Ham, If, Landskron, Pierre-Chatel, Fenestrelles, Campiagno, and Vincennes. The detention of prisoners in them required to be on a warrant of the private council of the Emperor on a report of the minister of police, or of public justice. The former was invested with the power of putting any person he thought proper under the surveillance of the police. The captives in the state prisons retained the power of disposing of their effects, unless it was otherwise ordered; but they could not receive any money or movables except in the presence of the governor of the prison and by his authority. All correspondence or intercourse with the rest of the world was rigorously forbidden; and any jailer who should permit or connive at the correspondence of any prisoner with any person whatever, was to be dismissed from office, and punished with six months' confinement.

70. Under this rigorous system, great numbers of persons of the most elevated station and noblest character were confined in these state prisons during the whole remainder of the reign of Napoleon, not only from France itself, but from Piedmont, Lombardy, the Roman States, Germany, and Switzerland. An order, signed by Napoleon, the minister of police, or the privy council, was a sufficient warrant in all those countries, to occasion not only the arrest of any suspected person, but his detention in one of these gloomy fortresses, to all appearance for the whole remainder of his life. Nobles of the highest rank, priests of the most exalted station, citizens of the most irreproachable lives, were seized in every part of Europe subject to the French influence, paraded through the towns of the country to which they belonged, with shackles on their hands or chains round their necks, and then consigned to the gloomy oblivion of the state prisons, there to languish in captivity for the remainder of their lives. The offences

for which this terrible penalty, worse than death itself, was inflicted, were of the most trivial kind; their being regarded as punishable at all savoured rather of the dark policy of Tiberius than the more lenient administration even of despotic countries, in modern times. An unhappy *bon-mot*, a cutting jest at the expense of any of the imperial authorities, a few sarcastic lines, were sufficient to consign their unfortunate authors to close confinement for the rest of their days.

71. Cardinal Pacca, long a victim of the tyrannical government of Napoleon, on account of the courageous stand which he made against his spoliation of the Holy See, and who for six years was confined in the state prison of Fenestrelles among the solitude of the Alps, has given the following account of some of his fellow-captives:—"On my arrival in the prison one of the first persons I met was the arch-priest of Fontainelle, in the duchy of Parma, *vir simplex et timens Deum*, who had been sentenced to three years' confinement for having written, in 1809, to a neighbouring curate, that the Archduke John was advancing with his army; the next was Tognetti de Pisa, condemned to six months' imprisonment for having imprudently repeated a satire he had heard against the Emperor. Girolamo de Forte, also, for having composed some poems in favour of the Austrians, when, in 1800, they chased the French from Italy, and Leonard de Modigliano, Dean of Forlì, for having been imprudent in his language against the French Emperor, were sentenced to an unlimited period of captivity, and only received their liberation on the downfall of Napoleon. They traversed the most populous cities of Lombardy in the course of their transmission to prison, the former with handcuffs, the latter with a chain about his neck, of which he still bore the marks when I saw him in the prison of Fenestrelles."

72. The state prisons exhibited the most extraordinary assemblage of persons. Those in the north of the Empire were chiefly filled with ardent

democrats, or devoted partisans of the house of Bourbon; those in the southern provinces with ecclesiastics or priests, who had expressed themselves incautiously regarding the captivity and dethronement of their spiritual sovereign. But numbers were there immured against whom no definite charge or overt act could be alleged, although, from some unknown cause, they had excited the jealousy of the Emperor or some of the imperial authorities. One day there arrived at the doors of these gloomy abodes a young nobleman of elegant figure, gay manners, and dissipated habits; the next an aged priest, in the decline of life, whose grey hairs were sent to bleach amidst the snows of the Alps; next came a violent democrat, who, untaught by the disasters of twenty years, was still raving about the Rights of Man; then a faithful adherent of the fallen dynasty, or an uncompromising asserter of the wrongs of the conquered provinces. All who in any way, or from any motive had excited either the displeasure or the fears of the Emperor, were sent into captivity; but the greater proportion were ecclesiastics, among whom was the intrepid and able Cardinal Pacca, to whose able work we are indebted for the greater part of these valuable facts.*

73. One circumstance of peculiar and unprecedented severity attended the state victims of Napoleon, which had been unknown in Europe since the fall of the Roman empire. The extent

* These ecclesiastics were sentenced to unlimited imprisonment for the most trifling causes. Out of nineteen who were imprisoned along with Cardinal Pacca in the fortress of Fenestrelles, amidst the snowy Alps, three Spaniards by birth were there for having declared, at Parma, against the iniquitous war which the Emperor was waging against their nation; another for being suspected of having carried on a secret correspondence with the Pope when in confinement in France; others for having refused to take the oath of fidelity to the French Emperor in the Roman States; one from Bastia in Corsica for having preached a sermon containing some passages which were thought to be a satire on the Emperor, in regard to the affairs of the church. He was seized before he had concluded his discourse, and instantly conducted to prison.—PACCA, i. 271, 272.

of his dominions, the wide sway of his influence, rendered it almost impossible to fly from his persecution. By passing the frontier, and escaping into other states, no asylum, as in former times, was obtained; the influence of the imperial authorities, the terrors of the imperial sway, pursued the fugitive through the whole of Europe; and, as in the days of Caligula or Nero, the victim of imperial jealousy could find no resting-place on the Continent till he had passed the utmost limits of civilisation, and amidst the nomade or semi-barbarous tribes on the frontiers of Europe, found that security which the boasted institutions of its ancient states could no longer afford. The mandates of the Emperor, the inquisition of his police, reached the trembling fugitive as effectually on the utmost verge of the Austrian or Spanish dominions, in the extremity of Calabria, or in the marshes of Poland, as in the centre of Paris; and it was not till he had escaped into the Ukraine, or the Turkish provinces, or had found an asylum in the yet unsubdued realm of Britain, that the victim of imperial persecution could be secure of a resting-place. The knowledge of this, which universally prevailed, added fearfully to the terrors of the imperial government. The firmest mind, the most undaunted resolution, despaired of entering the lists with an authority which the whole civilised world seemed constrained to obey; and the immense majority of the prudent and the selfish quailed under the prospect of incurring the

* Madame de Stael has left a graphic picture of the terrors with which the jealousy of Napoleon was attended—even to the softer sex; and which prompted her to undertake a perilous journey from Geneva by the Tyrol, Vienna, and Galicia, into Russia, in the depth of winter, in order to fly the intolerable anxiety of her situation. The Austrian police, acting under his orders, continued the same odious system; and it was not till she reached the frontiers of Old Russia, and war was declared between that power and Napoleon in 1812, that she was able to draw breath. The Duchess of Abrantès has given a still more romantic and interesting account of the extraordinary adventures of Mrs Spencer Smith, wife of the British resident at Stuttgart, who incurred the real or feigned displeasure of Napoleon in 1804, at the time of

displeasure of a power whose lightest measure of animadversion would be banishment into the savage or uncivilised parts of the earth.* Such was the weight of this despotism that even the brothers of Napoleon could not endure it. Louis resigned the throne of Holland, and Lucien sought in England that freedom, for the loss of which all the grandeur and power of the brother whom his presence of mind had seated on the consular throne, could afford no compensation.

74. With such powers to support his authority, and such terrors to overawe discontent or stifle resistance, Napoleon succeeded, without the least difficulty, in maintaining a despotism in France, during the whole remainder of the Empire, unparalleled for rigour and severity in modern times. Not a whisper of resistance to his orders was anywhere heard throughout all his vast dominions. The senate joyfully and servilely registered his decrees, voted his taxes, and authorised his conscriptions; the press was occupied only with narrating his journeys, transcribing his eulogies, or enforcing his orders; the chamber of deputies vied with their dignified bretheren in the upper chamber in addressing the Emperor only with the incense of Eastern adulation. The legislature voted, and the nation furnished to their ruler, during the ten years which elapsed from his assuming the imperial throne to his abdication, the stupendous number of TWO MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND CONSCRIPTS, and from among these, or the army existing in 1804, the Duke d'Enghien's murder, and the alleged counterplot in which he was participant to dethrone the Emperor. She was actively pursued by the bloodhounds of the French police, solely on account of her husband's acts, from the neighbourhood of Vicenza, across the Julian and Tyrol Alps to the romantic shores of the Königs See, near Salzburg, where she for the first time got beyond their reach, by escaping into the Austrian territories, which were not at that period (1804) subjected to the disgrace of being forced to yield obedience to the mandates of the French police.—D'ABRANTES, xlii. 124. A few years later she could have found no security till she had traversed the whole imperial territories, and reached the Ottoman dominions.—See *Dix Années d'Exil*, 239, 250.

above two millions two hundred thousand perished in his service.* The taxes, enormously heavy, were only prevented from being raised to the highest possible amount by the systematic plunder of all the tributary countries of Europe. Yet his government was not only obeyed without a murmur during all that time, but these terrible sacrifices, draining as they did its heart's blood from the nation, were passively yielded by all classes: and the despot, who was visibly leading them to perdition, was surrounded on all sides and at all times by the incense of flattery and the voice of adulation.

75. So severely, however, did the conscription press upon the natural feelings of the human heart, both in parents and their offspring, that although the salaried dependants of the Emperor, in the legislature and elsewhere, obsequiously voted all his demands for men, and the press lavished nothing but encomiums on his measures, yet it was not without extreme difficulty and excessive rigour that it could be carried into execution, especially in the rural districts of the Empire. The infirmities which might

be pleaded in exemption were severely scrutinised; and inveterate asthma, habitual spitting of blood, or incipient consumption, was alone sustained as a sufficient excuse. Exemptions at first were allowed to be purchased for three hundred francs; but this privilege was soon repealed, and in the latter years of the Empire a substitute could not be procured for less than eight hundred or a thousand pounds. It was not surprising that the price became so high; for it was perfectly understood, what in fact was the case, that it was bribing one man to give his life for another. No Frenchman liable, or who once had been liable, to the conscription, could hold any public office, receive any public salary, exercise any public right, receive any legacy, or inherit any property, unless he could produce a certificate that he had obeyed the law, and was either legally exempted, in actual service, discharged, or that his services had not been required. Those who, when drawn, failed to join the army within the prescribed time, were deprived of their civil rights, and denounced to all the gendarmerie in the Empire as deserters.

76. Eleven depots were appointed for the punishment of the refractory, where they wore the uniform of convicts, received their fare, and were employed to labour on fortifications or public works without any pay. The terrors of this treatment, however, being at length found to be insufficient to bring the conscripts to their colours, it was decreed that a deserter or person who failed to attend should be fined fifteen hundred francs, and sentenced to three years' hard labour in the interior, with his head shaved but his beard long; if he deserted from the army, his punishment was to be undergone in a frontier place, where he was sentenced to hard labour for ten years, on bread and water, with a bullet of eight pounds' weight chained to his leg, and with a shaved head and unshaved beard—a penalty in comparison of which death itself was an act of mercy. Such were the punishments which awaited, without distinction, all the youth of France, if they tried to

* The following is a summary of the men levied and destroyed in France during the ten years of the Emperor's reign—the most extraordinary instance of the destruction of the human species by the operation of regular government that exists in the annals of the world:—

Dates of the decrees of the Senate.	Men.
24th September 1805,	80,000
November 1806,	80,000
7th April 1807,	80,000
21st January and 10th Sept. 1808,	240,000
18th April and 5th October 1809,	70,000
18th December 1810,	160,000
20th December 1811,	120,000
13th March, 1st September 1812,	237,000
16th January, 3d April, 24th Aug., 9th October, 11th Nov. 1813,	1,040,000

In ten years, exclusive of voluntary enlistment,	2,113,000
Army in existence in 1804,	640,000
Departmental guards, voluntary levies, and levy <i>en masse</i> in 1804,	250,000

3,003,000

Remained alive in arms, or prisoners in 1814,	802,600
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Destroyed in ten years, 2,200,400

—DUPIN, *Force Commerciale de la France*, i. 3; and *Moniteur*, dates *ut supra*.

evade a conscription which was cutting them off at the rate of two hundred and twenty thousand a-year. The practical result of this excessive severity, joined to the known impossibility of earning a subsistence in a country where landed property was already subdivided among eight millions of hands, and commercial enterprise annihilated, by any other means than the favour or employment of government, was, that the whole youth of the nation, of the requisite age and capable of undergoing its fatigues, were voluntarily or involuntarily enrolled in the profession of arms.

77. The system of public instruction established in France under the Empire was eminently calculated to further the same tendency. The schools were of two kinds, the ecclesiastical schools and the lyceums. The ecclesiastical schools were established by the bishops and clergy, chiefly for the education of the young persons destined for their own profession, and in them the elements of grammar were taught along with a system of religious education. As they were supported, however, by voluntary contributions alone, they were few in comparison with the numbers of the people, and totally inadequate for the purposes of national instruction. Such as they were, nevertheless, they excited the jealousy of the Emperor, who was unwilling that any considerable establishment in the Empire, especially in relation to so important a matter as public education, should exist independent of the patronage and authority of government. It was decreed, therefore, that there should be no more than one ecclesiastical school allowed in each department; and that one should be in a large town, where a lyceum or government academy was established. All others were to be shut up in a fortnight, under heavy penalties, and their property of every description applied to the use of the great imperial establishment called the University.

78. The Imperial University was the chief instrument which the Emperor had set on foot for obtaining the entire direction of public education in all its branches. This body

was totally different from a university in our sense of the term: it was rather a vast system of *instructing police* diffused over the country, in connection with and dependent on the central government. At its head was placed a grand-master, one of the chief dignitaries of the state, with a salary of 150,000 francs (£6000) a-year. Under him was an ample staff, all of whom were nominated by himself, and extending over the whole Empire—viz. a treasurer and chancellor, ten counsellors for life, twenty in ordinary, and thirty inspectors-general, all endowed with ample salaries. Under them were the rectors of academies, as they were called, who in no respect corresponded to the English functionaries of the same name, but were elevated officers, analogous to and ranking with the bishop of the diocese, as numerous in the Empire as there were courts of appeal, and each possessing an inferior jurisdiction and staff of officers similar to the grand-master. Under each rector were placed the faculties or schools of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, physical sciences, the lycœums, colleges, institutions, and pensions, and even the schools of primary instruction. The teachers in all these various schools were either nominated directly by the grand-master, or by the inspectors, counsellors, or rectors who owed their appointments to him; so that, directly or indirectly, they were all brought under the control of the central government. Voluntary schools, or communal colleges as they were called, established by the communities or rural divisions of the Empire, were not prohibited, and about four hundred of them were set on foot in the early years of the Empire. But it was required that every person who taught in them should take out a graduation at the university, and pay for his license to teach from two hundred to six hundred francs every ten years; and besides, that the whole sums which they drew should be thrown into a common fund, to be apportioned out by the central government—not according to the number of the scholars which each could produce, or the ex-

penditure which it might require, but the pleasure of the minister to whom the distribution was confided. Under such restrictions it may easily be believed that the communal or voluntary schools rapidly died away, and nearly the whole education of the Empire was brought effectually under the direction and appointment of government.

79. The imperial places of education, which thus, under the successive gradation of schools of primary instruction, colleges, and lyceums, pervaded the whole Empire, were the great instrument to which Napoleon trusted, both for the moulding of the national temper into a docile and submissive character, and for the direction of its whole moral energies to the purposes of military aggrandisement. All the boys who, in the primary schools, evinced talent, spirit, or aptitude for military exploit, were transferred to the colleges, and from thence to the lyceums. In the latter academies everything bore a military character; the pupils were distributed into companies; having each its sergeant and corporal, their studies, their meals, their rising and going to bed, were all performed by beat of drum—from the age of twelve they were taught military exercises; their amusements, their games, were all of a military character. Nor were other encouragements of a more substantial description wanting. To each lyceum one hundred and fifty pursaries were annexed, paid by government, and bestowed on the most deserving and clever of the young pupils, in order to defray their expenses at the higher military academies, or Polytechnic School at Paris. From the many thousand salaried scholars thus chosen, two hundred and fifty were annually transferred to the special military academies, where they were exclusively maintained at the expense of the state, and, when they arrived at the proper age, provided with commissions in the army, or offices in the civil departments of government. Nor was this all—two thousand four hundred youths of the greatest promise were every year selected from the conquered or dependent territories,

and educated at the military schools at the public expense; and in like manner apportioned out, according to their disposition and talents, among the military or civil services of the Empire.

80. At all these schools religion was hardly mentioned: political studies were altogether prohibited; moral disquisitions little regarded; but geography, mathematics, mechanics, the physical sciences, fortifications, gunnery, engineering, and whatever was connected directly or indirectly with the art of war, sedulously taught and encouraged. The professors in the lyceums and colleges were bound to celibacy; the primary teachers might marry, but in that case they were compelled to lodge without the precincts; a regulation which, to persons of their limited income, seldom exceeding twenty pounds a-year, amounted to a prohibition. All the teachers, of whatever grade, were liable to instant dismissal on the report of the rectors or inspectors, if any of the rules were infringed. Their emoluments were all derived from government, and their promotion depended entirely on the same authority. The scholars were debarred from all correspondence, except with their parents; and letters even from them could only be received in presence of the master. Thus, not only were the whole schools of the Empire directed to the purposes of war or abject submission, and directly placed under the control of government, but a spiritual militia was established in them all, to enforce everywhere the mandates and doctrines which it promulgated. Napoleon did not discourage education; on the contrary, he laboured assiduously to promote it: but he rendered it wholly and exclusively subservient to his purposes. He did not destroy the battery, but seized its guns, and skilfully turned them on the enemy. Combining into one government all the known modes of degrading mankind, he aimed at, and all but established, a system of despotism unparalleled in its tendency to crush and enslave the human mind. By the conscription he forced, like

Timour or Gengis Khan, the whole physical energies of his subjects into the ranks of war, and the prosecution of military aggrandisement; by the police, the state prisons, and the censorship of the press, he enforced everywhere, like the Byzantine emperors, implicit obedience to his civil administration, and directed at pleasure the thoughts of his subjects; while, by means of a vast system of centralised education, skilfully directed to the purposes of conquest or despotism, and maintained by an order of educational Jesuits abjectly devoted to his will, he aimed, like Loyola or Hildebrand, at throwing still more indestructible chains over the minds of the future generations of mankind. It need hardly be said that the effect of this entire subjection of the human mind to thralldom was the destruction of literary genius. Liberty is its vital air: remove it, and it dies. The pulpit was silent: oratory at the bar, or in the senate, was alike unknown: the graceful flattery of M. Fontenue was alone heard in the legislature: composition became lifeless in every department. Poetry degenerated into conceit, romance into insipidity: the freedom of licentiousness ceased in expression—it remained only in actions. The arts shared in the general degradation. Statuary was little cultivated; and even the genius of David and Gros, fettered by the chains of the Empire, ventured only on the expression on canvass of the slavish adulation of its chief, which had penetrated every heart.

81. On one occasion, when the learned and intrepid M. Suard had concluded, in Napoleon's presence, a warm eulogium on the talent with which Tacitus had portrayed the lives and vices of the Roman emperors, he observed—"You say well; but he would have done still better if he had told us how it happened that the Roman people tolerated and even loved those bad emperors. It is that which it would have been of the most importance for posterity to know." If this observation is just, as it undoubtedly is with reference to the Roman em-

perors, how much more is it applicable to Napoleon himself; for nothing is more certain than that, in the midst of all this despotic rule, when the Emperor was overturning all the principles of the Revolution, draining France of its heart's blood, and training the generation, educated amidst the fumes of equality to the degradation of slavery, he was not only tolerated but almost worshipped by his subjects. This extraordinary change, too, took place, not, as in the Roman empire, after the lapse of centuries, but in one generation. The age of Gracchus was in France instantly succeeded by that of Caligula; the democratic fervour of the contemporaries of Marius plunged at once into the Eastern adulation of the successors of Constantine.

82. In this respect, there is a most remarkable difference between the English and French Revolutions. In both, indeed, a brief period of democratic fervour was succeeded, as it ever must be in an old state, by a military despotism; but the temper with which this change of government was received in the two countries was totally at variance, and the frame of government which has been left in each is essentially different. "The English aristocracy," says Madame de Stael, "had more dignity in their misfortunes than the French; for they did not commit the two immense faults from which the French will never be able to exculpate themselves—the first, that of having united themselves to strangers, against their native country; the second, that of having condescended to accept employments in the antechambers of a sovereign who, according to their principles, had no right to the throne." But this remarkable difference was not confined to the aristocracy; all classes in England evinced an early and decided aversion to the violent measures of the army and its chiefs. The nobles and landed proprietors kept aloof from the court of the Protector, neither assisting at his councils nor accepting his repeated offers of lucrative situations; and such was the temper of the Commons, that Cromwell soon found they were totally

unmanageable, and therefore disused them as jurymen. In fact they returned such refractory representatives to parliament, that none of the Houses which he summoned were allowed to sit more than a few days.

83. England, therefore, was overwhelmed by a military usurpation, but the spirit of the nation was not subdued; and even in its gloomiest periods might be seen traces of a free spirit, and growing marks of that independent disposition which waited only for the death of the fortunate usurper to re-establish the national liberties. In France, on the other hand, all classes seemed to vie with each other in fawning upon the triumphant conqueror who had subverted the Revolution. The nobles rushed in crowds into his antechambers, and laid the honours of the monarchy at his feet; the burghers vied with each other in obsequious submission to his will, or graceful flattery of his actions; the *tiers-état* joyfully clothed themselves with his titles, or accepted his employment; the peasantry gave him their best blood, and cheerfully yielded up their children to his ambition. The senate was the echo of his sentiments, the council of state the organ of his wishes, the legislative body the register of his mandates. The legislature was submissive, the electors pliant, the jurymen obedient; and in the whole monarchy, so recently convulsed with the fervour of democracy, was to be heard only the mandates of power, the incense of flattery, or the voice of adulation.

84. Much of this extraordinary difference between the immediate effects of the Revolutions in the two countries is, without doubt, to be ascribed to the greater devastation, more sweeping changes, and deeper guilt of the French convulsion. The bloody proscriptions and unbounded confiscations of the popular party, were the cause which at once occasioned and justified the emigration of the noblesse. Though political wisdom, equally as true patriotism, should have forbidden their uniting their arms, under any circumstances, with the stranger against their

native land; yet some allowance must be made for the lacerated feelings of men first driven into exile by a blood-thirsty faction, and then deprived of their estates and reduced to beggary, because they declined to return and place their necks under the guillotine. We can sympathise with the implacable vengeance of those who had seen their parents, brothers, sisters, or children, massacred by an inhuman party, who, by rousing the cupidity of the working-classes, had succeeded in establishing the most infernal despotism in their country that had ever disgraced mankind. The excessive misery, too, which democratic ascendancy had produced upon all ranks, and especially the lowest, induced, as its natural result, that universal and ardent desire for the establishment of a powerful and energetic government, which woeful experience had proved to be the only practicable mode of terminating the general calamities. The reaction of order and tranquillity against republican violence and misery, was more powerful and wide-spread in France than in England, because the suffering which had preceded it had been more acute and universal. The despotism of Napoleon was more oppressive and more willingly acquiesced in than that of Cromwell, from the same causes which had rendered the atrocities of the revolutionists in France more excessive than those of the republicans in England.

85. But, after making every allowance for the weight and importance of these circumstances, it is evident that something more is required to explain the extraordinary change in the national disposition which took place from the days of the Revolution to those of the Empire. That suffering should produce an alteration of opinion in regard to the merits of the changes which had occasioned it—that the now universally-felt evils of democratic government should incline all classes to range themselves under the banner of a single chief, is indeed intelligible, and in truth nothing more than the operation of experience upon the great body of mankind. But that this ex-

perience should produce individual baseness—that the madness of republicanism should be succeeded not by the caution of wisdom, but the adulation of selfishness—and that the riot of European liberty should plunge at once into the servility of Eastern despotism, is the extraordinary thing. It is in vain to seek the explanation of this phenomenon in the influence of an extraordinary man, or the mingled sway of the ambitious passions which an unprecedented career of success had brought to bear upon the nation. These circumstances will never at once alter the character of a people: they cannot convert public spirit into selfishness; they cannot do the work of centuries of decline, or change the age of Fabricius into that of Nero.

86. An attentive consideration of these particulars must, with every impartial mind, lead to the conclusion that it was not the genuine spirit of freedom which convulsed France and desolated Europe, but the bastard passion for individual elevation. Both these passions are, indeed, essential to a successful struggle in the later stages of society in favour of liberty, because such a struggle requires the general concurrence of mankind; and such concurrence, except in cases of extraordinary fervour or rural simplicity, is only to be gained by the combined influence of the selfish and the generous passions of our nature. But everything in the final result depends on the proportion in which these noble and base ingredients are mingled in the public mind. In either case, if democracy becomes triumphant, suffering will be induced, and a reaction must ensue. But if the generous flame of liberty is the ruling passion, the period of despotic sway and military force will be one of indignant silence, convinced reason, or compulsory submission. If the selfish passion for distinction, or the ardent thirst for authority, is the moving power, it will be distinguished by the baseness of servility, the lust of corruption, the rhetoric of adulation.

87. The reason is obvious. In the

excesses of power, whether regal, aristocratic, or republican, the disinterested friends of freedom, either in the conservative or liberal ranks, can discover nothing but a matter of unqualified hatred and aversion; but the aspirants after distinction, the candidates for power, the covetous of gold, find in those very excesses the precise objects of their desire, provided only that their benefits accrue to themselves. If, therefore, from the temper of the public mind, it has become evident that democratic anarchy can no longer be maintained, and that the stern sway of authority has, for a season at least, become unavoidable, the selfish and corrupt hasten to throw themselves into its arms, and lavish that flattery on the single which they formerly bestowed on the many-headed despot. They do so in the hope that they may thus secure to themselves the real objects of their ambition; while the virtuous and patriotic retire altogether from public life, and seek in the privacy of retirement that innocence which can no longer be found in the prominent stations of the world. Then is the period when the indignant lines of the poet are indeed applicable—

“When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station.”

88. That the spirit of freedom was at no period the ruling passion of the French Revolution has been declared by all its observers, and clearly demonstrated by the events of its progress. Napoleon and Madame de Stael have concurred in stating, that the desire for equality was the moving principle; and this desire, in an advanced age, is but another name for the selfish passion for individual aggrandisement. Men profess, and for the time perhaps feel, a desire that all should start equal, in order that their own chance of being foremost in the race should be improved; but if they can turn the advantage to their own side, they are in no hurry to share it with those whom they have outstripped. The most ardent of the French revolutionists showed, by their subsequent

conduct, that they had no sort of objection to the most invidious and exclusive distinctions being re-established, provided only that they were conceived in their own favour. The remarkable and luminous fact, that not one of the successive factions which rose to power in the course of the convulsion, ever thought either of limiting the period within which an accused party might be detained in prison without being brought to trial, or abolishing the odious and degrading fetters of the police, or securing to the minority, in opposition to the ruling power, the means of influencing public opinion by a practically free press, and the undisturbed right of assembling to discuss the measures of government in public meetings, affords insurmountable proofs that nothing was ever further from their real intentions than the establishment of the principles of genuine freedom.

89. All these parties indeed, when struggling for power, were loud in their demand for these essential guarantees to liberty, without the full establishment of which, its blessings must ever be an empty name; but none, when they attained it, ever thought of carrying their principles into practice. They never proposed to put that bit in their own mouths which they had been so desirous of placing in those of their antagonists. None of them evinced the slightest hesitation, in taking advantage of, and straining to the utmost, those arbitrary powers which, by common consent, seemed to be left at the disposal of the executive government. The conclusion is unavoidable, that throughout the whole period it was selfish ambition which was the real principle of action; and that, if the love of freedom existed at all, it glowed in so inconsiderable a number of breasts as to be altogether incapable of producing any durable impression on the national fortunes. Nor is this surprising, when it is recollected in what an advanced age of society, and among what a corrupted, and, above all, irreligious people the Revolution broke out. The degrees in which the spirit of public freedom

and the desire of private aggrandisement will be mingled in every democratic convulsion, must always be almost entirely dependent on the proportion in which the generous and disinterested, or the selfish and grasping passions, previously prevail in the public mind. And without disputing the influence of other causes, it may safely be affirmed that the main cause of the difference is to be found in the prevalence or the disregard of religious feeling; that it is in its ascendancy that the only effectual safeguard can be found against the temptations to evil which arise during the progress of social conflicts; and that of all desperate attempts, the most hopeless is to rear the fabric of civil liberty or public virtue on any other basis than that Faith which alone is able to overcome the inherent principles of corruption in the human heart.

90. Of all the manifold and lasting evils which the thorough ascendancy of democratic power, even for a short time, produces, perhaps the most lamentable, and that of which France, under the Empire, afforded the most memorable example, is the utter corruption of public opinion and confusion of ideas which it necessarily induces, terminating at last in the general application to public actions of no other test but that of success. The way in which this deplorable consequence ensues is very apparent, and it points in the clearest manner to the principle on which alone a good government can be formed. Where property is the ruling, and numbers the controlling power, the opinion of the multitude is necessarily, in the general case, in favour of a virtuous administration, and adverse to the corruptions or oppression of government, because the majority have nothing to gain by such abuses; and where private interest does not intervene, it will always, as in a theatre, be on the side of virtue. However much disposed the holders of authority in such a state may be unduly to extend its limits, or apply it to their own private purposes as well as the public service, they are prevented from pushing such abuses to any great excess by

the watchful jealousy of the popular classes in the state. But when the people are themselves, or by means of their demagogues, in possession, not merely of the power of controlling and watching the government, but of actually directing its movements and sharing in its profits, this salutary and indispensable check is at once destroyed.

91. From being the determined enemies, the democratic body become at once, when installed in power, the most decided supporters of every species of corruption, because they profit by its effects; and although the opposite party, now excluded from office, may be loud in their condemnation of such proceedings, yet, being overthrown in the conflict, they are no longer able to influence the measures of government. Being a small minority in the state, they are not, at least till after the lapse of a very long period, able to bring over the majority to their sentiments, or form that general concurrence which can properly be called public opinion. In the interim every species of abuse is not only practised but loudly applauded by the democratic partisans, now interested in their continuance; and hence, not only the destruction of that invaluable check, which, under other circumstances, the opinion of the majority in opposition forms to the misdeeds of the few in power, but the total corruption and depravation of the feeling with regard to public matters of that majority itself. The restraining has now become the moving power; the check upon evil, the stimulant to corruption; the fly-wheel, instead of the regulator of the machine, the headlong force which is to hurl it to destruction. Such is the extent of this evil, and such the rapidity with which, under the combined influence of temptation to themselves and impotence in their adversaries, the tyrant majority are seduced into depraved principles and a course of iniquity, that it may perhaps be pronounced the greatest, because the most lasting and irremediable, of the evils of democratic government.

92. CENTRALISATION, in such a state

of public feeling, is the great enemy which freedom has to dread, because it is the one which addresses itself to the principles that possess the most durable sway over the human heart. More than military force or anarchical misrule, it has in every age completed the downfall of real liberty. If such a withering system is attempted in the healthful state of the body politic — that is, where property and education are the ruling, and numbers and popular zeal the controlling power — it will always experience the most decided opposition from the natural jealousy of government on the part of all who do not participate in its advantages. Except in extraordinary circumstances, it is not likely to meet with any considerable success. But the case is widely different when the democratic rulers are themselves in power. Centralisation then goes on at a swift pace; and for a very obvious reason, that both the necessities of government, the interests of its democratic supporters, and the experienced evils of the popular election of public functionaries, concur in recommending it. The executive being erected on the ruins, or against the wishes of the holders of property, has nothing to expect from their support, and therefore is fain to extend its influence, and provide for its numerous and needy followers, by the multiplication of offices all in the appointment of the central government. The popular leaders, hoping to profit largely by this accumulation of official patronage in the hands of their chiefs, not only in noways oppose, but give their most cordial support to the same system. Meanwhile the great mass of the people, disgusted with the weak or corrupt administration of the municipal or local functionaries who owed their elevation to popular election, rapidly and inevitably glide into the opinion, that no mode of appointment can be so bad as that under the evils of which they are now suffering, and that a practically good government can never be attained till the disposal of all offices of any importance is vested in the executive authority.

93. Thus all classes, though for very different reasons, concur in supporting the system of centralisation—a system, nevertheless, which, though doubtless often productive of improvement in the outset in practical administration and local government, is the most formidable enemy in the end which the cause of freedom has to combat, and the one against which, therefore, it behoves its real friends in an especial manner to be on their guard. The anarchy which is the first effect of democratic ascendancy, necessarily and rapidly terminates in military despotism: that despotism itself, from its brutality and violence, cannot, in any well-informed state, be of very long endurance. But the irresistible sway of a centralised government, established by a democratic executive, and sustained by the aid of selfish support from the popular party, may finally crush the spirit and extinguish all the blessings of freedom, by removing all the practical evils which preceding convulsions had occasioned, enlisting alike the friends of order and the partisans of democracy in its ranks, and engaging the most influential portion of the people by interested motives in its support. It was neither the vengeance of Marius

nor the proscriptions of Sylla, neither the aristocracy of Pompey nor the genius of Cæsar, which finally prostrated the liberties of Rome; it was the centralised government of Augustus which framed the chains that could never be shaken off. There is the ultimate and deadly foe of freedom; there the enemy, ever ready to break in and reap the last spoils of the discord and infatuation of others. And wherever such a centralised system has grown up in an old-established state, after a severe course of democratic suffering, it is not going too far to assert that the cause of freedom is utterly hopeless, and that the seeds of death are implanted in the community.*

94. It is in these predisposing circumstances that we must look for the real causes, not merely of the despotism of Napoleon, but of the ready reception which it met with from all classes, and the alacrity with which the fervent passions of democracy were converted at once into the debasing servility of Asiatic despotism. The republican writers fall into the most palpable error when they accuse that great man of having overturned the principles of the Revolution, and of

* I am happy to find this opinion, which I have long entertained, supported by the great authority of M. de Tocqueville. "If absolute power," says he, "should re-establish itself, in whatever hands, in any of the democratic states of Europe, I have no doubt it would assume a new form unknown to our fathers. When the great families and the spirit of clanship prevailed, the individual who had to contend with tyranny never felt himself alone; he was supported by his clients, his relations, his friends. But when his estates are divided, and races are confounded, where shall we find the spirit of family? What force will remain in the influence of habit among a people changing perpetually, where every act of tyranny will find a precedent in previous disorders, where every crime can be justified by an example; where nothing exists of sufficient antiquity to render its destruction an object of dread, and nothing can be figured so new that men are afraid to engage in it? What resistance would manners afford which have already received so many shocks? What could public opinion do, when there do not exist twenty persons bound together by any common tie—when you can no more meet with a man, a family, a body corporate, or class of society, which could represent or

upon that opinion—when each citizen is equally poor, equally impotent, equally isolated, and can only oppose his individual weakness to the organised strength of the central government? To figure anything analogous to the despotism which would then be established amongst us, we would require to recur not to our own annals—we would be forced to recur to the frightful periods of Roman tyranny, when, manners being corrupted, old recollections effaced, habits destroyed, opinions wavering, liberty deprived of its asylum under the laws, could no longer find a place of refuge; where, no guarantee existing for the citizens, and they having none for themselves, men in power made a sport of the people, and princes wore out the clemency of the heavens rather than the patience of their subjects. They are blind indeed who look after democratic equality for the monarchy of Henry IV. or Louis XIV. For my own part, when I reflect on the state to which many European nations have already arrived, and that to which others are fast tending, I am led to believe that soon there will be no place among them but for *democratic equality or the tyranny of the Cæsars*."—TOCQUEVILLE, ii. 258, 259. What a picture of the effects of democratic triumph from a liberal writer, himself an eyewitness of its effects!

being the real cause of its terminating in the establishment of arbitrary power. So far from it, he carried out these principles to their natural and unavoidable result; he did no more than reap the harvest, from the crop which had been sown by other and very different hands. The real authors of the despotism of Napoleon were those who overturned the monarchy of Louis. It was Sidiyes and Mirabeau, and the enthusiastic spirits of the Constituent Assembly, who set in motion the chain of causes and effects which necessarily, in their final result, induced the chains of the Empire.

95. Doubtless, Napoleon availed himself with great skill of the extraordinary combination of circumstances which had thus in a manner presented despotism to his grasp. The leading principles of his government, as Madame de Stael has well observed, were to respect studiously the *interests* which the Revolution had created, to turn its *passions* into the career of military conquest or civil ambition, to open the career of success alike to all who deserved it, and to rule public opinion by a skilful use of the influence of the press. No maxims more likely to govern an active, energetic, and corrupted people, could possibly have been devised: but still they would have failed in producing the desired effect, and the attempt to enslave France would have proved abortive, even in his able hands, if success had not been rendered certain by the madness and guilt which preceded him. And in executing the mission on which he firmly believed he was sent—the closing the wounds and putting a stop to the horrors of the Revolution—we are not to imagine that he was to blame, so far at least as his domestic government was concerned. On the contrary, he took the only measures which remained practicable to restrain its excesses, or put a period to its suffering; and subsequent experience has abundantly proved that every government which was founded on any other principles, or practically gave the people any share of that power for which they had so passionately con-

tended, involved in itself the seeds of its speedy destruction.

96. And although nothing can be more certain than that centralisation is the ultimate extinguisher of freedom, and the insidious foe which, elevated on its triumphs, is finally destructive of its principles, yet it is not, in such a state of society as that of France in the time of Napoleon, to be regarded as an evil which it was the duty of a real patriot to resist. As long indeed as the elements of freedom exist in a state—that is, as long as the higher and middle classes retain their public spirit and their possessions—it is impossible that public jealousy can be too strongly aroused on this subject, or that it can be too strongly impressed upon the people, that if all the interests of the state are centred in the hands of the executive, be it monarchical or democratic, the extinction not only of the rights but of the spirit of freedom is at hand, and nothing remains to the state but an old age of decrepitude and decline. But if the people would shun these evils, they must pause on the threshold of their career, and avoid the destruction of the property or influence of those classes inferior to the throne, though superior to themselves, whose influence forms an essential ingredient in the composition of public freedom. The English did so. The rights of the middle ranks, the church, and the aristocracy, survived the triumphs of Cromwell, and in consequence two hundred years of liberty have been enjoyed by the British nation. The French did not do so: the church, the middle ranks, and the aristocracy, were utterly destroyed during the fervour of the Revolution; and the result has been, that, notwithstanding all their subsequent sufferings, they have not enjoyed one hour of real freedom.

97. Many struggles have ensued, and may ensue, for the possession of supreme power; many revolutions of the palace have shaken, and may hereafter shake the fabric of their society; but no attempt has been made, or will be made, to limit the power of their exe-

cutive, or extend the liberty of their people. The centralised despotic government of Napoleon still remains untouched—the question with all parties is, not whether its powers shall be restrained, but who shall direct them. Universal suffrage itself affords no sort of security against such a result: the *quasi* monarchy of Louis Napoleon was established in France in 1849 by a majority of *four millions* of electors, within a year of the communist and socialist fervour of 1848. The more popular and democratic the faction is which gains the ascendancy, the more formidable does the action of the state machine become, because the weaker is the counteracting force which is to restrain its motions. If the extreme democratic party were to succeed to power, the force of the centralised government, based on the support of the people, would, in a short time, become well-nigh insupportable. In the triumphs which they achieved, and the crimes which they committed, the early Revolutionists poured the poison which ever proves fatal to freedom through the veins of their country; with their own hands they dug the grave of its liberties. Nothing remained to their descendants but to lie down and receive their doom. When this last deplorable effect has taken place, it becomes the duty of the patriot no longer to resist the centralising system; but to support it as the only species of administration under which, since freedom is unattainable, the minor advantage of a tranquil despotism can be attained.

98. It was a rule in one of the republics of antiquity, that no public monument should be voted to any person who had been engaged in the administration of affairs till ten years after his death, in order that the ulti-

mate effect of his measures, whether for good or for evil, should be first fully developed. Judging by this principle, to how few characters in the French Revolution will the friends of freedom in future times rear a mausoleum; to how many will the abettors of arbitrary power, if their real opinions could be divulged, be inclined to erect statues! Looking forward for the short period of only eighteen years, not a month in the lifetime of a nation, and seeing in the servility and sycophancy of the Empire the necessary effects of the vehemence and injustice of the Constituent Assembly, what opinion are we to form of the self-styled patriots and philosophers of the day, who thus, in so short a time, blasted the prospects and withered the destiny of their country? Who were the real friends of freedom? Mr Pitt and Mr Burke, who, by combating the ambition of democracy and coercing its extravagance in this country, have bequeathed to their descendants the glorious and enduring fabric of British liberty; or Mirabeau and Danton, who, by achieving for its votaries a bloody triumph on the banks of the Seine, plunged their children and all succeeding ages into the inextricable fetters of a centralised despotism? It is fitting, doubtless, that youth should rejoice; but it is fitting, also, that manhood should be prosperous and old age contented; and the seducers, whether of individuals or nations, are little to be commended, who, taking advantage of the passions of early years or the simplicity of inexperience, precipitate their victims into a course of iniquity, and lead them, through a few months of vicious indulgence or delirious excitement, to a life of suffering and an old age of contempt!

CHAPTER LI.

SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE AFTER THE TREATY OF TILSIT. JULY 1807—
JANUARY 1808.

1. IF the treaty of Tilsit was productive of glory to the Emperor Napoleon, and transport and opulence to the citizens of his victorious capital, it was the commencement of a period of suffering, ignominy, and bondage to the other capitals and countries of continental Europe. Russia, it was true, had extricated herself unscathed from the strife; her military renown had suffered no diminution on the field of Eylau, or in the struggle of Friedland; it was apparent to all the world that she had been overpowered by banded Europe, not conquered by France in the strife. But still she had failed in the object of the war. Her arms, instead of being advanced to the Rhine, were thrown back to the Niemen; in indignant silence her warriors had re-entered their country, and surrendered to their irresistible rivals the mastery of western Europe. If the Czar had been seduced by the artifices of Napoleon, or dazzled by the halo of glory which encircled his brows; if the army was proud of having so long arrested, with inferior forces, the conqueror before whom the Austrian and Prussian monarchies had sunk to the dust, the nobles were not carried away by the general illusion. They saw clearly, amidst the flattery which was lavished on their rulers, the gilded chains which were imposed on their country. They could not disguise from themselves that France had not only acquired by this treaty an irresistible preponderance in western and central Europe, but subjected Russia herself to her command; that the price to the Empire of the Czar, at which all the advantages of the treaty had been pur-

chased, was its accession to the Continental System, and the closing of its ports to the ships of Great Britain; and that thus not only were they likely to be deprived of half their wonted revenue from their estates, by losing the principal market for their produce, but compelled to contribute to the aggrandisement of a rival empire, already too powerful for their independence, and which, it was foreseen, would ere long aim a mortal stroke at their national existence. So strong and universal were these feelings among the whole aristocratic and commercial circles, that when General Savary, whom Napoleon had chosen as his ambassador at the Russian capital, on account of the address he had exhibited, and the favour with which he had been received by Alexander at the time of the battle of Austerlitz, arrived at St Petersburg, he experienced, by his own avowal, the utmost difficulty in finding any furnished hotel where he could obtain admission; and during the first six weeks of his stay there, though he was overwhelmed with attentions from the Emperor, he did not receive one invitation from any of the nobility. While he saw the guests whom he met at the palace depart in crowds to the balls and concerts of that scene of festivity, he himself returned, mortified and disconsolate, from the imperial table to his own apartments.*

* In Savary's case the general aversion to the cause of France was increased by the part which he was known to have taken in the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, which had been one of the leading causes of the irritation that led to the war. Napoleon, charmed at having extricated himself with credit from so perilous and unprofitable a contest,

2. In the British dominions the disastrous intelligence produced a different, but perhaps still more mournful impression. England was, by her maritime superiority, relieved from the apprehensions of immediate danger, and the general resolution to maintain the contest continued unabated; but a feeling of despondence pervaded the public mind, and the strife was persevered in rather with the sternness of dogged resistance, or from a sense of the impossibility of making a secure accommodation, than from any hope that the war could be brought to a successful issue. This general impression cannot be better portrayed than in the words of Sir James Mackintosh, the able champion, in its earlier days, of the French Revolution:—"I do not indeed despair of the human race; but the days and nights of mighty revolutions have not yet been measured by human intellect. Though the whole course of human affairs may be towards a better state, experience does not justify us in supposing that many steps of the progress may not be immediately for the worse. The race of man may at last reach the promised land; but there is no assurance that the present generation will not perish

gave the most positive injunctions to his envoy at the Russian court at all hazards to avoid its renewal. "I have just concluded peace," said he to Savary; "they tell me I have done wrong, and that I shall repent it; but, by my faith, we have had enough of war—we must give repose to the world. I am going to send you to St Petersburg as chargé d'affaires till an ambassador is appointed. You will have the direction of my affairs there: lay it down as the ruling principle of your conduct than any further contest is to be avoided; nothing would displease me so much as to be involved in that quarter in fresh embarrassments. Talleyrand will tell you what to do, and what has been arranged between the Emperor of Russia and me. I am about to give repose to the army in the country we have conquered, and to enforce payment of the contributions; that is the only difficulty which I anticipate; but regulate yourself by this principle, that *I will on no account be again drawn into a contest. Never speak of war; in conversation studiously avoid everything which may give offence; contravene no usage; ridicule no custom. Neglect nothing which may draw closer and perpetuate the bonds of alliance now contracted with that country.*"—SAVARY, iii. 96, 97; and HARDENBERG, x. 29.

in the wilderness. The prospect of the nearest part of futurity, of all that we can discover, is very dismal. The mere establishment of absolute power in France is the least part of the evil: it might be necessary for a time to moderate the vibrations of the pendulum in that agitated state; but what are the external effects of these convulsions? Europe is now covered with a multitude of dependent despots, whose existence depends on their maintaining the paramount tyranny in France. *The mischief has become too intricate to be unravelled in our day; an evil greater than despotism, or rather the worst and most hideous form of despotism, approaches; a monarchy literally universal seems about to be established; then all the spirit, variety, and emulation of separate nations, which the worst forms of internal government have not utterly extinguished, will vanish. And in that state of things, if we may judge from past examples, the whole energy of human intellect and virtue will languish, and can scarce be revived otherwise than by an infusion of barbarism.*" Such were the anticipations of the greatest intellects of the age, even among those who had originally been most favourable to the democratic principle, and that, too, on the eve of the Peninsular campaigns, and at a great distance from the general resurrection of Europe after the Moscow retreat—a memorable example of the fallacy of any political conclusions founded upon the supposed durability of the causes at any one time in operation; and of the oblivion of that provision for the remedy of intolerable evils, by the reaction of mankind against the suffering of these, and of the general intermixture of the principles of good and evil in human affairs, which, as it is the most general lesson to be deduced from history, so is it fitted above all others to inspire moderation in prosperous and constancy in adverse affairs.

3. The political changes consequent in central Europe on the treaty of Tilsit were speedily developed. On his route to Paris, Napoleon met a deputa-

tion of eight of the principal nobles, in the French interest, of Prussian Poland at Dresden; and Talleyrand, in a few days, produced a constitution for the grand-duchy, calculated, as he thought, at once to satisfy the general wish for a restoration of their nationality, and to accord with the despotic views of the Emperors of the East and West. By this deed, which was produced with more than usual rapidity even in those days of constitution-manufacture, the ducal crown was declared to be hereditary in the Saxon family: the grand-duke was invested with the whole executive power, and he alone had the privilege of proposing laws to the diet, with whom the prerogative remained of passing or rejecting them. This diet was composed of a senate of eighteen, named by the grand-duke, embracing six bishops and twelve lay nobles, and a chamber of deputies of a hundred members; sixty being appointed by the nobility, and forty by the burghs. The chambers, like those at Paris, were doomed to silence; they could only decide on the arguments laid before them, on the part of the government, by the orators of the council of state, and of the chambers by commissions appointed by them. This mockery of a parliament was to assemble only once in two years, and then to sit but fifteen days. The ardent plebeian noblesse of Poland, whose democratic passions had so long brought desolation on their country, found little in these enactments to gratify their wishes; but a substantial, though perhaps precipitate improvement was made in the condition of the peasantry, by a clause declaring that the whole serfs were free. No time, however, was left for reflection; the deputies were constrained to accept it; and the new constitution of Poland was not only framed, but sworn to at Dresden during the brief period of Napoleon's sojourn there on his route to Paris.

4. The constitution given to the infant kingdom of Westphalia was, in like manner, framed entirely upon the model of that of France. It contained a king, council of state, senate, silent

aristocratic legislature, and public orators, cast like all those at this period from the Parisian mould. The throne was declared hereditary in the family of Jerome Buonaparte, the Emperor's brother, and the first sovereign; one half of the allodial territories of the former sovereigns, of which the new kingdom was composed, was placed at the disposal of Napoleon, as a fund from which to form estates for his military followers; provision was made for payment of the contributions levied by France, before any part of the revenue was obtained by the new sovereign; the kingdom was directed to form part of the Confederation of the Rhine, and its military contingent, drawn from a population of about two millions of souls, fixed at twenty-five thousand men: in default of heirs-male of his body, the succession to the throne was to devolve on Napoleon and his heirs by birth or adoption. Every corporate right and privilege was abolished; trial by jury and in open court introduced in criminal cases; all exclusive privileges and exemptions from taxation annulled; the nobility preserved, but deprived of their former invidious rights. The chamber of deputies consisted of a hundred members, of whom seventy were chosen from the landed aristocracy, fifteen from the commercial, and fifteen from the literary classes. Salutary changes! if the equality which they were calculated to induce was the enjoyment of equal rights and general security; but utterly fatal to freedom, if they were only fitted to introduce an equality of servitude, and disable any individuals or associated bodies from taking the lead in the contest for the public liberties with the executive power.

5. The states of the Rhenish confederacy had flattered themselves that the general peace concluded on the shores of the Niemen would finally deliver them from the scourge of warlike armaments and military contributions. But they were soon cruelly undeceived. Shortly after the general pacification, and before they had recovered from the burden of maintaining, clothing,

and lodging the numerous corps of the Grand Army which traversed their territories on the road to the Rhine, they were overwhelmed by the entry of a fresh body of forty thousand men, who issued from France, and took the route to the Vistula, still at the sole expense of the allied states. They were speedily followed by a large body of Spaniards drawn from Italy, and which went to augment the corps of Romana, under the orders of Bernadotte, on the shores of the Baltic; a sad omen for succeeding times, when the conclusion of peace was immediately succeeded by fresh irruptions of armed men, and burdensome preparations, at the cost of the allied states, for future hostilities. It soon appeared that the stipulations in favour of the conquered territories in the formal treaties were to be a mere empty name. It had been provided at Tilsit that Dantzic was to be a free city, governed by its own magistrates; but Rapp, the new governor, was speedily introduced at the head of a numerous French garrison, who summarily expelled the Prussian authorities and great part of the inhabitants, and began the rigorous enforcement of the French military contributions and the Continental System. The same system of government was sternly acted upon in Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and all the Hanse Towns; Bourricenne continued to enforce it with such severity at Hamburg, that the trade of the place was entirely ruined, and large sums were remitted by him quarterly to the Tuileries out of the last fruits of the commercial enterprise of the Hanse Towns.

6. But most of all did the ruthless hand of conquest fall with unmitigated rigour on the inhabitants of Prussia. Hard as their lot appeared to be, as it was chalked out in the treaty of Tilsit, it was yet enviable compared to that which, in the course of the pacification which followed, actually ensued from the oppressive exactions of the French government and the unbounded insolence of its soldiery. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty which left them of half their domin-

VOL. VII.

ions, the King and Queen repaired to Memel, where they were compelled to sign a fresh convention, which, under pretext of providing for the liquidation of the contributions and speedy evacuation of their territories, in effect subjected them, without any prospect of relief, to those intolerable burdens. By this treaty it was provided that the evacuation of the fortresses, with the exception of Stettin, Cüstrin, and Glogau, should take place before the 1st November; but this only on the condition that the whole contributions were previously paid up—a condition which it was well known could not be complied with, as they amounted to above four times the revenue of the whole kingdom before its dismemberment,* in addition to the burden of feeding, clothing, paying, and lodging above one hundred and fifty thousand men, for which no credit was given in estimating their amount by the French commissaries. By a second convention, concluded at Elbing three months afterwards, the unhappy monarch, instead of the single military road through his territories from Dresden to Warsaw, stipulated by the treaty of Tilsit, was compelled to allow five passages, two for troops and three for commercial purposes, to Saxony, Poland, and their respective allies—a stipulation which in effect cut his dominions through the middle, and subjected the inhabitants on these roads to unnumbered exactions and demands both from the French and allied troops. Rapp, soon after, instead of a territory of two leagues in breadth around the walls of Dantzic, as provided in the treaty, seized upon one two German miles, or eight English miles broad, counting from the extreme point of its outworks; while by a third convention, in the beginning of November, Prussia was not only forced to cede to the Grand-duchy of Warsaw New Silesia and the circle of Michaelau,—no inconsiderable addition to the losses, already

* They amounted to 600,000,000 francs, or 224,000,000, and the revenue of Prussia, before the war, was about 28,000,000.—*Ann.* Chap. XLVI., § 77, note.

enormous, imposed by the treaty of Tilsit,—but to ratify the ample grants out of the hereditary revenues of the Prussian crown, made by the Emperor Napoleon in favour of Berthier, Mortier, and others of his military chiefs.

7. Vexatious as these fresh demands were, and cruelly as their bitterness was aggravated by the arrogant manner in which compliance was demanded by the French authorities, they were inconsiderable compared to the enormous burden of the military requisitions which, from this time till the opening of the Russian campaign, perpetually drained away all the resources of Prussia. Not content with the crushing exactions, to the amount of six hundred millions of fr. (£24,000,000), already imposed during the war, Daru, the French receiver-general for the north of Germany, brought forward after the peace fresh claims to the amount of 154,000,000 (£8,160,000); and although that able functionary, on the earnest representations of the King, consented to take 85,000,000 francs off this requisition, the French minister Champagny, by the directions of Napoleon, raised it again to the original sum. It was at length, at the earnest intercession of the Emperor Alexander, fixed at one hundred and forty millions (£5,600,000), and Glogau, Stettin, and Cüstrin were pledged for its final liquidation, on condition that, till that took place, a French corps of ten thousand men should be put in possession of these fortresses, and maintained there entirely at the expense of Prussia. All this was exclusive of the cost of feeding, paying, and clothing the whole French troops still on or passing through the Prussian territory, who were not under a hundred thousand men. In addition to this, the King was obliged to bind himself not to keep on foot, for the next ten years, more than forty-two thousand men. Thus, while his territory was intersected in every direction by military channels for the benefit of his enemies, his chief fortresses still in their hands, and his subjects oppressed by the merciless exactions of a prodigious army, quar-

tered apparently permanently upon their industry, his own troops were reduced to so low an amount as to be barely equal to the collection of the revenue required by so vast a host of depredators. To complete the picture of his misfortunes, the King was immediately compelled to adopt the Continental System, and declare war against Great Britain—a measure which, by exposing his harbours to blockade, and totally destroying his foreign commerce, seemed to render utterly hopeless the discharge of the overwhelming pecuniary burdens with which his kingdom was loaded.

8. To all human appearance, the power of Prussia was now completely destroyed, and the monarchy of the Great Frederick seemed to be bound in fetters more strict and galling than had ever, in modern times, been imposed on an independent state. And doubtless, if these misfortunes had fallen on a people and a government not endowed in the highest degree with the spirit of patriotism and constancy in misfortune, this effect would have taken place. But adversity is the true test of political as well as private virtue, and those external calamities which utterly crush the feeble or degenerate, serve only to animate the exertions, and draw forth the energy of the uncorrupted portion of mankind. While the diplomatists of Europe were speculating on the entire extinction of Prussia, as an independent power, and the only question appeared to be, to what fortunate neighbour the remnant of her territories would be allotted, a new and improved system of administration was adopted in all the branches of her government, and the foundation was laid in present suffering and humiliation of future elevation and glory. Instead of sinking in despair under the misfortunes by which they were oppressed, the King and his ministers were only roused by them to additional exertions to sustain the public fortunes. While doing so, however, he had fresh mortifications to endure. During the long period of peace which Prussia had experienced since the treaty of Bâle, in

the midst of wars and disasters all around her, Frederick-William had enjoyed ample opportunities for cultivating his natural taste for the fine arts; and already a gallery of paintings was, when the campaign opened, far advanced at Berlin, which promised ere long to rival the far-famed museums of Munich, Dresden, and Paris. But all these gems in his crown were torn away by the ruthless hand of conquest; and his much-loved monuments of genius now adorned the halls of the Louvre, or graced the palace of the French Emperor.

9. Driven by necessity to more important pursuits, the first care of the King, upon the termination of hostilities, was to free the public service from those whose temporising and unworthy policy, or treacherous and pusillanimous conduct, had induced the general calamities. Haugwitz remained forgotten and neglected at his country residence; Hardenberg, whose great abilities were loudly called for in the present crisis, and who had been the leading minister since hostilities had been resolved on, was compelled, by the jealousy of Napoleon, not only to leave the government, but to retire from the country; and it was only after the withdrawal of the French armies that he obtained leave to re-enter Prussia, and return to his rural seat of Tempelberg. The Chancellor Goldbeck, and all the inferior ministers, Massow, Reck, d'Auger, Thulmeyer, and their coadjutors, were dismissed, to the great satisfaction of the public; and the generals and inferior officers who had so disgracefully yielded up the bulwarks of the monarchy after the catastrophe of Jena, were in a body removed from the army. Yet even here the humane and perhaps prudent disposition of the King prevailed over the justly roused feeling of general indignation against such unworthy betrayers of national trusts; and instead of grounding their dismissal on their notorious dereliction of duty, it was in general rested on the destitute state of the public treasury, and the necessity of rigorous economy in every branch of ad-

ministration. The inquiry, however, under the direction of the princess-royal, was carried through every department and grade of the army; and, to demonstrate its entire impartiality, the heroic Blücher himself was subjected to the same test with his less intrepid brethren in arms.

10. Deprived, by the unworthy jealousy of Napoleon, of the assistance of Hardenberg's counsels, the King of Prussia had still the courage, in the almost desperate state of his fortunes, to have recourse to a statesman, who, like him, had been distinguished in an especial manner by the hatred of the Emperor. It is to the great abilities, enlightened patriotism, and enduring constancy of the BARON STEIN,* that

* Baron Stein was born at Nassau, in October 1757, of an old noble family which held immediately of the German empire. He received the rudiments of his education at Göttingen, and afterwards studied public law at Weitzlar, the seat of the Imperial Chamber. In 1780, at the age of twenty-three, he first entered the civil service of Prussia, to which he had been early destined by his father, as director of the mines at Wettin in Westphalia; and in 1784 was appointed ambassador at Aachenburg. His great abilities having become known in these situations, he was, in 1786, appointed to the important situation of president of all the Westphalian chambers, in which office he laboured assiduously and successfully till 1804. In that year he was, on the death of Struensee, minister of finance and trade, promoted to that elevated situation, in which capacity he remained till 1806, when, on account of some differences with the King of Prussia as to the course to be pursued in the critical circumstances of the monarchy, he resigned his office and retired to his estates at Nassau. The King, however, was so well aware of his abilities, that he recalled him soon after the peace of Tilsit; and it was then that he planned and executed those great yet cautious social reforms which laid the foundation of the resurrection of the monarchy. Ere long, however, his patriotic spirit and great abilities excited the jealousy of Napoleon, who made the King of Prussia send him into exile. He retired to Prague, where he remained, associating much with Aradt, the banished Elector of Hesse-Cassel, and other vehement enemies of Napoleon, till May 1812, when, on the approach of the French Emperor to Dresden on the eve of the Moscow campaign, he went to St. Petersburg, where his firmness and energy were of great service in supporting the Emperor Alexander through that dreadful crisis.—*Biog. des Hommes Vivants*, v. 413; *Lebensbilder aus dem Befreiungskriege*, II. 487; and *Von Gagosian's Antheil an der Politik*, iv. 387, 390.

Prussia is indebted for the measures which prepared the way for the reformation of the monarchy. This eminent man, born in 1757, had entered the public service in the administration of the state mines, under the Great Frederick, in 1780; but his admirable talents for business soon raised him to the ministry of trade and finance in 1804, which he held till the breaking out of the Polish war in 1806, when he withdrew to his estates, and remained in retirement till again called to the public service in the beginning of October 1807. During his active employment, he acquired, by the accuracy and fidelity of his administration, the esteem both of his sovereign and his fellow-citizens; and, during his subsequent retirement, he had ample opportunities for meditating on the causes which had brought such calamities on his country. His ideas were clearly formed, and so decided his conviction as to the only means which remained of reinstating the public affairs, that he commenced at once a vigorous but yet cautious system of amelioration; and, only four days after his appointment as Minister of the Interior, a royal decree appeared, which introduced a salutary reform into the constitution.

11. By this ordinance the peasants and burghers obtained the right, hitherto confined to the nobles, of acquiring and holding landed property; while they in their turn were permitted, without losing caste, to engage in the pursuits of commerce and industry. Landholders were allowed, under reservation of the rights of their creditors, to separate their estates into distinct parcels, and alienate them to different persons. Every species of slavery, whether contracted by birth, marriage, or agreement, was prohibited subsequent to the 11th November 1810; and every servitude, *corvée*, or obligation of service or rent, other than those founded on the rights of property or express agreement, was for ever abolished. By a second ordinance, published six weeks afterwards, certain important franchises were conferred on municipalities. By this wise

decree, which is in many respects the Magna Charta of the Prussian burghs, it was provided that the burghers should enjoy councillors of their own election, for regulating all local and municipal concerns: that a third of the number should go out by rotation, and be renewed by an election every year; that the council thus chosen should assemble twice a-year to deliberate on the public affairs; that two burgomasters should be at the head of the magistracy, one of whom should be chosen by the King from a list of three presented, and the other by the councilors: and that the police of the burghs should be administered by a syndic appointed for twelve years, and who should also have a seat in the municipal council. The administration of the *Haute Police*, or that connected with the state, was reserved to government. By a third ordinance, an equally important alteration was made in favour of the numerous class of debtors, whom the public calamities had disabled from performing their engagements, by prohibiting all demand for the capital sums till the 24th June 1810; providing at the same time for the punctual payment of the interest, under pain of losing the benefit of the ordinance. Thus at the very moment that France, during the excitement consequent on the triumphs of Jena and Friedland, was losing the last remnant of the free institutions which had been called into existence during the fervour and crimes of the Revolution; Prussia, amidst the humiliation of unprecedented disasters, and when groaning under the weight of foreign chains, was silently relaxing the fetters of the feudal system, and laying the foundation, in a cautious and guiltless reformation of experienced grievances, for the future erection of those really free institutions which can never be established on any other bases than those of justice, order, and religion.

12. In the prosecution, however, of these glorious, because wise and judicious, plans of public improvement, Stein had great difficulties to encounter. Government was overwhelmed by

a multitude of civil servants, to the number of seven thousand, who had been deprived of their situations in the ceded provinces, and whose just prayers for relief could not be extended to by a treasury drained of the last farthing by the charges of the war, and the inordinate requisitions of the French armies. The rapid absorption of the precious metals by these rigorous task-masters, the general practice of hoarding which their depredations occasioned, and the necessity in consequence of having recourse to a currency of a baser alloy, or paper money, to supply the deficiency, had totally deranged the monetary system, and occasioned a rapid enhancement of prices, under which the labouring classes suffered severely. The closing of the harbours against foreign commerce, in consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees, put the finishing stroke to the public distress, and raised such a ferment, that the King was obliged to yield to the general clamour and the representations of the French authorities, who dreaded the effects of such an intrepid system of government, and sent Stein into honourable exile in Bohemia. So rapidly was this insisted on by the ministers of Napoleon, that the last of these regenerating measures, dated 24th November 1807, was signed by his successors, M. Dohna and Altenstein. But by this ebullition of jealousy the French Emperor gained nothing. The merit of Stein was too generally known by the intelligent classes to be forgotten; from his retreat he really directed the Prussian councils; and by the appointment of SCHARNHORST to the elevated office of minister of war, the door was opened to a variety of important changes in that department, which proved of the highest consequence six years afterwards in the mortal struggle for European freedom.

13. Gerard David de Scharnhorst, who was now intrusted with the military direction of Prussia, and whose great scientific abilities subsequently rendered him so distinguished in the annals of European glory, had quitted the Hanoverian service for that of

Prussia in 1801. Taken prisoner at Lubeck, but subsequently exchanged, he had powerfully contributed, by his decisive conduct at the critical moment with Lestocq's corps, to the result of the battle of Eylau. In him a blameless life and amiable manners were combined with the purest patriotism and the soundest judgment: exalted attainments were undisfigured by pride; vigour of thought was adorned by simplicity of character. The perfection of the French military organisation, as well as the energy of their army, appeared to him in painful contrast beside the numerous defects and dejected spirit of that over which he now presided. But instead of sinking in despair under the difficulties of his situation, he was only inspired, by the magnitude of the evil, with additional ardour in the work of amelioration, and induced, like Stein, to take advantage of the general consternation to effect several salutary reforms, which, in more tranquil times, might have been seriously obstructed by the prejudices of aristocratic birth or the suggestions of interested ambition. Boldly applying to the military department the admirable principles by which Stein had secured the affections of the burgher classes, he threw open to the whole citizens the higher grades of the army, from which they had hitherto been excluded, abolished the degrading corporal punishments by which the spirit of the soldier had been withered, and removed those invidious distinctions which, by exempting some classes from the burden of personal service, made its weight fall with additional severity on those who were not relieved.

14. Every department of the service underwent his searching scrutiny. In all he introduced salutary reforms, rectified experienced abuses, and electrified the general spirit, by opening to merit the career of promotion; while the general strength of the army was silently augmented to an extent which afterwards became in the highest degree important by the introduction of an equally simple and efficacious regulation. By the subsisting engagements

with Napoleon, it had been provided that Prussia should not keep on foot more than forty-two thousand men—a stipulation which at once cast her down to the rank of a fourth-rate power, and totally disabled her from assuming the attitude of resistance to the numerous and hourly increasing demands of the French armies. To elude its operation, and at the same time avoid any direct or obvious infringement of the treaty, he took care never to have more than the stipulated number of men at once in arms, but no sooner were the young soldiers sufficiently drilled than they were sent home to their hearths, and other recruits called to the national standards, who, in like manner, after a brief period of service, made way for others in succession. By this simple but admirable system, which is the true secret of the political strength and military renown of Prussia, so much beyond the physical resources of the monarchy, a military spirit was diffused through the whole population; service in the army came to be considered, instead of a degradation, as an agreeable recreation after the severe labours of pacific life; the manner, carriage, and intelligence of those who returned from their standards, were so superior to those of the rustics who had remained at home, that no Prussian damsel would look at a youth who had not served in the ranks; the passion for arms became universal; and while forty thousand only were enrolled in the regular army, two hundred thousand brave men were ever long trained to arms, and ready at a moment's warning to join the standards of their country.*

* It is a most singular circumstance that this admirable military system, which beyond all question proved the salvation of Prussia both in the Seven Years' War and that of Independence in the year 1813, was derived by them from their German ancestors in the time of Caesar. "The Suevians are by far the most warlike and considerable of all the German nations. They are said to be composed of a hundred cantons, each of which sends yearly into the field a thousand armed men. The rest, who continue in their several districts, employ themselves in cultivating their lands, that they may furnish a sufficient supply both for themselves

15. From these salutary changes, joined to the oppressive exactions of the French armies, and the enormous contributions levied by the government through the whole of the north of Germany, arose another effect, not less important in its ultimate consequences upon the future fate of Europe. Grievously oppressed by foreign depredation; deprived by national disaster of domestic protection; surrounded within and without by insatiable enemies or impotent friends; cut off from their commerce, their manufactures, the vent for their industry,—with their farm produce liable to perpetual seizure by bands of rapacious men armed with imperial authority,—the inhabitants both of the towns and the country had no resource but in mutual and voluntary associations. The universality of the suffering produced a corresponding unanimity of opinion; the divisions which existed before the war disappeared under the calamities to which it had given birth; the jealousies of rank or class yielded to the pressure of common distress. Genius and learning, amidst the general despondency, stood forth as the leaders, privately and cautiously indeed, but still the leaders, of public thought. Societies were everywhere formed, in profound secrecy, for the future deliverance of Germany; the professors at the universities were at their head; the ardent youth who attended these seminaries joyfully enrolled themselves in their ranks; the nobles and statesmen at the helm of affairs lent them what, with such materials, was much required, the aid of their wisdom and the benefits of their experience. Stein was their leader:

and for the army. These again take up arms the following campaign, and are succeeded in the care of the lands by the troop that served the year before. Thus they live in the continual exercise both of agriculture and war.—Corn is not much in use among them, because they prefer a milk or flesh diet."—*Caesar, de Bell. Gall.* book iv. § 2.

It would seem that nations never change either as regards the spirit of their institutions or their national character: if we would discover the remote causes of either, we must seek for them in their cradle, as we must for the germ of the full-grown oak in the acorn.

from his retreat in Bohemia, and subsequently in Russia, he exercised a secret but unlimited sway over the minds of all the energetic and generous portion of the north of Germany. Arndt, who was soon after compelled to seek an asylum from French persecution in the latter empire, lent the cause all the aid of his nervous eloquence; Professor Jahn supported it with powerful zeal; Hardenberg was active in its behalf; Scharnhorst, and almost all the councillors of the King, though compelled publicly to discountenance its proceedings, were, in reality, either secret members of the TUGENDBUND,* or warmly disposed to second its efforts.

16. There, too, were to be seen those exalted spirits who subsequently, through evil report and good report, in prosperity and adversity, stood foremost in support of European freedom: Schill, whose ardent patriotism, in advance of his countrymen, precipitated in 1809, to his own ruin, that premature resistance which four years longer of ignominy and bondage were required to render universal; Wittgenstein, the future antagonist of Napoleon, whose clear judgment, notwithstanding the prudent reserve of his character, saw in these associations the only means of future salvation; Blücher, whose generous and inconsiderate ardour threw him early into their arms, as it afterwards warmed him in the headlong charge against the enemy; Gneisenau, whose scientific abilities, supplying what was wanting in his gallant associate, proved so fatal to the arms of France. The nobles, straitened in their fortunes by the French requisitions, and insulted in their persons by the French officers; the peasants ground to the dust by merciless exactions, supported by military force; the merchants, ruined by the Continental System, and reduced to despair by the entire stoppage of foreign commerce; the burghers, become the bitterest enemies of Napoleon, from his entire overthrow of those liberal principles on which the early fortunes of the Revolution had

* Society or League of Virtue.

been founded—all combined to join the secret societies, from which alone they could one day hope for the deliverance of their country. The machinery put in motion for the attainment of these objects was indeed highly dangerous, and capable of being applied to the worst purposes; but the necessities of their situation gave the lovers of the Fatherland no alternative. Alike in town and country, equally among the rich and the poor, the Tugendbund spread its ramifications. A central body of directors at Berlin guided its movements; provincial committees carried its orders into effect; and, as is usual in such cases, a dark, unseen authority was obeyed with an implicit alacrity unknown to the commands even of the successor of Charlemagne. Thus, while France, rioting in the triumph of Tilsit, and deeming her power established on an immovable basis, was fawning on her rulers with Eastern adulation, and bartering her freedom for the enjoyment of gold; Prussia, taking counsel from adversity, was preparing in silence, in the amelioration of her institutions and the energy of her inhabitants, that real regeneration which, independent of individuals, unstained by crime, was destined hereafter to raise her from the lowest state of depression to a height of glory surpassing all she had lost.

17. Bent, to the earth by the disasters of Austerlitz, but still possessing the physical and material resources of power, Austria, during the desperate strife from the Saale to the Niemen, was silently but uninterruptedly repairing her losses, and preparing to resume her place in the rank of independent nations. If she had lost the opportunity, during the preceding winter, of interposing with decisive effect on the banks of the Elbe, she had the magnitude of previous disasters, the mortal hazard of an unsuccessful demonstration, to offer in her excuse. Sufficient reliance it was thought, could not yet be placed on the constancy of Russia; suffering had not adequately tamed the hereditary jealousy of the Prussian government.

Niemen, the King of Sweden, who possessed a spirit worthy of a more powerful monarchy and a greater part on the political stage, was not discouraged. His semi-insular situation enabled him to bid defiance to the threats of the French Emperor; the passage round the Gulf of Bothnia was scarcely practicable; and with the assistance of England, he did not despair of being able to make head against his enemies, even if Russia should be added to their already formidable league. No sooner, therefore, did the English squadron, with the advanced guard of the land forces, which had been destined for the support of Russia and Prussia, appear in the Baltic, than he denounced the armistice, just nineteen days after the battle of Friedland. Napoleon, noways displeased at this unexpected resumption of hostilities, immediately made preparations for bringing them to a rapid conclusion. Thirty thousand men were speedily assembled under Marshal Brune, who, as soon as hostilities recommenced on the 13th July, began to press on all sides the fifteen thousand Swedes who occupied Pomerania. Unable to bear up against so great a preponderance of force, the Swedish generals, after some inconsiderable combats, took shelter under the cannon of Stralsund; and Brune completed the investment of that place in the middle of July.

20. The King of Sweden was soon made to perceive, from bitter experience, that after the pacification of Tilsit, his transmarine dominions were held by the most precarious tenure. At first the English troops under Lord Cathcart, above ten thousand strong, and in the finest condition, formed part of the garrison; and the presence of this imposing force appeared to promise to Gustavus, who commanded in person, the means of making a defence which might rival that by which Charles XII. had immortalised its walls. At this period the Swedish monarch appeared to be passionately desirous of military renown; and so ambitious was he of the perils and glories of actual warfare, that he went so far as to send a flag of truce to the French marshal, offering a

purse of gold to the gunner in the French lines who had levelled the piece of ordnance, the shot of which had struck the wall a few feet from the place where he was standing*—a proceeding which the English general justly considered as savouring rather of a romantic or highly excited temperament, than the sober judgment befitting the ruler of a nation. But stern necessity soon put a period to these chivalrous illusions. The English troops were withdrawn in the end of July, to co-operate in the great armament intended for the reduction of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet, of which mention will immediately be made; and the Swedish garrison, without any external aid, was left to make head alone against the hourly increasing forces of the French marshal, which already were more than double their own.

21. The evident hopelessness of the attempt to preserve the place after the treaty of Tilsit was known, and it had become apparent that the French Emperor could increase the besieging force at pleasure to quadruple its present amount, damped the military ardour of the Swedes, and induced them to prolong the defence rather from a sense of duty than from any hope that it could ultimately prove successful. Trenches were begun on the night of the fête of the Emperor, by seven thousand workmen, and advanced, under the scientific direction of General Chasseloup, with extraordinary vigour. Contrary to all previous example, the approaches were made on three fronts at the same time, and pushed with such rapidity, that in four days they were within three hundred yards of the external palisades, the batteries already armed, and everything prepared for a bombardment. Seeing their city about to be ruined for no political or national purpose, but a mere point of military honour, the magistrates threw

* I received this anecdote from my venerable and much esteemed friend the Earl of Cathcart, now no more; whose recollection of all the events of that memorable period, in which he bore so prominent a part, was as vivid and correct, to a very advanced age, as when they occurred thirty years before.

themselves at the feet of the King, and besought him to spare the inhabitants the horrors of an unavailing defence. He could not resist the appeal, and withdrew with almost the whole garrison into the adjacent island of Rugen; while Stralsund itself, with four hundred pieces of cannon and immense military magazines, fell into the hands of the enemy.

22. The Swedes, however, still kept their ground in the isles of Rugen and Danholm, which not only completely blockaded the harbour, but neutralised all the advantages otherwise consequent on the possession of this extensive fortress. Marshal Brunt showed great activity in the measures adopted to root them out of this their last stronghold on the German shore. Three days after the capitulation, two hundred boats and small craft were assembled, chiefly by means of land carriage, in the harbour of Stralsund, with which, on the night of the 25th, a descent was effected on the isle of Danholm, which fell into the hands of the French, with twenty pieces of cannon, and its little garrison of a hundred and eighty men. Still the isle of Rugen, with the bulk of the Swedish forces, remained in the possession of the King; but the troops, wearied of a fruitless contest which they deemed foreign to the real interests of the monarchy, and strongly impressed with the idea that the military excitement of their sovereign bordered on insanity, murmured so loudly against the further continuance of the contest that he was obliged to yield. A convention was concluded on the 7th September, by which the island was to be given up to the French troops, and the King, with the whole garrison and fleet, was to withdraw to the Swedish shore. This capitulation relieved Napoleon from all anxiety in the north of Germany, and put the finishing stroke to the Continental war in that part of the world; but it was far from answering the expectations of the French Emperor, who had calculated on the capture of the Swedish king, or at least the whole of his garrison; and it was the occasion of Marshal Brune

falling into a disgrace from which he never afterwards was able to recover.

23. While the last flames of the Continental war were thus expiring around the walls of Stralsund, a blow of the highest importance to the future prospects of the maritime contest was struck by the vigour and decision of the British cabinet. Notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the two Emperors, in their negotiations at Tilsit, to bury their designs in profound secrecy, the English government were possessed of a golden key which laid open their most confidential communications. They were made aware of the determination of the imperial despots to seize the fleets of Denmark and Portugal, not only before the design was reduced to a regular treaty, but almost as soon as it was formed; and the vast forces at the disposal of the French Emperor left no room for doubt that he possessed ample means to carry his intentions into effect. Not a moment was to be lost; for in the final treaty, as already noticed, the 1st November was fixed as the period when the courts of Copenhagen and Lisbon were to be summoned to place their fleets at the disposal of the combined powers, and enter into the general confederacy against Great Britain. Hardly was the ink of the treaty dry, when Napoleon directed Talleyrand to write to the Danish government that the time had now arrived when they must take a decided part; that the cause of France was their own, and that of all neutral powers—especially the least powerful, hitherto so cruelly tyrannised over by the British power; and he made offer of a powerful French force, and a numerous train of artillery, to enable them to make head against the English fleet. At the same time the French forces, under Bernadotte and Davoust, began to defile in such numbers towards Holstein, and assume so menacing a position, that it was evident that Denmark would speedily lose her whole Continental possessions, if she resisted the demands of the combined Emperors. Nor did there appear any reason to believe that the

cabinet of Copenhagen would incur any such hazard to maintain their neutrality. On the contrary, there were the strongest grounds for concluding that they would readily embrace so favourable an opportunity of contending, with the aid of such powerful allies, for those maritime changes which had long constituted the ruling objects of their ambition.

24. In 1780 they had been the first to join the Northern Confederacy against England, and proclaim the principles of the armed neutrality; in 1801 they had exposed themselves for the same object, in the front rank, to the cannon of Nelson and all the terrors of the English navy. More lately, their conduct had savoured still more strongly of aversion to the English and partiality for the French alliance. The Berlin decree of 21st November, which inflicted so unexampled and fatal a wound on neutral commerce, had drawn forth no complaints from the Danish government; but no sooner was the British Order in Council of 7th January issued, which provided only a mild, and, as it proved, ineffectual measure of retaliation, by putting a stop to the coasting trade of neutrals from one French harbour to another, than the Danish minister made loud complaints, which drew forth the able and unanswerable reply from Lord Howick, which has already been quoted. No remonstrances had been made by the Danish government against the threatening accumulation of forces on the frontier of Holstein; no advances to secure aid, in the peril which was evidently approaching, from the British or Swedish cabinets. On the contrary, although Napoleon had, previous to the battle of Friedland, made proposals to Gustavus, with a view to detach him from the Russian alliance, and actually offered, as an inducement, to wrest the kingdom of Norway from the Danish crown, and annex it to that of Sweden, yet even the generous refusal of this offer by that upright monarch, accompanied by its instant communication to the cabinet of Copenhagen, had made no alteration in their line of policy, and they declined

all offers of assistance against a power which had manifested so little scruple at entertaining the project of partitioning their dominions.

25. In these circumstances the cabinet of Great Britain had a most serious duty to perform. They were menaced with an attack from the combined navies of Europe, amounting to one hundred and eighty sail of the line; and of that immense force they were well aware that the Baltic fleet would form the right wing.* No time was to be lost; every hour was precious; in a few days an overwhelming French force would, to all appearance, be assembled on the shores of the Great Belt; and, if ferried over to Zealand, might enable the Danish government securely to comply with the requisition of the combined Emperors, and bid defiance to all the efforts of Great Britain. In these circumstances they took a resolution similar to that adopted by Frederick the Great in regard

* General Jomini has given the following summary of the design of Napoleon and Alexander after the treaty of Tilsit to unite all the navies of Europe against England, and of the probable forces at their disposal. Speaking in the person of the French Emperor, he says, "After Russia had joined my alliance, Prussia, as a matter of course, followed her example; Portugal, Sweden, and the Pope, alone required to be gained over, for we were well aware that Denmark would hasten to throw herself into our arms. If England refused the proffered mediation of Russia, the whole maritime forces of the Continent were to be employed against her, and they could muster 180 sail of the line. In a few years this force could be raised to 250. With the aid of such a fleet, and my immense flotilla, it was by no means impossible to lead a European army to London. One hundred ships of the line employed against her colonies in the two hemispheres, would have sufficed to draw off a large portion of the British navy; while eighty more, assembled in the Channel, would have sufficed to assure the passage of the flotilla, and avenge the outraged rights of nations. Such was at bottom my plan, which only failed of success from the faults committed in the Spanish war."—JOMINI, *Vie de Napoleon*, li. 449.

Vessels.—French ships of the line,	60
Spanish do.	40
Russian do.	25
Swedish do.	15
Danish do.	15
Dutch do.	15
Portuguese do.	10
Total,	180

to Saxony, when he received authentic intelligence of the accession or probable accession of Saxony to the league of Russia and Austria against his existence; and resolved, by a vigorous stroke, not only to deprive the enemy of the prize he was so soon to seize, but to convert its resources to their own defence.

26. Accidental circumstances gave the British government, contrary to the usual case with an insular power, the means, both with respect to land and sea force, of instantly acting on this vigorous resolution. The first division of the expedition which had been so long in preparation to aid the Allies on the shores of the Baltic was already in the isle of Rugen, and the remainder was in such a state of forwardness as to be ready to embark at a few days' notice. A large naval force was also assembled, to act as occasion might require, and this was speedily added to with extraordinary expedition. Such was the activity displayed by the new ministers, that in the end of July twenty-seven ships of the line, having on board twenty thousand land troops, set sail from the British harbours, besides other smaller vessels, amounting in all to ninety pendants, and stretched across the German ocean for the shores of Denmark. Had this great expedition been prepared, as it might have been, two months earlier, by the preceding administration, it would, to all appearance, have averted the disaster of Friedland, determined the hesitation of Austria, and driven Napoleon to a disastrous retreat, for which he was already making preparations, to the Rhine. As matters now stood, it had a subordinate but still a very important duty to perform. They arrived off the Danish coast on the 3d August, and immediately stationed such a force under Commodore Keats, in the Great Belt, as effectually cut off all communication between the island of Zealand and the adjacent isles, or shores of Jutland. At the same time the troops from Stralsund, ten thousand strong, arrived, under Lord Cathcart, who immediately took the command of the whole expedition;

and the formidable armament, spreading their sails before a favourable wind, passed the Sound, and cast anchor in appalling strength before the harbour of Copenhagen.

27. It was no part, however, of the design of the British government to precipitate the country into hostilities; on the contrary, they were on many accounts most desirous to avoid, if possible, proceeding to that extremity, and rather to gain the object in view by diplomatic arrangements than actual force. With this view they had sent Mr Jackson with the armament, who had resided as envoy of Great Britain for many years at the court of Berlin, and was supposed to enjoy, in a very high degree, the confidence of the northern powers. As soon as he arrived off the Danish coast, Mr Jackson landed at Kiel, and proceeded to announce the purport of his instructions to Count Bernstorff, and request an audience of the Prince-Royal. By the former he was received with the indignant vehemence natural to a patriotic minister, who saw, from what he conceived to be foreign injustice, a grievous misfortune impending over his country; by the latter, with the mild but courageous dignity which added lustre to a throne exposed to the storms of adversity. The instructions of the English envoy, however, were peremptory; and as the Prince-Royal positively refused to accede to the terms proposed, which were, that the fleet should be deposited with the British government in pledge, and under an obligation of restitution, till the conclusion of a general peace, he had no alternative but to declare that force would be employed. Upon this, the Prince-Royal, with praiseworthy resolution, declared his determination to share the dangers of his capital, and immediately set out for Copenhagen. He was allowed by the British cruisers to pass the Great Belt with all the officers of his staff, and was soon after followed to the capital by the British envoy; but having no powers to accede to an accommodation on the basis proposed, the negotiation broke off, and both sides prepared to decide the

matter in dispute by the sword. At the same time, a proclamation was issued by the English commanders, declaring in precise terms: the object of their hostility, disclaiming all idea of conquest or capture, but demanding the fleet in deposit till the conclusion of a general peace.*

28. The British troops commenced their disembarkation without resistance on the 16th; and in three days the whole force was landed, and the investment of the town completed. It then appeared that, however much the Danish government might have been inclined to accede to the summons of the combined Emperors, and unite their navy to the general maritime confederacy, they had at least no expectation of being so soon involved in hostilities on their own shores, and were totally unprepared for the formidable forces now arrayed by sea and land against them. Such had been the vigilance of the cruisers in the Great Belt, that no troops whatever had been ferried over from the adja-

* "Whereas the present treaties of peace, and the changes of government and of territory acceded to, and by so many powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the Continent of Europe as to render it impossible for Denmark, even though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist the French aggression to take measures to prevent the arms of a neutral power from being turned against them; in this view, his Majesty cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference, and he has therefore sent negotiators with ample powers to his Danish Majesty, to request, in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the circumstances require, and a concurrence in such measures as can alone give security against the further mischief which the French meditate through the acquisition of the Danish navy. The King, therefore, has judged it expedient to demand the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his Majesty's ports. The deposit seems to be just, and so indispensably necessary, under the relative situation of the neutral and belligerent powers, that his Majesty has further deemed it a duty to himself and to his people to support his demand by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with every necessary for the most active and determined enterprise. We ought, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand, not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe from compelling the force of your

cent shores; and no preparations had, on their arrival, been made in Zealand itself. The ramparts were unarmed, the fleet unequipped; and though great fermentation and the most honourable patriotic zeal prevailed in the capital, few regular troops were assembled within its walls, and little progress could in so short a time be made in the organisation of a volunteer force. The sudden calm, however, which ensued, and prevented the ships from approaching the coast to land the heavy ordnance and siege equipage, retarded for several days the approaches, and afforded the Danes a breathing-time, of which they actively availed themselves, both to prepare for their defence and retard the operations of the besiegers. But this respite was of short duration, and by inspiring the inhabitants with fallacious hopes, in the end it only led to additional and lamentable calamities. The heavy artillery was at length landed, and brought up to the trenches; the assistance of the sailors enabled the

navy to be employed against us. *We ask deposit—we have not looked to capture.* So far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your government, and it is hereby renewed, in the name and by the express commands of the King, our master, that if our demand is acceded to, *every ship belonging to the Danish navy shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment as when received under the protection of the British flag.* It is in the power of your government, by a word, to sheath our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you; you will be treated on the footing of the most friendly powers; property of all sorts will be respected and preserved; the most severe discipline enforced; every article required paid for at a fair price: but if these offers are rejected, and the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be shed, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads, and those of your cruel advisers."—*Parl. Deb.* x. 224. The Prince-Royal replied, "No example is to be found in history of so odious an aggression as that with which Denmark is menaced; more honour may now be expected from the pirates of Barbary than the English government. You offer us your alliance! Do we not know what it is worth?—your allies, vainly expecting your succours for an entire year, have taught us what is the worth of English friendship."—See DUMAS, xix. 171.

works to be prosecuted with great rapidity; and on the 1st September they were so far advanced as to have everything in readiness for the bombardment to commence. The place was then summoned, and the same terms generously offered which had before been rejected.* Meanwhile SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY, who then began in high command that career in Europe which has rendered his name and country immortal, moved with ten thousand men against a body of twelve thousand militia, supported by a few regular troops, which had assembled in the interior of the island at Kioje, and by a sudden attack, in which the 92d and 52d regiments distinguished themselves, dispersed them with the loss of several hundred killed and twelve hundred prisoners.

29. The offer of accommodation being rejected, the bombardment began, and was continued with uncommon vigour, and with only a short interruption, for three days and nights. The inhabitants sustained with heroic resolution the flaming tempest, and all classes were indefatigable in their endeavours to carry water to the quarters where the city had taken fire. But in spite of all their efforts the conflagration spread with frightful rapidity; and at length a great magazine of wood and the lofty steeple of the church of Our Lady took fire, and the flames, curling to a prodigious height up its wooden pinnacles, illuminated the whole heavens, and threw a lurid light over all the fleet and army of

the besiegers.† With speechless anxiety the trembling citizens watched the path of the burning projectiles through the air; while the British soldiers and sailors from afar beheld with admiration the heavens tracked by innumerable stars, which seemed to realise more than the fabled splendours of oriental fireworks. Before the third night eighteen hundred houses were consumed; whole streets were level with the ground; and fifteen hundred of the inhabitants had lost their lives. At length the obvious danger of the total destruction of the city by the progress of the flames overcame the firmness of General Peymann, to whom the Prince-Royal had delegated his command: and on the forenoon of the 5th, a flag of truce appeared at the British outposts to treat for a capitulation.‡

30. But the period of equal negotiation was past: the Danes had perilled all on the issue of the sword; and no other terms would be agreed to but the unconditional surrender of the whole fleet, with all the artillery and naval stores which the place contained. Hard as these terms appeared, necessity left the Danes no alternative, and a capitulation was signed on these conditions two days afterwards, in virtue of which the British troops were immediately put in possession of the citadel, gates, and arsenal; and, by the united efforts of friends and foes, a stop was at length put to the progress of the conflagration, but not before it had consumed an eighth part of the city.

* The summons set forth:—"To convince the Danish government and the whole world of the reluctance with which his Majesty has recourse to arms, we the undersigned, at the moment when our troops are before your gates, and our batteries ready to open, renew to you the offer of the same advantageous terms, which we formerly proposed:—viz. if you will consent to deliver up the Danish fleet, and to our carrying it away, it shall be held in deposit merely, and restored in as good a state as received, with all its equipments, as soon as the provisions of a general peace shall have removed the necessity which occasioned this demand. But if this offer is now rejected, it cannot be repeated."—CATHERART, GAMBERN, Sept. 1, 1807.

† "A fiery ball each on the engine throws; The puff was dry, the fire took quickly hold;

Furious upon the timber-work it grows;
How it increased cannot well be told,
How it crept up the peice, and how to skies
The burning sparks and tow'ring smoke
upflies." TASSO, *Jer. Del.* xii. 45-48.

‡ "From the top of a tower," says a respectable eyewitness, "I beheld, in October 1807, the extent of the devastation. Whole streets were level with the ground; 1800 houses were destroyed; the principal church was in ruins; almost every house in the town bore some marks of violence; 1500 of the inhabitants had lost their lives, and a vast number were wounded. The Danes certainly defended themselves like men, and left to the English the poignant regret that the insatiable ambition of Buonaparte had converted this gallant people into our enemies."—BAERENSON'S *Naval History*, i. 177.

By the terms of the capitulation, it had been stipulated that the English should evacuate the citadel of Copenhagen within six weeks, or a shorter time, if the fleet could be got ready before the expiry of that period. But such was the expedition with which the operations were conducted, and the activity displayed by both the naval and military departments, that long before the expiry of that period the fleet was equipped, the stores on board, and the evacuation completed. Early in October, the British fleet and army returned to England, bringing with them their magnificent prize, consisting of eighteen ships of the line in excellent condition, fifteen frigates, six brigs,* and twenty-five gun-boats, besides two sail of the line and three frigates which had been destroyed as not worth the removal.

31. The Copenhagen expedition excited a prodigious sensation throughout Europe; and as it was a mortal stroke levelled at a neutral power, without any previous declaration of war, or ground for hostility then ascertained, it was generally condemned

an uncalled-for and unjustifiable violation of the law of nations. "Blood and fire," said Napoleon, "have made the English masters of Copenhagen;" and these expressions were not only re-echoed over all the Continent by all that great portion of the public press which was directly subjected to his control, but met with a responsive voice in those nations who, chagrined with reason at the refusal of the British government to lend assistance in men or money for the decisive struggle on the banks of the Vistula, were not sorry of this opportunity of giving vent, apparently on very sufficient grounds, to their displeasure. The Russians were loud in their condemnation of the English administration. The Emperor, with that profound dissimulation which formed so remark-

* Including the cannon placed on the galleys and floating batteries which were brought away, the artillery taken amounted to 3500 pieces. The prize-money due to the troops engaged was estimated by Admiral Lord Gambler at £960,000.—HARDENBERG, x. 42.

able a feature in his character, affected to be deeply afflicted by the catastrophe, though none knew so well the reality of the secret articles in the treaty of Tilsit which had rendered it necessary. Even their long-established national rivalry with the Danes could scarcely induce the Swedes to receive with satisfaction the intelligence of so serious an invasion of neutral rights. Thus, on all sides and in all countries, a general cry of indignation burst forth against this successful enterprise; and the old jealousy at the maritime power of England revived with such vehemence, as for a time to extinguish all sense of the more pressing dangers arising from the military power of France.

32. But whatever might be at first the general impression of Europe as to the Copenhagen expedition immediately after it occurred, Napoleon was not long of affording it a complete vindication. It has been already mentioned that it was stipulated in the treaty of Tilsit that, in the event of England declining the proffered mediation of Russia, the courts of Copenhagen and Lisbon should be summoned to join the Continental League, and unite their naval forces to those of France and Russia, [*Ante*, Chap. XLVI., § 79]. On the 12th August, a note was transmitted to the French minister at Lisbon, peremptorily requiring that the Portuguese fleet should co-operate with the French and Danish in the maritime war, and that the persons and property of all Englishmen in Portugal should be forthwith seized. And it soon after appeared, that on the same day similar orders had been transmitted to the cabinet of Copenhagen. In a public assembly of all the ambassadors of Europe at the Tuileries, the Emperor Napoleon demanded of the Portuguese ambassador whether he had transmitted to the court of Lisbon his orders to join their fleet to the general maritime confederacy against England, and confiscate all English property within their dominions? And having said this, he immediately turned round to the Danish ambassador, and asked him whether he had done the same? The

note addressed to the Portuguese government was immediately communicated by its ministers to the British cabinet: that to the Danish was concealed, and its existence even denied. Thus, at the very time that the English expedition was, unknown to France, approaching the Danish shores,* the diplomatic papers and public words of Napoleon were affording decisive evidence of his preconceived designs against the Danish fleet, while the conduct of their government was equally characteristic of an inclination to slide, without opposition, into the required hostility against this country.

33. But these diplomatic communications, little understood or attended to at this time by the bulk of the people, produced no general impression in England; and a very painful division of opinion existed for a considerable time, both as to the lawfulness of the expedition, and the justice of retaining the prizes which had been made. Whatever violence might have been meditated by the French Emperor, it was very generally said, it would have been better to have suffered him to perpetrate it, and then made open war on his vassals, than to forestall his iniquity in this manner by its imitation. This feeling was as creditable to the public mind, and the severe principles of morality which religious faith and long-established habits of freedom had produced in Great Britain, as the conception of the measure itself was honourable to the government. It was a memorable thing to see the people of England repudiate a triumph won, as it was thought, by injustice; disregard security purchased by the blood of the innocent; and look with shame on the proudest trophy of maritime conquest ever yet brought to a European harbour, so long as a doubt existed as to the justice of the means by which it had been acquired. Contrast-

ing this honourable feeling with the utter confusion of all moral principle which in France resulted from the Revolution, and the universal application to public measures of no other test than success, it is impossible to deny that the religious feelings and the tempered balance of power which in England both saved the country from a disastrous convulsion, and, by restraining the excesses of freedom, preserved its existence, were equally favourable to the maintenance of that high standard of morality which, in nations as well as individuals, constitutes the only secure basis of durable prosperity.

The Copenhagen expedition, as might have been expected, led to vehement debates in both houses of parliament, which, though now of comparatively little importance, as the publication of the secret articles in the treaty of Tilsit has completely justified the measure, are of historical value, as indicating the opinions entertained, and the arguments advanced at the time in the country, on a subject of such vital importance to the honour and security of the empire.

34. On the part of the Opposition, it was strongly urged by Mr Granville Sharpe, Mr Ponsonby, and Lord Erskine—"The ground stated in the King's speech for the Copenhagen expedition was, that the government were in possession of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, in which it was stipulated that the Danish fleet should be employed against this country. If so, why are they not produced? It is said that Denmark has always been hostile to this country, and would gladly have yielded up her fleet for such a purpose on the first summons. If this is really the case, on what grounds is the charge supported? True, the ships of Copenhagen were in a certain degree of preparation, but not more so than they have been for the last half-century.

* The British expedition landed at Copenhagen on the 16th August, the very day when Napoleon put this question to the Portuguese minister.—See ante, Chap. LI., § 28.

† There is no example in modern times of such an armament being at once made prize and brought home by any power. At Trafalgar, only four ships of the nineteen taken

were brought to the British harbours; at La Hogue, none of the prizes were saved, out of eighteen taken; and at Toulon, in 1793, no more than three sail of the line and three frigates were brought away out of the vast fleet there committed to the flames.—See Smollett's *History*, ii. 261; and ante, Chap. XIII., § 112.

Was it probable that Denmark would have risked her East and West India possessions, the island of Zealand itself, and Norway, from an apprehension that Holstein and Jutland would be overrun by French troops? If history be consulted, it will be found that no considerable armament has crossed the Great Belt on the ice for a hundred and fifty years, in the face of an allied British and Swedish naval force. Such an attempt would never have been thought of, so that the Danes had no reason to tremble for their capital. When the Copenhagen expedition set sail, there were three hundred and fifty Danish ships in British harbours, with cargoes worth two millions; and when the British consul applied to the Chamber of Commerce at the Danish capital, he received for answer, that there was not the slightest room for apprehension, as no such circumstances existed as were likely to disturb the neutrality of Denmark. The plea, therefore, of impending danger, to justify so flagrant a breach of neutral rights, has not even for its basis the essential ground of correctness in point of fact.

35. "The vindication of this step, supposing that some danger had been shown to have existed, must rest upon its necessity; for the first principles of justice demonstrate, and the concurring testimony of all writers on the law of nations has established, that one belligerent could not be justified in taking its property from a neutral state, unless it is clearly established that its enemy meant and was able to take possession of it, and apply it to the purposes of its hostility. How, then, is it to be justified, when every appearance is against the opinion that the enemy had either the inclination or the power to convert the Danish navy into an instrument for our destruction? But this is not all: supposing it proved beyond the possibility of doubt, that Buonaparte intended to have seized the Copenhagen fleet, and had a force at his command adequate to that purpose, as he afterwards did with the fleet at Lisbon, are we to justify our robbery upon the plea that our enemy was meditat-

ing a similar spoliation, and that it was best to be beforehand with him? Is it not a principle of morality applicable alike to nations and individuals, that one wrong will not authorise another; and that, unless in extreme cases, even self-defence will not justify a deviation from the laws and usages of war? How much more, therefore, is an illegal act indefensible, committed not in retaliation for, but in anticipation of, a similar unjustifiable stretch on the enemy's part! Better, far better, that Buonaparte should have carried his alleged designs into full effect, and united the Danish navy to his own, than that we should have stained our national character by an act, indefensible by those who were to profit, execrable in the estimation of those who were to suffer by it.

36. "A comparison of dates is alone sufficient to demonstrate the untenable grounds on which this expedition was sent out. The treaty of Tilsit was signed on the 8th July; the orders for the sailing of the expedition were issued on the 19th of the same month, and for several days previously the newspapers had announced its destination. How was it possible that in so short a time preparations could have been made for so vast an armament? Admitting that a military armament, to co-operate with Russia or Sweden, and act as occasion might require in the Baltic, had previously been resolved on, and was in a great state of forwardness, still the peculiar force employed in that expedition, the great quantity of battering cannon and besieging stores, as well as the vast amount of the naval force, proves that, long before the treaty of Tilsit was either signed or thought of, the resolution to spoliolate Denmark had been formed. We have got possession, indeed, of the Danish fleet; but is that the real or the principal object which we have to dread, in the great maritime confederacy which an inveterate enemy is forming against us? Do we esteem as nothing the now ardent and avenged resentment of the Danish sailors; the dubious neutrality of Russia, converted by our rapacity

into real and formidable hostility; the indignation of all neutral and maritime powers at our unparalleled injustice; the loss of the character which formerly rendered us the last asylum of freedom and independence throughout the world!

37. "Better, far better would it have been, to have had to combat the Danish fleet manned by disaffected seamen and fitted out by a reluctant government, than to have, as now, the fleets of France and Russia to fight, manned by the indignant and exasperated sailors of the north. With what countenance can we now reproach the French Emperor with his attack on Egypt, his subjugation of Switzerland, his overthrow of Portugal? We have ourselves furnished his justification; we have for ever shut ourselves out from the most powerful argument which we could ever have used to effect the future liberation of mankind. Will no recollection of our violence in Denmark lie heavy on our spirits when called upon to resist the violence of the enemy retaliating upon us? Will not the hostile myriads on the opposite shore be animated with fresh ardour and confidence, now that they are no longer following the banners of a desolating conqueror, but revailing upon us the aggressions of our own fleets and armies? When we reflect on the little we have gained, and the much we have lost by this aggression, it clearly appears to have been not less impolitic and inexpedient, than iniquitous and unjust."

38. Powerful as these arguments were, and warmly as they spoke to the best and noblest feelings of our nature, they were met by others not less cogent, and perhaps, when the period for impartial decision arrived, still more convincing. It was answered by Lord Wellesley, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr Secretary Canning: "It is needless to ask for additional documents to justify that great and saving measure, the expedition to Copenhagen. It was evident that after the battle of Trafalgar had annihilated his present hopes of maritime ascendancy, and the victory of Friedland had laid all the Contin-

tal states prostrate at his feet, all the efforts of Buonaparte would be turned against the power and resources of the British empire. Was any proof requisite of his desire to annihilate our independence, nay, to destroy our very existence as a nation; or was any necessary as to the mode in which, being actuated by such motives, he would proceed? How has he uniformly acted in his acquisitions at land? By compelling the powers whom he conquered or intimidated into an alliance to co-operate with him in his future hostility against such as still remained to be subdued. Was it to be supposed that that profound statesman and consummate general would not proceed in the same manner in the great object of his life, the destruction of the maritime strength and resources of this country? Actuated by such motives and principles, is it conceivable that, after his great land victory, and when he had for the first time the maritime resources of the whole Continent at his command, he would hesitate to accomplish the inviting object of adding the Danish navy, lying in a manner within his grasp, to his resources?"

39. "But the matter does not rest on probabilities and inferences. The French Emperor announced his intention almost in direct terms, immediately after the battle of Friedland, of uniting all the navies of Europe in one great confederacy against this country, and all his subsequent conduct has been regulated by the same principle. His plan was not confined to Denmark; it extended also to Portugal; these two powers were placed in exactly the same situation, and in both of these countries all British property was to be seized, and their respective courts compelled to unite their naval forces to those of France and Russia. It was well known that before the 1st September, the Emperor Napoleon publicly demanded of the Portuguese ambassador, in presence of all the envoys of foreign courts, whether he had transmitted his order to the court of Portugal, to join their fleets to the maritime confederacy against England, to shut their ports against the British flag, and

confiscate the property of its subjects within the Portuguese territory; and having said this, he immediately turned round to the Danish minister, and asked if he had transmitted the same order to his own court. The cabinet of Lisbon had transmitted official intelligence to the government of Great Britain, that a formal demand had been made on them for the surrender of their fleet and the closing of their ports against English commerce, and the confiscation of all English property within their territories; and upon their failure to comply with the last only as the most unjust of these demands, they received a notification in the *Moniteur*, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign—a clear demonstration of what fate awaited the Danish court if they hesitated a moment to obey the same haughty summons.

40. "Difficulties, it has been said, existed in the way of the French troops effecting the passage of the Great Belt, and compelling the Danes to join in the maritime confederacy against this country. These difficulties have been much exaggerated; for it is well known that Copenhagen depends almost entirely for its supply of provisions on Jutland and Holstein, and the occupation of these provinces by the French troops would soon starve the government into submission. It is idle to suppose that the Danish troops, which did not at the utmost exceed twenty thousand men, could cope with the united armies of France and Russia. Even supposing that, with the aid of British valour, they could for a time have made a successful stand, was it likely that they would not be paralysed by the dread of engaging in a conflict with these two colossal empires, whose strife had so recently resounded through the world? And even if the Danish cabinet, in a cause in which they were heartily engaged, possessed the firmness of the Roman senate, is it not notorious that their wishes, in this instance, would have led them to join their forces, at the first summons, to those of France? It is in vain to refer to the dangers

which their transmarine possessions would run from the hostility of Great Britain. They braved these dangers in 1780, in prosecution of the object of the armed neutrality; they braved them in 1801, when the cannon of Nelson were pointed at their arsenals; though on neither of these occasions were they supported by such a gigantic Continental confederacy as now summoned them to take their place at its side. Their inclinations and secret bias have been clearly evinced by their public acts; and he has studied the history of the last fifty years to little purpose indeed, who does not perceive that they would enter the alliance, not as reluctant neutrals, but as ardent belligerents, contending for objects which they have long had at heart.

41. "The power of France, already sufficiently formidable by land, and daily receiving important additions by sea, would have been increased in the most alarming manner by the fleet and the arsenals of Denmark. Twenty ships of the line ready for sea, backed by a great supply of naval and military stores, constitute a force, in addition to that already possessed by the enemy, on which England, with all her maritime strength, cannot look without alarm. But this is not all. These twenty line-of-battle ships would speedily be joined by those of Russia and Sweden, amounting to at least as many more. The Russian fleet in the Buxine had already proceeded to Lisbon, to join the Portuguese squadron, and these together amounted to twenty ships of the line. Spain could furnish the like number, and thus Napoleon would soon have been enabled to direct against this country a centre of fifty ships of the line, drawn from Antwerp, Cherbourg, and Brest, with two wings each of forty, supplied by his northern and southern confederates. He is a bold man who can look unmoved on such a prospect. Had ministers not acted as they have done, they would have neglected their first and greatest duty, that of preserving the independence of their country, and with it the liberties of the world.

42.

of nature, and that law loudly called for the adoption of this vigorous step, which has at least completely paralysed the designs of the confederates in the north seas. Here was an instrument of war within the grasp of our inveterate enemy; we interposed and seized it, as he was stretching out his hand for the same purpose, and that act of energy and wisdom has the hard epithets of rapine and impiety ascribed to it! The bloodshed and devastation which occurred in the execution of this necessary act are indeed deeply to be deplored; but the Danes had themselves to blame for these calamities, by refusing to deliver up their fleet in deposit till the conclusion of the war, as originally and rightly proposed by the English government. The expedition had been originally destined for co-operation with the Russians and Prussians; but upon the peace of Tilsit, with a promptitude and energy worthy of the highest commendation, ministers at once gave it a different destination; and though this bold step may now be unanimously blamed on the Continent by writers who take their opinions on every subject from the deck of one or other of the imperial despots who rule its empires, it will one day be applauded by an impartial posterity as the salvation of the British empire." Upon a division, both Houses supported ministers: the Commons by a majority of 253 to 108; the Peers by one of 105 to 48.

43. The great circumstance which long suggested a painful doubt as to the justice of the Copenhagen expedition, was the non-production of the alleged clauses in the secret treaty of Tilsit, of which ministers asserted they were in possession, which provided for the seizure of the fleet by France and Russia. Notwithstanding all the taunts with which they were assailed on this subject, they for long withheld their production from the public, and it came in consequence to be seriously doubted whether such an article really existed: until at length, in 1817, when the reasons for withholding it had ceased by the death of the persons by

whom it had been revealed, the decisive article was publicly brought forward in parliament. Thus had the British cabinet the merit of having at once early discovered, and instantly acted upon, the hidden designs of the enemy; paralysed, by the vigour of their measures, the formidable naval force which was preparing against them in the north; and afterwards, for a long course of years, generously borne the whole load of opprobrium with which they were assailed, rather than, by a premature publication of the secret information they had received, endanger the persons by whom it had been transmitted.*

44. The negotiations contemplated by the treaty of Tilsit were not long of being set on foot. Early in August, the cabinet of St Petersburg tendered their good offices to that of London with a view to the conclusion of a general peace. To this Mr Canning answered, that Great Britain was perfectly willing to treat, on equitable terms, for so desirable an object; and required in return a frank communication of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, as the best pledge of the friendly and pacific intentions of

* The writers on the law of nations are clear that in such circumstances as the Danish fleet was here placed, its seizure was perfectly justifiable. "I may," says Grotius, "without considering whether it is merited or not, take possession of that which belongs to another, if I have reason to fear any evil from his holding it; but I cannot make myself master or proprietor of it, the property having nothing to do with the end which I propose. I can only keep possession of the thing seized till my safety is sufficiently provided for."—GROTIUS, b. iii. c. 1. § 2.—This was precisely what the English government proposed to Denmark.

Napoleon felt the Copenhagen blow most keenly, the more so that it was achieved by a vigour and decision in the English councils to which they had long been strangers, and which, in that instance, even surpassed his own promptitude. "The success of the attack on Copenhagen," says Fouché, "was the first derangement of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, in virtue of which the fleet of Denmark was to have been put at the disposal of France. Since the catastrophe of Paul, I had never seen Napoleon in such a transport of rage. That which struck him most in this vigorous *coup-demain* was the promptitude and resolution of the English minister."—*Mémoires de Fouché*, li. 37.

his imperial majesty. Baron Budberg, on the part of Alexander, eluded this demand; and instead, entered into a statement of many grievances of Russia against this country, some of which, especially the want of co-operation when the contest was quivering in the balance on the Vistula, were too well founded. Matters were in this dubious state when intelligence arrived of the landing of the British forces in Zealand, and the demand made for the delivery, in deposit, of the Danish fleet. From the outset, the cabinet of St Petersburg manifested the utmost disquietude at this intelligence, and loudly protested against it as an unsalutary violation of the law of nations. In reply, the British ambassador explicitly stated that his cabinet had received information of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, and the destined co-operation of the Danish fleet in a descent on the British shores, and called upon the Russian minister to disprove the assertion, by an unreserved communication of these hidden stipulations, and of the grounds on which France was willing to treat, and which appeared to the cabinet of St Petersburg so reasonable, that they gave them the additional weight of their interposition. The Russian cabinet,

* It appears, however, from the following passage in Sir Walter Scott, evidently founded on official information, that the cabinet of St Petersburg, though obliged to yield to circumstances, were secretly gratified at the vigorous and decisive blow struck at the Danish fleet. "An English officer of literary celebrity" (probably Sir R. Wilson) "was employed by Alexander, or those who were supposed to share his most secret councils, to convey to the British ministry the Emperor's expression of the secret satisfaction which his Imperial Majesty felt at the skill and dexterity which Britain had displayed in anticipating and preventing the purposes of France by her attack upon Copenhagen. Her ministers were invited to communicate freely with the Czar, as with a prince who, though obliged to yield to circumstances, was nevertheless as much as ever attached to the cause of European independence."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*, vi. 24. Certainly of all the remarkable qualities of Alexander's mind, his profound power of dissimulation was the most extraordinary; and this was the opinion formed by Lord Cathcart, and all who had an opportunity of seeing him even in the most unreserved and confidential manner.

† "'You are well aware,' said Alexander,

however, both when Baron Budberg had the direction of its foreign affairs, and after he was succeeded, early in September, by Count Romanzoff, constantly eluded this demand; and the intelligence of the capture of the Danish fleet gave them a plausible pretext for breaking off the negotiation, without complying with so inconvenient a requisition.* Alexander, however, in his confidential interviews with Savary and Romanzoff, openly admitted that he had been surprised by the vigour of the British cabinet; that he had calculated upon being able to postpone his declaration of war against England till December, when the Baltic would be closed by ice against their fleets; but that, if the French Emperor insisted on it, he was ready immediately to declare war.†

45. Upon the capture of Copenhagen being known in the Russian capital, the Emperor demanded of the English ambassador whether the fleet would be restored at the conclusion of a general peace. To this Lord Leveson Gower replied, that "the object for which the expedition had been undertaken—viz. the removing of the Danish fleet, during the continuance of hostilities, beyond the reach of France—having been accomplished, the English govern-

ment in several long interviews with Savary, 'our efforts for peace are eventuating in war. I expected that; but I did not expect the Copenhagen expedition, nor the arrogance of the British cabinet. My line is taken, and I am ready to hold to my engagements. In my interview with the Emperor Napoleon, we calculated that if the war continued, *I should be forced to declare myself in December*; and I wished that it should not be before that time, to avoid war with England until the Baltic was closed. But it does not matter, I shall declare myself immediately. Say to your master, that if he wishes it I shall send off Lord Gower. Cronstadt is garrisoned, and if the English wish to try their hands there, they will find that attacking Russians is a very different matter from meeting Turks and Spaniards. However, I shall decide upon nothing without a message from Paris, for we must not risk the chance of disconcerting Napoleon's calculations. Besides, I should wish to have my fleets safe in Russian ports before the rupture. Come what may, I am determined to adopt the line of conduct which will best suit your master. Let him send to me, if he chooses, a note ready for signature, and I shall hand it to Lord Gower along with his passports.'"—*Tatishchev, Cons. et l'Emp.* viii. 215.

ment was perfectly willing to renounce any advantage which could be derived from the continuance of the war with Denmark, and earnestly pressed the Emperor to recommend neutrality on these conditions to the Prince-Royal." These moderate views so far prevailed with the Russian cabinet, that a note was presented by them to Savary, to signify the wish of the Emperor that the neutrality of Denmark should be re-established; and there was every prospect of the peace of the north being undisturbed by any further hostility, when the arrival of a messenger from Paris, with decisive instructions from Napoleon, such as had been expected by the Czar, at once put an end to the negotiation. He brought a peremptory demand for the immediate execution of the secret articles of the

treaty of Tilsit, and the instant closing of the Russian harbours against the ships of Great Britain. The Emperor Alexander was startled by the imperative tone of the mandate, as, since his return to St Petersburg, he had been endeavouring to withdraw from his promises in that particular. But it was too late: Savary appealed to his personal honour pledged at Tilsit, and the Emperor, at whatever hazard to himself or his dominions, felt himself bound to comply.* Next day a note was presented to the British ambassador, breaking off all relations between the two countries, requiring his immediate departure from St Petersburg, and reannouncing the principles of the armed neutrality; and on the day following, Lord Leveson Gower set out for the British shores.†

* The statements of the French and English ambassadors on this point are very material, as not only are they perfectly in unison with each other, but they distinctly prove that the rupture with Russia had no connection with the Copenhagen expedition, but was the result of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. Savary says—"In the first days of November I received a courier from the Emperor, who brought instructions from the minister of foreign affairs to insist upon the execution of one of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. On the day following I said to the Emperor, at a special audience, 'Sire, I am charged with the desire of my master that you should unite your force to his to compel England to listen to his proposals.' 'Very well,' replied the Emperor, 'I have given him my word that I would do so, and I will keep my promise; see Romanzoff, and return to speak with me on the subject.' On the day following I returned; and the Emperor then said that it had been agreed that France and Russia should unite to summon England, but that the mediation of Russia was first to be proposed, which should still be done. I represented that this had already taken place, and that England had refused his mediation. He moved a moment, and then said, 'I understand you, and since your master desires it I am quite disposed to fulfil my engagements. I will to-day give orders to Romanzoff.' Two days afterwards the hostile note against England was issued, and the British ambassador demanded his passports. Having gained this much, though well aware that the principal object of Napoleon was to strike at the English commerce, I deemed it expedient to shut my eyes to the time given to the British vessels to clear out from the Russian harbours." SAVARY, *ibid.* 129, 130. Lord L. Gower says in his despatch to Mr. Canning, November 3, 1807,—"Some members of the council who

were consulted on the matter, advised the Emperor not to reject so far an opportunity of re-establishing the tranquillity of the north of Europe; and their opinion was so far taken that a note was written to General Savary, with the view of engaging the French government to consent to the restoration of the neutrality of Denmark. The French general has remonstrated violently against this measure; and the Russian cabinet, alarmed at the violence of his language, is undecided what answer to return to the overtures received from England." And on 8th November he wrote to the same minister, "The enclosed note, the contents of which are so extremely important," (they contained a declaration of war), "has been produced by a peremptory demand brought by the last messenger from Paris, for the immediate execution of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit; and the French minister boasts that, after some difficulty, they have gained a complete victory, and have carried not only this act of hostility against England, but also every other point essential to the success of Buonaparte's views. I shall ask my passports to-morrow."—LORD L. GOWER to MR. CANNING, St Petersburg, 4th and 8th November 1807.—*Pari. Deb.* x. 215, 216.

† The Russian manifesto bore—"The great rains which the Emperor attended to the friendship of his Britannic Majesty enhanced the regret at perceiving that that monarch and his Imperial Majesty had separated themselves from him. Twice has the Emperor taken up arms in a cause which was directly that of England, and he admitted to him from England such a co-operation as her constitution demanded. He did not demand that his troops should be united to his; he desired only they should effect a diversion. He was astonished that in her own cause she did not act in union with him, but, sadly looking on the bloody spectacle of a war which had

46. This declaration of war against Great Britain was attended by a summons to Sweden to join in the league against the latter kingdom; and it soon appeared, from the vigorous preparations for the prosecution of the war

been kindled at her will, she, instead of co-operating, sent troops to attack Buenos Ayres and Alexandria, and what sensibly touched the heart of the Emperor, was to perceive that England, contrary to her good faith and the express terms of treaties, troubled at sea the commerce of his subjects at the very time that the blood of the Russians was shed in the most glorious of warfare, which drew down and fixed against the armies of his Imperial Majesty all the military force of the French Emperor, with whom the English then were and still are at war. Nevertheless, when the two Emperors made peace, the Emperor of Russia, faithful to his old friendship, proffered his mediation to effect a general pacification: but the King of England rejected the mediation. The treaty between Russia and France was intended to procure a general peace; but at that very moment England suddenly quitted that apparent lethargy to which she had abandoned herself: though it was to cast upon the north of Europe firebrands which were to light anew the flames of war. Her fleets and her armies appeared upon the coasts of Denmark, to execute there an act of violence of which history, so fertile in wickedness, does not afford a parallel example. A peacefully disposed and moderate power sees itself assailed as if it had been forging plots and meditating the ruin of England; and all to justify its prompt and total spoliation. The Emperor, wounded in his dignity, in the interests of his people, in his engagements with the courts of the North, by this act of violence committed in the Baltic, did not dissemble his resentment against England; new proposals were made by England for the neutrality of Denmark, but to these the Emperor would not accede. His Imperial Majesty, therefore, breaks off all communication with England, proclaims anew the principles of the Armed Neutrality, and annuls all conventions inconsistent with its spirit."—*Part. Deb.* x. 218, 221.

To this manifesto it was replied, in a long and able declaration by Great Britain, drawn up by Mr. Canning—"His Majesty was apprised of the secret conditions which had been imposed upon Russia in the conferences at Tilsit; but he indulged a hope that a review of the transactions of that unfortunate negotiation, and its effects upon the glory of the Russian name, and the interests of the Russian empire, would have led the Emperor to extricate himself from these tragical, contracted in a moment of despondency and alarm. His Majesty deemed it necessary to demand a specific explanation from Russia with respect to these arrangements with France, the concealment of which could not but confirm the impression already received as to their character and tendency. The de-

in that quarter, that the cession of Finland to Russia had, as already explained, been arranged at Tilsit, and that the Czar was resolved to add that important province, lying so near his capital, to his extensive dominions, as

mand was made in the most amicable manner, and with every degree of delicacy and forbearance; but the declaration of war by the Emperor of Russia proves but too distinctly that this forbearance was misplaced. It proves, unhappily, that the influence acquired over Russia by the inveterate enemy of England, is such as to excite a senseless animosity between the two nations, whose long connection and mutual interests prescribed the most intimate union and co-operation. The King of England does full justice to the motives which induced the Emperor of Russia twice to take up arms in the common cause. But surely the Emperor of Russia, on the last occasion, had a more pressing cause to join his arms to those of his ally, the King of Prussia, than Great Britain then actually at war with that power. The reference to the war with the Porte is peculiarly unfortunate, when it was undertaken at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining the Russian interests against those of France. If, however, the peace of Tilsit was really a punishment for the inactivity of Great Britain, it was singularly unfortunate that it took place at a time when England was making the most strenuous exertions in the common cause, and had actually got that great armament prepared, which she has since been obliged to employ to disconcert a combination directed against her own immediate interests and security. The complaint of vexations to Russian commerce is a mere imaginary grievance, never heard of before, and now put forth only to counterbalance the exaggerated declamations by which France strives to inflame the animosity of the other Continental powers. The vindication of the Copenhagen expedition is already before the world, and Russia has it in her power at once to disprove the basis on which it is erected, by producing the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. These secret articles were not communicated to his Majesty—they are not yet communicated—not even that which prescribed a time for the acceptance, by Great Britain, of the proffered mediation of Russia. Even after this unworthy concealment, however, so unsuitable to the dignity of an independent sovereign, the mediation was not refused: it was conditionally accepted, and the conditions were a communication of the basis on which the proposed treaty was to be founded, and of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, conditions to which the Emperor not object, as the first was the same which the Emperor had himself assented to the mediation of Austria between himself and France, not four months before; and the second was clearly called for by the previous and long-established relations between Russia and Great Britain. Instead of granting

soon as the necessary preparations could be made for its subjugation. As fast as the troops arrived from the Niemen at St Petersburg, they were passed through to the frontiers of Finland; and such a force was soon accumulated there as rendered hopeless the preservation of that bright jewel of the Swedish crown. A formal declaration of war was, however, delayed till the spring following, when the preparations of the cabinet of St Petersburg were completed, and the season of the year enabled them to resume military operations. In the interval, the Swedish government had so carefully abstained from giving any cause of complaint to the northern autocrat, that when he came to assign to the world his reasons

either of these demands, Russia declares war."—*English Declaration*, December 18, 1807; *Parl. Deb.* x. 118-122. It will be observed how studiously, in these diplomatic papers, Russia eludes allusion to the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. "The capture of the Danish fleet," says Hardenberg, "was not the cause, but the pretext, of Russia's rupture with England. The cabinet of St Petersburg, if the truth was known, was not sorry of so fair an opportunity for getting quit of all restraints upon its meditated hostilities in the north, as it already was in the south of Europe; and, notwithstanding all the loud declamations against the Copenhagen expedition, it beheld with more satisfaction the success of England in that quarter than it would have done the junction of the Danish fleet to the naval resources of the French Emperor."—*HARDENBERG*, x. 49.

"As for Sweden," said Alexander to Savary, "I am not prepared; I require time to reorganise my troops, which were much broken in the last war, and are now far from Finland. Besides, in such a campaign my army is not enough. In the creeks of the northern gulf, great use is made of flotillas worked by oars. The Swedes have a large fleet of this kind; mine is not prepared, and I do not wish to expose myself to a check from so small a state. Tell your master, then, that as soon as my materials are prepared I shall overwhelm Sweden, but I must wait until December, or January. I am ready to declare against the English at once. I am even of opinion that we should not stop there, but should demand from Austria her adhesion, voluntary or forced, to the coalition of the Continent. I have seen Napoleon, and I flatter myself that I have inspired in him a portion of the sentiment with which he has filled me; I feel certain of his sincerity. As for myself, I promise him *unlimited confidence*, and I expect the same on his part. Oh! that I could see him ever, as I saw him at Tilsit! what converse is his! what wit! what genius!"—*THIERS*, viii. 315, 317.

for a rupture, he could find no ground whatever on which to justify his hostilities, but that the Swedish monarch had not acceded to his proposal to break with England, and join his forces to those of Russia, and was desirous of preserving throughout the contest a strict neutrality—a pretext for a war, which came with a singularly bad grace from a power which affected to feel such indignation at the English government for having, for a similar reason, and when well informed of the secret designs of France against the Danish fleet, commenced hostilities against the court of Copenhagen. Napoleon anxiously encouraged the Czar in his designs against Finland, in the hope of diverting his ambition from the Danube, and leaving the stage clear there for his own projects.

47. This declaration was immediately followed by a proclamation to the Finns by the Russian commander, in which he declared that he entered their territory with no hostile intentions, and solely to preserve them from the horrors of war, and invited them to abstain from hostilities or resistance to Russia: a promise instantly belied by the formal occupation of the whole provinces by the Muscovite forces, and the establishment of Russian authorities in every part of them, excepting those fortresses still held by Swedish garrisons. Meanwhile the King of Sweden, faithful to his engagements, relying on the support of Great Britain, and encouraged by the great blow struck at the Danish power by the English armament, bade defiance to the united hostility of France and Russia. He replied to the Russian manifesto in a dignified proclamation—a model for greater powers and more prosperous fortunes—in which he bitterly complained of the invasion of his dominions, and the incitement to revolt held out to his subjects by the Russian forces, without any declaration of war or ground of hostility; contrasted the present subservience of Russia to France with the repeated declarations she had made that its ambition was inconsistent with the liberties of Europe, and her solemn engagements

to conclude no peace with that power which should be "inconsistent with the glory of the Russian name, the security of the empire, the sanctity of alliances, and the general security of Europe;" and justly observed that the present war, based on the avowed design of Russia to dictate all their foreign connections to the northern powers, was undertaken for no other object but to add Finland to the Russian dominions, and compel Sweden to sacrifice her fleet and commerce as a security for Cronstadt and Revel.

48. It was not to be supposed that Denmark, after the grievous though unavoidable loss she had sustained, would not resent to the utmost of her power the hostility of Great Britain. She threw herself, accordingly, without reserve, into the arms of France, and made every preparation for the most active hostility; though the loss of her fleet and dismantling of her arsenal deprived her of the means of carrying on any efficient warfare, and, on the other hand, exposed her commerce and colonies to total destruction. The Prince-Royal, carried away by an excusable resentment, overlooked all these considerations, and not only constantly refused to ratify the capitulation of Copenhagen, but concluded, soon after, a treaty offensive and defensive with the Emperor Napoleon, which, by a singular coincidence, was signed on the very day on which Junot, at the head of a powerful army, commenced his march from Bayonne to enforce a similar obedience to the secret resolutions adopted at Tilsit from the court of Lisbon. Meanwhile Napoleon wrote to Alexander, informing him of the treaty with Denmark, and again pressing him to invade Finland, in order to compel the submission of Sweden; and thus, by having the command of both coasts, shut the Baltic against the English fleets.

49. While a new war was thus kindling from the ashes of the old one in the north of Europe, Russia was steadily prosecuting those ambitious designs on her southern frontier, the unmolested liberty to advance in which had constituted the principal

lure held out by Napoleon to gain her alliance on the shores of the Niemen. In this attempt, however, she did not experience all the facilities which she expected. As the main object of Napoleon, in the negotiations at Tilsit, was to accelerate the rupture of Russia with Great Britain, and procure her accession to the Continental System, so the ruling principle of Russia was to obtain facilities for the prosecution of her designs against the Ottoman empire, and in the mean time to postpone the evacuation of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, till she was better prepared to carry her projects of conquest into effect. Napoleon, as already stated, had agreed at Tilsit, that the evacuation might be indefinitely postponed;* but hardly had he returned to Paris, when, being engrossed with his ambitious projects in the Spanish peninsula, and unable to appropriate to himself, in consequence, his anticipated share of the Ottoman spoils, while at the same time he felt the utmost disquietude at the approach of Russia to the Dardanelles, he repented of the ready consent which he had given to the advances of Russia in that direction, and became desirous to throw every obstacle in the way of their further prosecution. In terms of the stipulation to that effect in the former treaty, the mediation of France had been offered to the Divan, which having been accepted, and an armistice concluded, nothing remained to justify the prolonged occupation of the principalities. Russia, however, was too great a power to leave the seeds of any misunderstanding with it, when Napoleon was engaged in his projects in the Spanish peninsula; and accordingly he soon after wrote to Alexander, that the armistice on the Danube had been concluded without his authority; that he disapproved of it; that the Russian troops might be continued in the principalities; that as to the final partition of the Ottoman empire, that was so grave a question, that it required mature consideration; and that France and Russia, united,

* "You may drag it out a long time."—*Ante*, Chap. XLVI. § 60, note.

might accomplish the greatest things yet seen in modern times.*

50. It appeared the more necessary to bring it to a termination, as the Turks, though they gladly availed themselves of the French mediation at first, did so in the belief that they were to obtain thereby the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia. But no sooner did they discover that this was not really intended, and that the Muscovite standards were still to remain on the Danube, than they loudly expressed their resolution to continue, in preference, the conflict. They said, with justice, "In what worse situation could we be, if the French, instead of being victorious, had been beaten in Poland? Is this the Emperor's care for his allies, whom he has drawn into the conflict, to leave their richest provinces in the hands of their enemies?" Savary, therefore, received orders to insist in the mildest possible manner, but still to insist, for the evacuation of the principalities; and to consent to the prolonged occupation of them by the Russian forces, only on condition that Alexander sanctioned the continued possession of Silesia by the French troops. Napoleon strongly contended that the occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia should not take place, according to the secret treaty of Tilsit, till the French were in a condition to take possession of Greece and Albania, which they were not at present; but he offered to wink at the Russians extending their empire to the Danube, provided Alexander would

agree to indemnify him by the cession of Silesia and other provinces of Prussia, reducing that power to 2,000,000 souls.† This act of spoliation of an allied power, Alexander, much to his credit, positively refused to accede to. At length the respective pretensions of these high contracting powers were arranged in this manner, that France agreed to Russia continuing in the possession of the Danubian principalities, and Russia consented to the prolonged occupation of Silesia by the French troops. This arrangement for the time settled their differences; the two autocrats readily consented to wink at their mutual infractions of the rights of other states; each abandoned an ally to the tender mercies of an enemy; and as the Turks found that they had been betrayed by Napoleon, and some account of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which provided for their partition, had reached them, they declined the further intervention of the French, and prepared to renew the war.‡

† "If there is to be a violation of the treaty of Tilsit," said Napoleon to him, "it must not be for the benefit of one only of the contracting parties. It must take effect for France, in a portion of the states of Prussia—of which this treaty stipulates the restitution—equivalent in population, resources, and riches to the two Turkish provinces. In this way the ally of France and the ally of Russia will be equal losers. Prussia, it is true, will then be left with little more than two million inhabitants, but this fresh weakening will be no great calamity for her. The final destruction of the Ottoman empire should be postponed until her mighty fragments may be divided in the way most advantageous to us, both without risk of another power hostile both to France and Russia intervening to appropriate the richest spoils, Egypt and the Isles."—See NAPOLEON to ALEXANDER, 22d December 1807; *RUSSON*, vii. 43, 44.

‡ "How," exclaimed Alexander, "can I consent to what will in reality be a sharing of the spoils of an unhappy prince whom the Emperor has, in the eyes of France and Europe, taken the credit of restoring out of consideration for me?"—*RUSSON*, vii. 46, 47.

* Napoleon wrote to Alexander,—"That he was no party to the drawing up of the armistice with the Porte, that he disapproved of it (which implied a tacit assent to the occupation of the provinces on the Danube), and that, as to the maintenance or division of the Ottoman empire, it was a question so serious and important, both for the present and the future, that he must think it over ripely; that he could not discuss it in writing, and must weigh it in all its depths with M. Tolstoy; that he reserved it for discussion with that ambassador, and indeed that it was in order to have a conference with him he had postponed his departure for Italy, where he was so anxious to be. Let us be united, said Napoleon to Alexander, and we will accomplish the greatest deeds of modern times."—NAPOLEON to ALEXANDER, 17th Sept. 1807; *THIERS, Consulat et l'Empire*, viii. 225.

§ The negotiation between Savary and Romanoff, and his conversations with Alexander himself on this important subject, which are given in the secret and confidential correspondence of Napoleon, are highly curious, as indicating the ulterior ambitious views of the great empire which they severally represented, and the seeds of that jealousy which, in the midst of unbounded pro-

51. Meanwhile Napoleon had set out for Italy, where great political changes were in progress. Destined, like all the subordinate thrones which sur-

rounded the French nation, to share in the rapid mutations which its government underwent, the kingdom of Italy was soon called upon to accept a

testations of present regard, was laying the foundation of future and mortal hostility. By despatches from Napoleon, dated Fontainebleau, Oct. 14, 1807, Savary was required to inquire what was the cause which had retarded the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Russian troops, and to observe that peace could not be re-established between Russia and the Porte till that evacuation had taken place, as it was the condition which must precede the armistice which was to be the foundation of the definitive treaty; that the delay to evacuate could not fail to annul the armistice which had been concluded, and rekindle the flames of war between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. In reply, the Emperor Alexander, after alleging various insignificant reasons for not commencing the evacuation, observed:—

"Circumstances now appear to require a deviation in this particular from the strict letter of the treaty of Tilsit. The latest advices from Vienna and Odessa concur in stating that the influence of France has declined at Constantinople: it is even said that Lord A. Paget, the English ambassador, has embarked on board Lord Collingwood's fleet in the Dardanelles. There is every probability that a treaty will be concluded between England and the Porte hostile to you, and consequently to me; and that, if I should evacuate these provinces, I should soon have to re-enter them in order to avert the war from my own frontiers. I must revert to what the Emperor Napoleon said to me, not once, but ten times, at Tilsit, in respect to these provinces, and I have more confidence in these assurances than in all the reasons of expedience or policy which may subsequently appear to gainsay them." Why, then, renounce my present advantages, when past experience tells me so clearly what will ensue if I evacuate these provinces? Even supposing that you have the upper hand at Constantinople, you can never prevent bands of insurgents from crossing the Danube, and renewing the pillage of these provinces: the orders of the Porte are null a mile from Constantinople. In our conversations at Tilsit, your Emperor often said, that he was noways set on that evacuation; that it might be indefinitely postponed; that it was not possible any longer to tolerate the Turks in Europe; that he left me at liberty to drive them into Asia. It was only on a subsequent occasion that he went back from his word so far as to speak of leaving the Turks Constantinople and some of the adjacent provinces."

Savary replied, "Russia can always renew the war if you find it advisable. It is needless to refer to the engagements between the two monarchs: the Emperor Napoleon has too much confidence in the honour of the Emperor Alexander to doubt the validity of the reasons which have hitherto prevented him from executing these secret engage-

ments: but still he is desirous of seeing them carried into effect, as a peace between Russia and the Porte is all that remains to complete the execution of the stipulations of the public treaty of Tilsit. All that the Emperor Napoleon has said at Tilsit shall be religiously executed; nor is there anything in the secret treaty which is calculated to thwart the desires of Russia. Nay, the surest and most expeditious mode to arrive at it, is to carry into execution the public treaty; for we must conclude an armistice with the Turks before a treaty is concluded; or do you propose at once to write their epitaph?"

"I yesterday had a long interview," replied Alexander, "with the Swedish ambassador, and strongly urged him to enter into all the views of France, and represented the risk he would run in not making common cause with her and Russia. Meanwhile the march of the troops continues; in seven or eight days the last division will have arrived, and fifty thousand men will be ready to commence the war on the frontiers of Finland. When you demanded from me a declaration of war against England, I was well aware it was no trifling change of policy which was required; no slight change of system, which could be altered as soon as adopted. Had I conceived it to be such, I would never have put my name to it; but I viewed it in a more extended light. What am I required to do? said I to myself. To prepare great events which will cause the memory of mournful ones to be forgotten, and put the two states in such political relations as can never be disturbed. Impressed with these ideas, and within twenty-four hours after your requisition, I did what you desired, though that was not only noways conducive to our interests, but, on the contrary, exposed us to very serious losses. Now you insist that I should make war on Sweden: I am ready to do so; my armies are on her frontier; but what return are we to obtain for so many sacrifices? Wallachia and Moldavia are the recompense which the nation expects, and you wish to bereave us of them. What reply can we make to our people; if, after their evacuation, they ask us what benefits are to compensate to them for the manifold losses consequent on the war with England!"—See the whole diplomatic papers and conversations in SAVARY'S *Secret Despatch to Napoleon, St Petersburg, 18th November 1807; Corresp. Conf. de Napoleon*, vii. 584, 585.—That confidential despatch reveals more of the real nature of the secret engagements at Tilsit than any other documents in existence; and demonstrates that both the Swedish and English wars were the result of those engagements, and noways connected with the Copenhagen expedition, which is never once mentioned as a ground of complaint against Great Britain, by either Savary, Alexander, or his minister Romanzoff.

change in its constitution. Napoleon, in consequence, suppressed the legislative body, and substituted in its room a senate, which was exclusively intrusted with the power of submitting observations to government on the public wants, and of superintending the budget and public expenditure. As the members of this senate were nominated and paid by government, this last shadow of representative institutions became a perfect mockery. Nevertheless the great conqueror was received with unbounded adulation by all the towns of Italy; their deputies, who waited upon him at Milan, vied with each other in elegant flattery. He was the Redeemer of France, but the Creator of Italy: they had supplicated Heaven for his safety, for his victories; they offered him the tribute of their eternal love and fidelity. Napoleon received their adulation in the most gracious manner; but he was careful not to lose sight of the main object of his policy—the consolidation of his dominions, the rendering them all dependent on his imperial crown, and the fostering of a military spirit among his subjects. “You will always find,” said he, “the source of your prosperity, the best guarantee alike of your institutions and of your independence, in the constant union of the iron crown with the imperial crown of France. But to obtain this felicity you must show yourselves worthy of it. It is time that the Italian youth should seek some more ennobling employment than idling away their lives at the feet of women; and that the women of Italy should spurn every lover who cannot lay claim to their favour by the exhibition of honourable scars.”

52. From Milan the Emperor travelled by Verona and Padua to Venice; he there admired the marble palaces, varied scenery, and gorgeous architecture of the Queen of the Adriatic, which appeared to extraordinary advantage amidst illuminations, fireworks, and rejoicings; and, returning to Milan, arranged with an authoritative hand, all the affairs of the peninsula. The discontent of Melzi, who still re-

tained a lingering partiality for the democratic institutions which he had vainly hoped to see established in his country, was stifled by the title of Duke of Lodi. Tuscany was taken from the King of Etruria, on whom Napoleon had settled it, and united to France by the title of the department of the Taro; while magnificent public works were set on foot at Milan to dazzle the ardent imagination of the Italians, and console them for the entire loss of their national independence and civil liberty. The cathedral was daily adorned with fresh works of sculpture; its exterior decorated and restored to its original purity, while thousands of pinnacles and statues rose on all sides, glittering in spotless brilliancy in the blue vault of heaven. The Forum of Buonaparte was rapidly advancing; the beautiful basso-relievos of the arch of the Simplon already entranced the admiring gaze of thousands; the roads of the Simplon and Mount Cenis were kept in the finest order, and daily attracted fresh crowds of strangers to the Italian plains. But in the midst of all this external splendour, the remains of which still throw a halo around the recollection of the French domination in Italy, the finances of all the states were involved in hopeless embarrassment, and suffering of the most grinding kind pervaded all classes of the people. The public expenditure of the kingdom of Italy had risen to 120,000,000 francs (£5,000,000); the annual tribute of a million sterling to France was severely felt; ten thousand men had recently been raised by conscription to fill up the chasms in the army; and the misery of Piedmont, Tuscany, and the Venetian states, from the enormous contributions levied by the French troops, and the total stoppage of foreign commerce, was such as to draw forth the most piteous lamentations from the native historians. In the midst of these great designs, however, the Emperor abated nothing of his inveterate hostility against British commerce. Eugene received orders to invade Etruria with four thousand men suddenly, so as to fall on Pisa and Leghorn before time could be afforded

for the removal or secreting of British merchandise, which was all to be confiscated for the benefit of the imperial treasury. At the same time General Lemarrois was directed to invade the Roman provinces of Urbino, Macerata, and Fermo, to seize English merchandise of every description, and occupy all the important ports along the sea-coast, with a view to ulterior operations against Sicily and the Ionian Isles. Lemarrois was enjoined to observe narrowly the disposition of the people in the Papal States, and if any inclination was evinced to escape from the government of priests, and range themselves under that of Eugene, to offer no obstacle to such a revolution.

53. The encroachments thus made on the Italian peninsula were not the only ones which Napoleon effected, in consequence of the liberty to dispose of western Europe acquired by him at the treaty of Tilsit. The territory of the great nation was rounded also on the side of Germany and Holland. On the 11th of November, the important town and territory of Flushing were ceded to France by the King of Holland, who obtained in return merely an elusory equivalent in East Friesland. On the 21st of January following, a decree of the senate united to the French empire, besides these places, the important towns of Kehl, Cassel, and Wesel, on the right bank of the Rhine. Shortly after, the French troops, who had already taken possession of the whole of Tuscany, in compliance with the orders already noticed, and under pretence of a resignation forced upon the Queen of Etruria, invaded the Roman territories, and made themselves masters of the ancient capital of the world. They immediately occupied the castle of St Angelo, and the gates of the city, and entirely dispossessed the papal troops. Two months afterwards, an imperial decree of Napoleon severed the provinces of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, which had formed part of the ecclesiastical estates, under the gift of Charlemagne, for nearly a thousand years, and annexed them to the kingdom of Italy. The reason assigned for this spoliation

was, "That the actual sovereign of Rome has constantly declined to declare war against the English, and to coalesce with the Kings of Italy and Naples for the defence of the Italian peninsula. The interests of these two kingdoms, as well as of the armies of Naples and Italy, require that their communications should not be interrupted by a hostile power." The importance of these acquisitions, great as they undoubtedly were, especially in Italy, was not so momentous as the principles on which they were founded, and the ulterior acquisitions to which they evidently pointed. France now, without disguise, assumed the right of annexing neutral and independent states to its already extensive dominions, by no other authority than the decree of its own legislature. The natural boundaries, so long held forth as the limits of the great nation, were not merely overstepped, but publicly disavowed as an undue restriction of its dimensions. By extending its territory beyond the Rhine, it was plain that Holland and the north of Germany were soon to be incorporated with its dominions; by stretching across the Alps, it was evident that, ere long, Rome and the whole of Italy would form an integral part of the dominions of Napoleon. So boundless had the ambition of the French Emperor now become, and so intent was he on all acquisitions which might be of advantage to him in his hostility against English commerce, that he did not scruple to declare that, in existing circumstances, the loss of Corfu would be the greatest possible misfortune which could happen to the Empire.* These distant marine possessions were of such importance, as connected not merely with Napoleon's ambitious designs in the Levant, but with his vast projects for the subjugation of Great Britain. The Boulogne flotilla was in great part rotten; it was no longer

* "These measures are part of a consecutive series, of which you can know nothing. Understand this, however, that in the present posture of affairs, the loss of Corfu would be the greatest misfortune which could befall the Empire."—*NAPOLEON to MARSHALL*, 24th August 1807; *Times*, vol. 38.

possible to transport one hundred and fifty thousand men in twenty-four hours across the Channel. But the Emperor's plans were modified by that circumstance, not abandoned. He now proposed to embark sixty thousand only at Boulogne, and thirty thousand in Holland; and the maritime war was to be converted into one incessantly menacing England or its colonies with considerable fleets. An expedition against Sicily, and great preparations in the Ionian Islands, formed part of these designs; and orders were sent out to all the harbours of the Empire to make preparations for this new species of hostility.

But all the other consequences of the peace at Tilsit were trifling in comparison with those which took place in the Spanish peninsula. As the war to which they led in that quarter, however, was by far the most important and eventful which arose out of the French Revolution; brought, for the first time, the English and French armies into collision as principals in the contest; and was the chief cause of the overthrow of Napoleon, as well as the best index to the leading features of his policy, it requires for its elucidation a separate chapter.

54. In the consequences, however, which have already been described as flowing from the treaty of Tilsit, is to be discerned the clearest indications of the great peril which instantly threatens the cause of European independence from the undue preponderance acquired by any of its potentates, and of the absolute necessity which exists for the maintenance of that balance of power in which superficial observers have so often seen only the prolific source of unnecessary warfare. The principle on which that policy is founded is that of *obtemperantis*: resist the encroachments which may give any one state an undue preponderance; and regard such contests at the extremity of the outworks as the only effectual means of defending the ramparts of the place. Such a system requires a sacrifice of the present to the future; it involves an immediate expenditure to avert a remote, and

possibly contingent evil. It will, therefore, always be supported only by the wise, and be generally unpopular with the bulk of mankind. It is of great importance, therefore, to attend to the consequences which immediately resulted from the treaty at Tilsit, and the effects which necessarily ensued from the overthrow of this system. The inferior powers of Europe were then overawed or subdued. England had withdrawn almost entirely from the strife; and, secluded in her inaccessible isle, had remained, according to the favourite system of a numerous class of her politicians, a neutral spectator of the wars of the Continent. What was the consequence? Was it that her independence was better secured, her interests more thoroughly established, or her ultimate safety better provided for, than under the more active and costly system of former times? On the contrary, while the rights and liberties of the Continental states were utterly destroyed for the time, during her secession, England herself was brought to the very edge of perdition. The European strife immediately ran into a contest between its two great powers: the whole moral as well as physical strength of the Continent was arrayed under the banners of France and Russia; and when these rival powers came to an accommodation, it was by the mutual agreement to divide between them the spoils of all subordinate or neutral states.

55. To Russia, already enriched by a portion of Prussia, was assigned Finland, the greater part of Turkey, and an irresistible preponderance in the Euxine and Baltic seas; to France, already master of the half of Germany, was allotted Italy, Poland, and the Spanish peninsula, with a promise of obtaining Greece, Macedonia, and the islands of the Archipelago. It was Napoleon himself who proposed this vast scheme of spoliation to Alexander; the ambition of the Czar, great as it was, had never contemplated anything so extensive. He now openly showed his determination to dethrone all sovereigns who did not instantly adhere to

his designs against Great Britain, and replace them by others drawn from his family, who might be expected to be obedient to his will.* France and Russia, relying on each other's support, now laid aside all moderation, and even the semblance of justice, in their proceedings; and, strong in their mutual forbearance, instantly proceeded to appropriate, without scruple, the possessions of all other states, even unoffending neutrals or faithful allies, which lay on their own side of the line of demarcation. It was easy to see that the present concord which subsisted between them could not last. The world was not wide enough for two such great and ambitious powers, any more than it had been for Alexander and Darius, Rome and Carthage. Universal empire to one or other would, it was likely, be the result of a desperate strife between them, and in that case it would be hard to say whether the independence of Great Britain had most to fear from the Scythian or the Gallic hosts. Already this danger had become apparent: all the fleets of Europe were combined under the command of the French Emperor; and in a few years he would have two hundred sail of the line to beat down in the Channel the naval forces of England, and carry slavery and ruin into the British dominions. Such were, then, the consequences of the subversion of the balance of power; such the dangers which induce the far-seeing sagacity of political wisdom to commence the conflict for national independence as soon as the rights of inferior powers are menaced.

56. Although, however, both the liberties of England and independence of Europe were at this time placed in such imminent peril, yet a great step had already been made towards diminishing the danger. The Copenhagen

expedition had completely paralysed the right wing of the naval force by which Napoleon expected to effect our subjugation. The capture of twenty ships of the line and fifteen frigates, with all their stores complete, equivalent, in Napoleon's estimation, to the destruction of eighty thousand land troops, was perhaps the greatest maritime blow ever yet struck by any nation, and weakened the naval resources of the French Emperor to a degree greater in extent than any single calamity, except Trafalgar, yet experienced during the war. The hostility of Russia, predetermined at Tilsit, was by this stroke kept almost within the bounds of compulsory neutrality. Sweden was encouraged to continue in the English alliance; the maritime force of the Baltic was in a manner withdrawn from the contest; a few sail of the line were all that were required to be maintained by England in that quarter. It is remarkable that this great achievement, fraught with such momentous consequences at that eventful crisis, was regarded by the nation at the time with divided and uneasy sentiments; and that the Opposition never had so largely the support of the public as when they assailed the government on account of a measure calculated, in its ultimate results, to prove the salvation of the country. But it is not to be supposed that this dissatisfaction was owing to factious motives; on the contrary, it was brought about by the ascendancy in the public mind of the best and noblest principles of our nature. And it is a memorable circumstance, highly characteristic of the salutary influence of public opinion under a really free government, in bringing the actions of public men to the test of general morality, that while in France, where revolutionary ascendancy had extinguished every feeling in regard to public matters, except the admiration of success, and in Russia, where a despotic sway had hitherto prevented the growth of any public opinion whatever, universal satisfaction ensued at the ill-gotten gains of the respective Emperors, the English people mourned at

* "I did not think," said Alexander to General Savary, "of the Danubian provinces; it was your Emperor who, on hearing the news of the fall of Belin, exclaimed at Tilsit: One can do nothing with these barbarians! Providence absolute me from my engagements with them; let us adjust matters at their expense."—*Times, Consulat et l'Empire*, viii. 219.

the greatest maritime conquest yet achieved by their arms; and disdained to purchase even national independence at the expense, as it was then in error supposed, of the national faith.

CHAPTER LII.

PROXIMATE CAUSES OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.

1. No sooner had Napoleon returned to Paris, than he began to turn his eyes towards the Spanish peninsula, and the means of bringing the resources of its monarchies more immediately under the control of France than they had hitherto been brought, even by the abject submission of both courts to his commands. His designs against Portugal had been of very long standing. Lord Yarmouth had gained a clue to them while conducting the negotiations at Paris in July 1806, for the conclusion of a general peace; and so pressing did the danger at that time appear, that government despatched Earl St Vincent with a powerful squadron to the Tagus, to watch over British interests in that quarter, and afford to the Portuguese government every assistance in his power in warding off the danger with which they were threatened. Lord Rosslyn accompanied the expedition in a poli-

tical character, and was authorised to offer the cabinet of Lisbon assistance in men and money, to aid them in repelling the threatened invasion. Nor were these measures of precaution uncalculated for: a corps of thirty thousand men, under the name of the "army of the Gironde," was assembling at Bayonne, commanded by Junot; and it was ascertained, by undoubted information, that their destination was Lisbon.* The presence of the British fleet, under Earl St Vincent, in the Tagus for a period of several months, revived the drooping spirits of the Portuguese government; but after the battle of Jena, their terror of France so far prevailed as to induce them to solicit the removal of that squadron. The march, however, of the French armies to Prussia, postponed, for a considerable period at least, the threatened invasion.†

2. At the same period when these

* "Switzerland," said Talleyrand to Lord Yarmouth at Paris, on 27th July 1806, "is on the eve of undergoing a great change. This cannot be averted but by a peace with England; but still less can we alter for any other consideration our intention of invading Portugal. The army destined for that purpose is already assembled at Bayonne. This is for the consideration of Great Britain."—LORD YARMOUTH'S Despatch, July 30, 1806; *Parl. Deb.* viii. 134.

† Even so early as this period, the project of partitioning Portugal, and conferring a portion of it on the Prince of the Peace, afterwards embodied in the treaty of Fontainebleau, was formed. "Lord Rosslyn," says General Foy, "was no sooner admitted to the council of Lisbon than he announced that it was all over with Portugal; that a French army, assembled at the foot of the Pyrenees, was ready to invade it, and that its conquest was already arranged between

the King of Spain and the Prince of the Peace. 'That great project,' added he, 'has been confided by Talleyrand to Lord Lauderdale during the negotiations at Paris. The ministers of the King of England could not see without uneasiness the peril of their ancient allies; they have flown to their succour. A corps of 12,000 men is at this moment embarking at Portsmouth, and will shortly arrive at Lisbon; meanwhile, the court of Lisbon may draw at pleasure on the treasury of England for the charges consequent on the war.'—Foy, ii. 123. The English expedition sailed, but afterwards went on to Sicily, as the Portuguese government, relieved of their present danger by the Prussian war, and desirous not to embroil themselves further with France, not only declined their aid, but prevailed on the English government to withdraw their squadron from the Tagus.

preparations, avowedly directed against Portugal, were going forward on the Pyrenean frontier, the cabinet of Madrid discovered, through their ambassador at Paris, that Napoleon was offering to bestow on others, without their knowledge or consent, considerable portions of the Spanish dominions. It has been already noticed that, in his anxiety for peace with England, he offered to cede the Spanish settlement of Puerto Rico; and, to obtain Sicily from the British government for his brother Joseph, he proposed to give up the Balearic Isles as a compensation to the dispossessed family of Naples. Even this was not all. To make up the amount of indemnity, it was seriously proposed that a large annuity, imposed as a burden for ever on the Spanish crown, should be settled on the dislodged family, and stipulations to this effect were inserted in the secret articles of the treaty which M. d'Oubril signed with France on July 19, 1806.* Nor were these diplomatic arrangements unsupported by warlike demonstrations. On the contrary, the most active measures were taken to put the army on the Pyrenean frontier on the most efficient footing; and on the 19th July Earl Yarmouth wrote to Mr Secretary Fox—"There is a considerable army already forming at Bayonne; thirty thousand men are there already: this army is ostensibly directed against Portugal, but it *will take Spain also.*"

3. The alarming discovery of the manner in which the French Emperor was thus disposing of portions of the Spanish dominions—astute with which he was in close alliance at the time—without even going through the form

* "M. d'Oubril and Talleyrand have fixed upon Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica for his Sicilian Majesty, if they cannot prevail on us to evacuate Sicily."—*LORD YARMOUTH to MR SECRETARY FOX, July 19 and 20, 1806: Parl. Deb. viii. 122.* And again, on the 26th September, Champagne proposed to Lord Lauderdale "that his Sicilian Majesty should have the Balearic Isles, and an annuity from the court of Spain to enable him to maintain his dignity."—*LORD LAUDERDALE'S Despatch to EARL SPENCER, Paris, 26th September 1806: Parl. Deb. viii. 193, 194.*

of asking their consent to the cessions they were required to make, added to the irritation which the Spanish government already felt at the dethronement of the Neapolitan branch of the house of Bourbon. It produced the same impression on the cabinet of Madrid that a similar discovery, made at the same time, of the offer of Napoleon to cede Hanover, recently bestowed on Prussia by himself, to Great Britain, as an inducement to that power to enter into a maritime peace, did on that of Berlin. Both these powers had for ten years cordially supported France: Spain in particular had placed her fleets and treasures at its disposal; and not only annually paid an enormous tribute (£2,800,000) towards the expenses of the war, but submitted for its prosecution to the destruction of her marine, and the entire stoppage of her foreign and colonial trade. When, therefore, in return for so many sacrifices, made in a cause foreign to the real interests of their country, her ministers found not only that the interests of the Peninsula were noways regarded by Napoleon in his negotiations with England and Russia, but that he had actually offered the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy, his tried and faithful ally, to appease the jealousy and satisfy the demands of these his old and inveterate enemies, their indignation knew no bounds.

4. The veil which had so long hung before their eyes was at once violently rent asunder; they saw clearly that fidelity in alliance and long-continued national support, afforded no guarantee whatever for the continued support of the French monarch; and that, when it suited his purpose, he had no scruples in purchasing a temporary respite from the hostility of an enemy by the permanent spoliation of a friend. The Prince of the Peace also was personally mortified at the exclusion of the Spanish minister at Paris from all share in the conferences going on with d'Oubril and Lord Yarmouth for the conclusion of a general peace. Under the influence of such pressing public

and private causes of irritation, the Spanish minister lent a willing ear to the advances of the Russian ambassador at Madrid, Baron Strogonoff, who strongly represented the impolicy of continuing any longer the alliance with a conqueror who sacrificed his allies to propitiate his enemies; and a convention was secretly concluded at Madrid between the Spanish government and the Russian ambassador, to which the court of Lisbon was also a party, by which it was agreed, that as soon as the favourable opportunity arrived, by the French armies being far advanced on their road to Berlin, the Spanish government should commence hostilities on the Pyrenees, and invite the English cabinet to co-operate in averting the dangers with which it was menaced from the Spanish peninsula.*

5. The whole of this secret negotiation was made known to Napoleon through the activity of his ambassador at Madrid, and by the intercepting of some of the correspondence in cipher in which it was carried on, before the Prussian war was commenced. But he dissembled his resentment, and resolved to strike a decisive blow in the north of Germany, before he carried into effect the views which he now began to entertain for the total conquest and appropriation of both kingdoms in the Peninsula. The imprudence of the Prince of the Peace, however, publicly revealed the designs which were in agitation before the proper season had arrived; for, in a proclamation published in the beginning of October at Madrid, he invited "all Spaniards to unite themselves under the national standards; the rich to make sacrifices for the charges of a war which will soon be called for by the common good; the magistrates to do all in their

power to rouse the public enthusiasm, in order to enable the nation to enter with glory in the lists which were preparing." This proclamation reached Napoleon on the field of Jena, the evening after the battle. He was not prepared for so vigorous a step on the part of one who had so long been the obsequious minister of his will; and it may be conceived what his feelings were on receiving accounts of so decided a demonstration in a moment of unexampled triumph.

6. Too skilled in dissembling, however, to give any premature vent to his feelings, he contented himself with instructing his ambassador at Madrid to demand an explanation of so extraordinary a measure, and feigned entire satisfaction with the flimsy pretence that it was directed against an anticipated descent of the Moors. Nay, he had the address to render this perilous step the means of forwarding his ultimate designs against the Peninsula: for, by threatening the Prince of the Peace with the utmost consequences of his resentment, if the most unequivocal proofs of devotion to the cause of France were not speedily given, he succeeded in obtaining the consent of the cabinet of Madrid to the march of the Marquis Romana, with the flower of the Spanish army, from the banks of the Ebro to the shores of the Baltic;† thereby denuding the Penin-

* M. Bignon says (vii. 187) that the preparations of Spain were not owing to this hostile step of Napoleon appropriating the Balearic Isles, because they began in August 1806, at which time the treaty of July 19, by which it was stipulated, could not have been known. But that defence of Napoleon is entirely overthrown by the simple fact that that treaty was known and communicated to the British government on the very day (July 19, 1806) on which it was signed. — *Anti-Chap. LII. § 3, note.*

† The details now given on the spoliation of Spain, which had been contemplated by Napoleon in the diplomatic conferences with the English government at Paris in July 1806, and the actual conclusion of a treaty for that spoliation with Russia in that month, are of the highest importance in the development of the remote causes of the Peninsular war, as they demonstrate that the well-known proclamation of the Prince of the Peace on the 5th October was not, as the French panegyrists of Napoleon represent, an uncalculated act of original hostility on the part of the Spanish government, but a *defensive measure* merely, rendered necessary by the discovery of Napoleon's previous declared intention of bestowing on strangers, without the consent of the government, considerable portions of the Spanish dominions. This important fact, demonstrated beyond dispute by the state-papers above quoted, appears to be entirely unknown to Southey, (*Penins. War*, i. 88), Napier, (*Penins. War*, i. 2), and even to Lord Londonderry, (*Londond. J.* 21, 22).

sula of its best defenders, and leaving it, as he supposed, an easy prey to his ambitious designs. At the same time the court of Lisbon, justly alarmed at the perilous situation in which they were placed by this ill-timed revelation of their secret designs, lost no time in disavowing all participation in a project which all concerned pretended now equally to condemn; and to propitiate the conqueror by an act which they were well aware would be well received, compelled Earl St Vincent to withdraw with his squadron from the Tagus.

7. This meditated though abortive resistance of Spain, however, to the projects of spoliation which he had in contemplation, produced a very great impression on Napoleon. He perceived, in the clearest manner, the risk to which he was exposed, if, while actively engaged in a German or Russian war in front, he were to be suddenly assailed by the monarchies of the Peninsula in rear—a quarter where the French frontier was in a great measure defenceless, and from which the armies of England might find an easy entrance into the heart of his dominions. He felt with Louis XIV. that it was necessary there should be no longer any Pyrenees; and as the Revolution had altered the reigning family on the throne of France, it appeared indispensable that a similar change should take place in the Peninsular monarchies. By effecting that object, he thought, apparently with reason, that not only would the resources of the kingdoms it contained be more completely placed at his disposal, but his rear would be secured by the co-operation of princes whose existence depended on the maintenance of his authority; and a new Family Compact, founded on the same reasons of blood connection and state policy which had rendered it so important to the Bourbons, would, in like manner, secure the perpetuity of the Napoleon dynasty. From the people, either of Spain or Portugal, he anticipated little or no opposition, deeming them, like the Italians, indifferent to political changes, provided that no

diminution were made in their private enjoyments. Although, therefore, he dissembled his intentions as long as the war continued in the north of Europe, he had already taken his resolution, and the determination was irrevocable, that the houses of Bourbon and Braganza should cease to reign. The arch-chancellor Cambacérès, being opposed to this project, was not taken into confidence on the subject; but Talleyrand warmly supported it to the extent, at least, of incorporating the whole of the Spanish provinces to the north of the Ebro with the French empire.

8. The peace of Tilsit, however, placed Napoleon in a very different situation, and gave him at once the means of securing in the most effectual manner the concurrence of Alexander in the dethronement of the Peninsular monarchs, by simply conniving at his advances against the Turkish empire. It has already been stated, accordingly, that the invasion of Spain was settled at this period, and that the consideration given for that act of injustice, was permission to the Czar to drive the Turks out of Europe.* In regard to

* "I have strong reasons to believe," says Savary, "that the affair of Spain was arranged at Tilsit. Subsequently, at St Petersburg, when the troubles in the Peninsula commenced, the Emperor seemed noways surprised at them, and not only expressed no jealousy at the entrance of the French troops into Spain, but never once mentioned the subject. And though Napoleon wrote to me every week from Paris, he never alluded to the subject; a silence which he certainly would not have preserved had everything not been previously arranged, especially considering how much he had at heart, at that period, to draw closer the bonds of the Russian alliance."—SAVARY, iii. 90; see also THIBAUDRAU, *Hist. de l'Empire* vi. 276; ARMS DE PRADT, *Révolution d'Espagne*, i. 7; and Escoiquiz has preserved a remarkable conversation which he had with Napoleon himself on the subject.—"There is but one power," said he, "which can disturb my views, and I have no fears in that quarter. The Emperor of Russia, to whom I communicated my projects on Spain, which were formed at that period, approved of them, and gave me his word of honour that he would throw no obstacles in their way. The other powers will remain tranquil, and the resistance of the Spaniards will not be formidable. Believe me, the countries where monks have influence are not difficult to conquer."—ESCOQUIZ, 181; *Pittes Hist.*

Portugal, the course to be adopted was sufficiently plain. All that was required was to summon the court of Lisbon to shut their ports against England, confiscate all English property within their dominions, and declare war against the British empire. In the course of enforcing such a requisition, it was hoped that an opportunity could hardly fail to present itself of effecting the total dethronement of the house of Braganza. This was accordingly done: and on the 12th August the Portuguese government, as already noticed, were formally summoned, in terms of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, to declare war against England, adopt the Continental System, and confiscate all the English property within their bounds.* This requisition was made in the most menacing and peremptory style, accompanied with the intimation, that, if instant compliance was not made, the Spanish forces would be united to the French, and Portugal would forthwith be occupied not for ten or fifteen days, as in 1801, but for the whole war, perhaps for ever, according to circumstances. At the same time, the army of the Gironde, which had been in a great measure broken up during the Prussian war, was re-assembled at Bayonne, and, before the end of August, Junot found himself there at the

* The note presented by the French ambassador at Lisbon to the Portuguese government was in these terms:—"The undersigned has received orders to declare, that if, on the 1st of next September, the Prince Regent of Portugal has not manifested his resolution to emancipate himself from English influence, by declaring without delay war against Great Britain, dismissing the English ambassador, recalling his own from London, confiscating all the English merchandise, closing his harbours against the English vessels, and uniting his squadrons to the navies of the Continental powers, the Prince Regent of Portugal will be considered as having renounced the cause of the Continent, and the undersigned will be under the necessity of demanding his passports, and declaring war."—12th August 1807.—*For's Pen. War*, ii. 408, 409; *Pictor Just.*—By a curious coincidence, this note, which so completely justified the Copenhagen expedition, was presented at Lisbon on the very day on which the British fleet approached the shores of Zealand.

† By occupying Portugal he did not wish merely to complete the closing of the Con-

head of twenty-five thousand foot and three thousand horse; while Napoleon, in anticipation of an unfavourable reply to his demands, without waiting for an answer, at once seized the Portuguese ships in his harbours. His mind was now definitively made up to appropriate Portugal, and render that acquiescent on the means of revolutionising Spain, and chasing the Bourbons from their tottering throne.†

9. The British cabinet, who were speedily informed of the demand thus made upon their ancient ally, and were no strangers either to the powerful means at the disposal of the French Emperor for enforcing obedience to his wishes, or the inconsiderable force which the Portuguese government could oppose to his hostility, immediately sent the generous intimation to the court of Lisbon, that they would consent to anything which might appear conducive to the safety of Portugal, and only hoped that the threatened confiscation of British property would not be complied with. The Prince Regent in consequence agreed to shut his harbours against English vessels, and to declare war against Great Britain; but he declared that his sense of religion, and the regard which he entertained for existing treaties, would not permit him to confiscate at once the property of the English mercantile ports, but to take that country into his own hands to dispose of at his pleasure. He determined to appropriate Portugal, irrespective of Spain, and even as a means of revolutionising Spain; for that country, in its then condition, was as offensive to him as the courts of Naples and Lisbon, which he had already driven, or was about to drive, from their tottering thrones. Such was the beginning of the greatest faults and the greatest misfortunes of his reign.—*Thiers, Consul et l'Empire*, viii. 343, 344. Having already driven the Bourbons of Naples from their throne, he constantly dwelt upon the necessity of pursuing the same course with the Bourbons of Spain, who were at heart equally hostile to him; who had already attempted to betray him on the eve of the battle of Jena; and who would not fail to seize the first opportunity for a similar attempt; who, moreover, when not actively engaged in any attempt against him, were equally anxious, by allowing the power of their kingdom to wither in their hands, a power which was as essential to France, as to Spain itself.—*Ibid.* viii. 345.

chants. Intimation was at the same time sent to the British residents that they had better wind up their affairs and embark their property as speedily as possible. This modified compliance with his demands, however, was far from satisfying the French Emperor, to whom the confiscation of English property was as convenient as a means of gratifying his followers by plunder, as it was essential to the general adoption of the Continental System, which he had so much at heart. Orders, therefore, were immediately despatched to Junot to commence his march; they reached the French general on the seventeenth October; two days afterwards his leading divisions crossed THE BIDASSOA; while the court of Lisbon, menaced with instant destruction, soon after issued a decree, excluding English vessels of every description from their harbours, but declaring that, if the French troops entered Portugal, they would retire with their fleet to the Brazils. Events, however, succeeded one another with extraordinary rapidity; and, without any regard to the obedience yielded by the Court of Lisbon to his demands by the proclamation of the 20th October, Napoleon had not only already resolved on the total destruction of the house of Braganza, but actually concluded a treaty for the entire partition of its dominions. The motives, which led to this act of spoliation are intimately connected with the complicated intrigues which at this period were preparing the way for the dethronement of the Spanish house of Bourbon, and the lighting up the flames of the PENINSULAR WAR.

10. The views of Napoleon on the Spanish Peninsula, first formed in the summer of 1806, and matured with the consent of Alexander at Tilsit, required even more the aid of skilful and unscrupulous diplomatists than of powerful armies towards their development. He found such aid in Talleyrand and Duroc, the only ones of his confidential counsellors who at this period were initiated in his hidden designs, and from the former of whom he received every encouragement for

their prosecution;* while his acute ambassador at Madrid, Beaucharnais, transmitted all the information requisite to enable him to appreciate the disposition of the leading political characters with whom he was likely, in carrying them into execution, to come into collision. The Spanish royal family at this period was divided and distracted by intrigues to a degree almost unprecedented even in the dark annals of Italian or Byzantine faction. The King, Charles IV., though a prince not destitute of good qualities, fond of literature and the fine arts, endowed with no inconsiderable share of political penetration, and obstinately resolute, when fairly roused, in the maintenance of his own opinions, was nevertheless extremely indolent, and so desirous of enjoying on a throne the tranquillity of private life, that he surrendered himself on ordinary occasions without scruple to the direction of the Queen and the Prince of the Peace. She was a woman of spirit and capacity, but sensual, intriguing, and almost entirely governed by Don Manuel Godoy, a minister whom her criminal favour had raised from the humblest station to be the supreme director of affairs in the Peninsula. Godoy was not by nature a bad man; and, being endowed with considerable talents, might, under a free constitution, and in a country where greatness was to be attained by integrity of conduct and capacity for the direction of affairs, have preserved an unblemished reputation. Even as it was, his administration, among many grievous evils, conferred some important benefits on his country. But, elevated to power by the partiality of a

* Talleyrand and his partisans have taken advantage of his dismissal from the office of minister for foreign affairs shortly after this period, to represent him as hostile to the war with Spain. There can be no doubt, however, from his communications to Savary at Tilsit, that he was then privy to that design, and approved of it; and Napoleon constantly asserted that it was he who originally suggested to him the subjugation of the Peninsula. "Napoleon declared," says O'Meara, "that Talleyrand was the first to suggest to him the invasion of Spain." O'MEARA, ii. 330; See also THIBAUDEAU, vi. 296.

woman, ambitious, vain, and ostentatious, surrounded by a jealous nobility, who regarded his extraordinary influence with undisguised aversion, he had no resource for the preservation of his power but in the same arts to which he had owed his rise. He had the extraordinary faculty, descriptive not less of his own character than of the manners of the court where his elevation had taken place, while married to a princess of the blood-royal, to carry on a ceaseless intrigue with the Queen, and, without exciting her jealousy, to live in open adultery with Mademoiselle Tudo, by whom he had several children, and console himself, when her charms began to wane, with those of her younger and more beautiful sister! Alike unsatiated by this power, and undeterred by these scandals, which were known to all Spain, he now openly aspired to a throne, and aimed at the formation of a dynasty which might take its place among the crowned heads of Europe.* Charles IV., too weak to divine the ambitious designs of the ruling favourite, and entirely under his direction, was not only

* Don Manuel Godoy, born at Badajoz in 1767, of a noble but obscure family, affords as singular an example of sudden elevation as the history of Europe or the East has recorded. A mere private in the body-guard, he owed the first favour of the Queen to the skill with which he sang and touched the lute, so favourite an instrument in that land of love and romance. Rapidly advanced by the royal favour in that dissolute court, he had the singular art, from 1783, not merely to lead captive his royal mistress, but to acquire an unlimited sway over the mind of the King, and at the same time live publicly with another mistress, (Donna Pepe Tudo), by whom he had several children. His education had been neglected, but he had considerable natural talents, which appeared in an especial manner in the numerous and successful intrigues which he carried on with the ladies of the court, whose rivalry for his favours increased with every additional title he acquired. He was not, however, naturally bad, and never disgraced his administration by acts of cruelty. In five years he rose from being a private in the guards to absolute power, and was surrounded with honours and titles before the treaty of Basle, in 1795, which procured for him the title of Prince of the Peace. From that time, down to the period of the French invasion, his ascendancy at court was unbroken, and his influence over both the King and Queen unbounded. At the special desire of the King,

blind to the infamy the Prince of the Peace was bringing on his house, but insensible to the dangers which it ran from his ambition. He created him Grand-Admiral of Spain, and gave him the entire command of the whole forces, naval and military, of his dominions. The royal guard, of which he was commander, was commanded by his creatures; the royal treasures were at his disposal. Thus encouraged, Godoy began to entertain the most extravagant projects, and had already sounded the leading members of the councils of Castile and the Indies, and the parliament of Spain, on the possibility of changing the order of succession to the throne, and securing the regency, if not the crown to himself.

11. The Prince of Asturias, afterwards so well known in Europe under the title of Ferdinand VII., was born on the 4th October 1784; and was consequently twenty-four years of age when the troubles of Spain commenced. Facile and indolent in general, though at the same time irascible and impetuous on particular occasions, he had

he at length espoused the daughter of Don Louis, brother of that monarch; and his daughter was destined in marriage to the Young King of Etruria. He had all the passion for show and splendour which usually belongs to those who are elevated to a rank which they have not held from their infancy; this prodigality occasioned a perpetual want of money, which was supplied by the sale of offices and the receipt of bribes of every description; and under his administration a frightful system of corruption overspread every branch of the public service. Many public improvements, however, also signalised it. The impulse given by the Bourbons to the sciences and arts was continued and increased; greater benefits were conferred on public industry during the fifteen years of his government than during the three preceding reigns. Schools were established for the encouragement of agriculture, the spread of medical information, and the diffusion of knowledge in the mechanical arts. He braved the Inquisition, and sustained more than one victim from its jaws. He arrested the alienation of estates held by mortmain, which threatened to swallow up half the land of the kingdom. But he was unfit for the guidance of the state in the trying periods of the revolutionary wars; and drew on Spain the contempt of foreign powers by the subservience and degradation of his foreign administration.—*Godoy's Mem.* i. 171; and Foy, ii. 250, 262.

fallen entirely under the guidance of those by whom he was surrounded. They were all creatures of the Prince of the Peace,—with the exception of the virtuous Count Alvarez, whose principles were too unbending to allow him to remain long in the corrupted atmosphere of a despotic court; and the Canon Escoiquiz, an ecclesiastic of remarkable talents, extensive knowledge, and profound dissimulation, who, by his capacity and zeal in his service, had at length acquired the absolute direction of his affairs. The Prince of Asturias had been early married to a princess of the Neapolitan house of Bourbon, whose talents, high spirit, and jealousy of the exorbitant influence of Godoy, had fomented the divisions almost inseparable from the relative situations of heir-apparent and ruling monarch in an absolute government. Two parties, as usual on such occasions, formed themselves at the Spanish court; the one paying their court to the ruling power, the other worshipping the rising sun. The Prince of the Peace was the object of universal idolatry to the former, Escoiquiz was the soul of the latter. The Princess of Asturias, after four years of a brilliant existence, died, universally regretted, in May 1806, leaving the Spanish monarchy, at the approaching crisis of its fate, exposed, in addition to the divisions of a distracted court, to the intrigues consequent on the competition for the hand of the heir-apparent to the throne.

12. Godoy saw the advantage which his future rival was likely to derive from his ascendancy over the mind of Ferdinand, and therefore he had long before taken the decisive step of exiling him from Madrid to the place of his ecclesiastical preferment at Toledo. He afterwards adopted the design of extending the influence he held over the reigning monarch to the heir-apparent, by marrying him to Donna Maria Louisa de Bourbon, sister of his own wife; and even went so far as to propose that alliance to the Prince. This project, however, miscarried, and Godoy again returned to his ambitious designs, independent of the heir-ap-

parent, who resumed his relations with Escoiquiz and the malcontent party among the nobility. No sooner, therefore, did Napoleon turn his eyes towards Spain in spring 1807, than he opened secret negotiations with him; while, at the same time, Escoiquiz, who, though banished to Toledo, was still the soul of the Prince's party, commenced underhand intrigues in the same quarter, and came privately to Madrid to arrange with the Duke del Infantado, the Duke de San Carlos, and the other leaders of the Prince's party, the means of permanently emancipating him from the thralldom of the ruling favourite. It was in order to foment and take advantage of these divisions that Napoleon sent Beauharnais as his ambassador to Madrid in July, 1807; and that skilful diplomatist was not long of opening secret conferences with the Duke del Infantado, in which it was mutually agreed that, both for the security of the Spanish monarchy, and to form a counterpoise to the enormous power and ambitious projects of the Prince of the Peace, it was indispensable that the Prince of Asturias should espouse a princess of the imperial family of Buonaparte. There was no difficulty in coming to an understanding, and establishing a secret and clandestine correspondence between the Prince of Asturias and the French ambassador; for he and all his advisers were in the utmost alarm at the ambitious projects of the Prince of the Peace; and although Beauharnais was sent by Napoleon to conduct the intrigue, it is quite certain that the first proposals for the marriage came from the counsellors of the Prince.* Beauharnais, on finding the

* "Allow me to express my thanks for the proofs of esteem and affection you have shown in the correspondence we have held through the medium of the gentleman you know, and who possesses my entire confidence. I owe, in fact, to your goodness (which I shall never forget), the privilege of being able to express, directly and without hindrance, to the great Emperor your master, the sentiments which at heart I have so long held. I take advantage of this agreeable opportunity for sending by your hands the accompanying letter to S. M. I et R. (Napoleon)." — PRINCE OF ASTURIAS to BEAUHARNAIS, Oct. 11, 1807; THIERS, viii. 294.

dispositions thus mutual, soon wrote to Escoiquiz, calling on him to "give a specific guarantee, and something more than vague promises, on the subject." Thus encouraged, the Prince of Asturias wrote directly to Napoleon a letter, in which, after the most exaggerated flattery, and a declaration that his father was surrounded by evil counsellors, who misled his better judgment, he implored him to permit him the honour of an alliance with his imperial family.*

13. Beauharnais had warmly entered into these views of the Prince of Asturias, in the hope that, if the proposed alliance took place, the choice of the prince would be directed to a niece of the Empress, and relation of his own, who was afterwards bestowed on the Duke d'Areberg. But when the letter reached Napoleon, he had other views for the disposal of the Spanish throne. By means of Isquierdo, a Spanish agent at Paris, who was a mere creature of the Prince of the Peace, he had for some time been negotiating a treaty with Charles IV., the object of which was at once to secure the partition of Portugal, and bestow such a share of its spoils on Godoy as might secure him to the French interest, and prevent him from opposing any serious obstacle to the total dethronement of the Spanish royal family. This negotiation took place, and the treaty in

* "The world daily," said he, "more and more admired the goodness of the Emperor; and he might rest assured he would ever find in the Prince of Asturias the most faithful and devoted son. He implored, then, with the utmost confidence, the paternal protection of the Emperor, not only to permit him the honour of an alliance with his family, but that he would smooth away all difficulties, and remove all obstacles to disappear before the accomplishment of so long-cherished a wish. That effort on the part of the Emperor was the more necessary, that the Prince was incapable of making the smallest exertion on his own part, as it would infallibly be represented as an insult to the royal authority of his father; and all that he could do was to refuse, as he engaged to do with invincible constancy, any proposals for an alliance which had not the consent of the Emperor, to whom the Prince looked exclusively for the choice of his future Queen." — FERDINAND to NAPOLEON, 11th October 1807; THIBAUDRAT, vi. 281, 282; *Moniteur*, 6th February 1810.

which it terminated was signed by Isquierdo, in virtue of full powers from Charles IV., without the knowledge of the Prince of Masserano, the Spanish ambassador at Paris: a sufficient proof of the secret and sinister designs it was intended to serve, and of the dark, crooked policy which the Emperor Napoleon had already adopted in regard to Spanish affairs.

14. By this treaty it was stipulated, that, in exchange for Tuscany, which was ceded to France, the province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, the northern part of Portugal, comprehending the city of Oporto, should be given to the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania, to revert, in default of heirs, to his Most Catholic Majesty, who, however, was not to unite it to the crown of Spain: that the provinces of Alentejo and Algarves, forming the southern part of the kingdom, should be conferred on the Prince of the Peace, with the title of Prince of Algarves; and in default of heirs-male, in like manner, and on the like conditions, revert to the crown of Spain: that the sovereigns of these two new principalities should not make war or peace without the consent of the King of Spain: that the central parts of Portugal, comprehending the provinces of Beira, Traz-os-Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, should remain in sequestration in the hands of the French till a general peace, to be then exchanged for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and the other Spanish colonies conquered by the English; that the sovereign of these central provinces should hold them on the same tenure and conditions as the King of Northern Lusitania: and that the Emperor Napoleon "should guarantee to his Most Catholic Majesty the possession of all his states on the continent of Europe, to the south of the Pyrenees;" and concede to him the title of King of Spain and Emperor of the Indies, which that weak monarch was most anxious to obtain.

15. To this secret treaty of spoliation was annexed a convention, prescribing the mode in which the designs of the contracting powers should be carried into effect. By this it was

agreed, that a corps of twenty-five thousand French infantry and three thousand cavalry should forthwith enter Spain and march across that country, at the charge of the court of Madrid, to Lisbon; while one Spanish corps of ten thousand men should enter the province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, and march upon Oporto, and another of the like force take possession of Alentejo and Algarves. The contributions in the central provinces, which were to be placed in sequestration, were all to be levied for the behoof of France; those in Northern Lusitania and the principality of Algarves for that of Spain. Finally, another French corps of forty thousand men was to assemble at Bayonne by the 20th November at latest, in order to be ready to enter Portugal and support the first corps, in case the English should send troops to the assistance of Portugal or menace it with an attack; but this last corps *was on no account to enter Spain* without the consent of both the contracting parties. As the principal object of this treaty was to give France possession of Lisbon, and the maritime forces of Portugal, it was communicated in substance to the Emperor of Russia, and a Russian squadron of eight ships of the line, under Admiral Siniavin, passed the Dardanelles and steered for Lisbon to support the French army, and prevent the escape of the Portuguese fleet, a short time before the army under Junot broke up from Bayonne for the Portuguese frontier, and long before any rupture had taken place between England and the cabinet of St Petersburg.

16. These treaties were not merely

"On reaching Lisbon," says Thiebault, "we found there eight sail of the line and a frigate, under Admiral Siniavin's order. This fleet, which, in consequence of the alliance between France and Russia, and the war of the latter with England, was to afford us an additional guarantee for the protection of the harbour, gave us in the sequel far more apprehension than security." — *Thiebault, Exp. de l'Armée Française en Portugal*, 86, 87. The presence of the Russian fleet, however, is stated by Lord Londonderry, whose means of information were far superior to those of the French military historian, to have been purely accidental. — *Londonderry*, i. 87.

a flagrant act of iniquity on the part of both the contracting powers, inasmuch as they provided for the partition of a neutral and unoffending power, which had even gone so far as to yield implicit obedience, by its proclamation of the 20th October, eight days before they were signed, to all the demands of the partitioning cabinets; but they were yet more detestable from involving a double perfidy towards the very parties who were in this manner made the instruments of the ambitious designs of the French Emperor. While Godoy was amused, and for the time secured in the French interest, by the pretended gift of a principality, his downfall had in reality been resolved on by Napoleon, who had never forgiven the proclamation of 5th October 1806; and this specious lure was held out without any design of really conferring it upon that powerful favourite, merely in order to remove him from the Spanish court, and make way for the great designs of the French Emperor in both parts of the Peninsula. The French force, which was stipulated to assemble at Bayonne in the end of November, was not intended to act against either the English or Portugal, but to secure the frontier fortresses of Spain for Napoleon himself; and the Spanish forces, which were to be marched into the northern and southern provinces of Portugal, were not designed to secure any benefit for his Most Catholic Majesty, but to strip his dominions of the few regular troops which, after the departure of Bonaparte, still remained for the defence of the monarchy, in order to prepare its subjugation for the French Emperor. So little care was taken to disguise this intention, that, by a decree soon after from Milan,† Junot, the commander of the French invading

† By Junot's proclamation, dated 2nd February 1808, proceeding on the Milan decree of 22d December 1807, it was declared — "The house of Braganza has ceased to reign in Portugal; and the Emperor Napoleon, having taken under his protection the beautiful kingdom of Portugal, wishes that it should be administered and governed *under its whole extent* in the name of his Majesty, and by the general-in-chief of his army." — *Toussaint*, i. 40; and *Foy*, iii. 343.

force, was appointed governor of Portugal, and he was ordered to carry on the administration of the whole in the Emperor's name, which was accordingly done. History contains many examples of powerful monarchs combining iniquitously together to rob their weaker neighbours; but, this is perhaps the first instance on record in which the greater of the partitioning powers, in addition to the spoliation of a neutral and unoffending state, bought the consent of its inferior coadjutors in the scheme of iniquity by the perfidious promise of some of those spoils which it destined exclusively for its own aggrandisement.

17. It may easily be believed that, when such were the views entertained at this period by the French Emperor, the letter of the Prince of Asturias, written at the suggestion of Beauharnais, offering his hand to a princess of the imperial family, was not likely to receive a very cordial reception. It was permitted, accordingly, to remain without an answer; and meanwhile the march of Junot across the Peninsula was pressed by the most urgent orders from the imperial headquarters. Early in November, General Clarke the minister of war, wrote, by Napoleon's command, a letter to that marshal, in which he was ordered to advance as far as Ciudad Rodrigo between the 1st to the 15th November,

* He was specially ordered, "on no account to stop, whether the Prince Regent did or did not declare war against England; to move on rapidly towards the capital, receiving the proposals of the Portuguese government without returning any written answer, and to use every possible effort to arrive there as quickly as possible, *as a friend, in order to effect the seizure of the Portuguese fleet*. Should the Portuguese government have already declared war against England, you are to answer—'My instructions are to march straight on Lisbon, without halting a single day; my mission is to close that great harbour against England. I would be entitled to attack you by main force, but it is repugnant to the great goal of Napoleon, and to the French character, to occasion the effusion of blood. If you make no arrangements of troops, if you dispose them so as to make me no difficulties; if you admit me auxiliary till the negotiations set on foot, *these are terminated*, I have orders to possess it.' This is the footing on which you must represent matters: you must hold out that you are

and to reach Lisbon at latest by the 30th. His orders were to proclaim peace to Portugal, and alliance and friendship to its prince regent; but meanwhile to press on with ceaseless activity, and at all hazards get possession of the fortresses and fleet at Lisbon, before they could be reached by the English forces.* Junot was not backward in acting upon the perfidious policy thus prescribed to him; but in the execution of it he encountered the most serious difficulties; and such was the rapidity of his march, and the state of disorganisation to which his corps was reduced by the severity of the weather and the frightful state of the roads, that if any resistance whatever had been attempted by the Portuguese government, he must infallibly have been destroyed. At first he proceeded, by easy marches and in good order, through the north of Spain; though he everywhere underwent the utmost privations, from the entire failure of the Spanish authorities to furnish the prescribed supplies to his troops,—a failure of which the English armies in the same kingdom afterwards had such bitter experience. But when he reached Ciudad Rodrigo, the orders he received to hasten his advance and seize upon the fleet were so urgent, that he deemed it necessary to press on with the most extraordinary expedition, and disregard every-

arriving merely as an auxiliary; meanwhile, a courier, despatched twenty-four hours after the arrival of the main body of the army at Lisbon, will transmit the *real intentions* of the Emperor, which will be, that the proposals made are not accepted, and that the country *was to be treated as a conquered territory*. It is on this principle that we have acted in Italy, where the property of all Portuguese subjects has already been put under sequestration. By proceeding in this manner, you will, without firing a shot, make yourself master of ten mil of the line and valuable armaments; that is the grand object, and to attain it you must never cease to hold out that you come not to make war but to conclude." The secret instructions of Junot, written by the Emperor with his own hand, were of the same tenor:—"They assigned Junot," says the Marquis of Alameda, "to do everything in order to gain possession, not of the person of the Prince of Brazil, but of certain other persons therein named, and above all, of the city, forts, and fleet of Lisbon."—*Transacções*, xi. 37.

thing but the one grand object in view.* He accordingly issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in which he disclaimed any hostile intentions, and declared he came only as an ally, and to save them from the hostility of the English.†

18. Two days afterwards the army entered Portugal, where they soon gave convincing proofs how little their declared resolution of protecting property and abstaining from every species of outrage was to be relied on. Pillage of every sort was systematically practised by all grades, from the commander-in-chief to the common soldier. Junot faithfully executed his instructions to employ the language of conciliation, but act upon the principle of the most decided hostility. Such conduct naturally made the inhabitants fly his approach; and this circumstance, joined to the forced marches the soldiers were compelled to make, and the excessive severity of the rains, which fell in that country at that period of the year with all the violence of the tropics, soon reduced the army to the most frightful state of disorder. Added to this, the rugged, impracticable nature of the roads, or rather mountain-paths, which they were obliged to traverse, destitute of bridges and almost impassable for carriages, produced such an effect upon the French army, that in a few days it was as much disorganised as it would have been by the most disastrous de-

* "On no account halt in your march even for a day. The want of provisions could be no reason for doing so, still less the state of the roads. Twenty thousand men can march and live anywhere, even in a desert."—*NAPOLEON TO JUNOT, Nov. 2, 1807; TOMLIN, i. 35.*

† "The Emperor Napoleon sends me into your country at the head of an army, to make common cause with your well-beloved sovereign against the tyrant of the sea, and save your beautiful capital from the fate of Copenhagen. Discipline will be rigidly preserved; I give you my word of honour for it; but the smallest resistance will bring down the utmost severity of military execution. The Portuguese, I am persuaded, will discern their true interests, and, according to the pacific views of their Prince, receive us as friends; and the city of Lisbon, in an especial manner, will treat us with pleasure within its walls, at the head of such an army as can alone preserve it from the eternal enemies of the Continent."

feat. Discipline was soon at an end; the commands of the officers were no longer attended to; the roll of the drum was drowned in the roar of the tempests; the soldiers, drenched from head to foot, lay down on the wayside without either food or shelter; and this finely-appointed army, six-and-twenty thousand strong when it left Bayonne, amounted, when it reached Abrantes in Portugal, only to four thousand stragglers, half without arms, more like ghosts than the array destined to subdue a kingdom. No words can do justice to the hardships which were undergone, and the disorder which ensued, during the march from the frontier to Abrantes: the firmness of the oldest officers, even in the leading column, was shaken by it, and those which followed hurried along without any order, like a confused horde of robbers.‡ Their feet, bound up, were nearly all bleeding; their faces pale and emaciated, their muskets broken into staves for walking. Many battalions subsisted for days together on nothing but chestnuts, and the quantity even of that humble fare was so scanty that, from that cause among others, they lost several hundred men a-day: whole companies and squadrons were washed away in the ravines by the swollen mountain-torrents. At length, after undergoing incredible privations, the leading bands of the French army, only fifteen hundred strong, approached Lisbon in the end of November, but straggling in such small numbers, and in such deplorable condition, that they resembled rather the fugitives who had escaped

§ "It is impossible," says Thiebault, an eyewitness, "to give an idea of the sufferings of the army before reaching Sobral. In truth, if the leading columns were a prey to these horrors, which nothing could alleviate, it may easily be imagined what must have been the situation of those which succeeded them. The army, in truth, was on the verge of dissolution; it was on the point of disbanding altogether—the general-in-chief was within a hair's breadth of being left without any followers. Nevertheless, it was indispensable not to halt for a moment; everything required to be raised: we were obliged to succeed, or bury ourselves in the mountains with the whole army."—*THIEBAULT, Campaign in Portugal, &c.*

from a disastrous retreat, than the proud array which was to overturn a dynasty and subdue a kingdom.

19. The elements of glorious resistance were not wanting in the Portuguese capital. Its inhabitants were three hundred thousand: its forts strong, defended by a numerous artillery, and garrisoned by fourteen thousand men: an English squadron lay in the Tagus with Sir Sydney Smith at its head, whose versatile genius was peculiarly fitted for such an undertaking, and who had shown at Acre what vigour he could infuse into a besieged population. The English sailors longed to see the work of defence begin: Sir Sydney offered to bring his ships abreast of the quay, and there, seconded by the indignant populace, dispute every inch of ground with the invader. But the destitute condition of the French army was unknown; and even if it had been fully understood, both the Portuguese government and the English ambassador, Lord Strangford, were aware that Junot's was but the advanced guard of a greater army, which would speedily follow if the first was discomfited; and that any resistance would only serve to give the French Emperor an excuse for measures of extraordinary rigour against the Portuguese nation, without affording any reasonable prospect of ultimate success. The great object was to withdraw the royal family and the fleet from the grasp of the invaders, and secure for them a refuge in Brazil till the present calamitous season was overpast. As soon as they saw the danger approaching, therefore, the Portuguese government took every imaginable precaution to disarm the conqueror by anticipating all his requisitions. A proclamation, as already mentioned, was issued, closing the harbours against English vessels, and adopting the Continental System; and as the march of the invaders still continued, this was followed a few days afterwards, by another, in which the more rigorous step of sequestrating the property, and arresting the persons of such of the English as still remained in Portugal, was adopted,

though with the secret design of indemnifying the sufferers as soon as the means of doing so were at the disposal of government. Though this last measure was known to be exceedingly painful to the Portuguese government, and was evidently adopted under the mere pressure of necessity, yet it was a step of such decided hostility, that it compelled Lord Strangford to take down the arms of Great Britain from his house, and demand his passports; and soon after, amidst the tears of the inhabitants, he followed the English factory to Sir Sydney Smith's fleet.

20. Although, however, the relations between the two countries were thus formally broken, yet as it was well known that the cabinet of Lisbon had yielded only to unavoidable necessity, and as their tardiness in acceding to the demand of Napoleon for the instant seizure of British property had sufficiently demonstrated the reluctance with which measures of severity had been adopted by them, the British ambassador still remained on board the English fleet, ready to take advantage of the first opening which should occur for the resumption of more amicable correspondence. Meanwhile, everything at Lisbon was vacillation and chaos; and the Prince and his council, distracted between terror at the increasing advance of Junot, and anxiety about the loss of their colonies and commerce by a rupture with England, hesitated between the bold counsels of Don Rodrigo de Louisa and the Count Linhares, who strenuously recommended determined resistance to the invaders, and the natural timidity of a court surrounded with dangers and debilitated by the pacific habits of preceding reigns. At length, however, such information was received as determined the irresolution of the cabinet. An ominous line appeared in the *Monitor*—"The house of Braganza has ceased to reign;" and with the paper containing that announcement of the fate which awaited them, Lord Strangford transmitted to the Prince Regent copies of the secret treaty and convention of Fontainebleau, by which

the portions assigned to each of the partitioning powers were arranged.

21. Intelligence, received shortly after the entrance of the Spanish troops into Alentejo and the northern provinces of the kingdom, left no room for doubt that the copies were correct, and that the treaty was immediately to be acted upon. At the same time Lord Strangford landed, and assured his royal highness, on the honour of the King of England, that the measures hitherto adopted by the Portuguese court were regarded as mere compulsory acts, and had noways abated the friendship of his old ally if he would still avail himself of it. These representations, seconded by the efforts of Sir Sydney Smith, who brought his squadron to the mouth of the harbour, ready alike for hostile operations or pacific assistance, gave such support to Don Rodrigo and the patriotic party, that the court resolved, if the messenger despatched to obtain a stoppage of Junot's advance was not successful, to embark for the Brazils. He entirely failed in arresting the march of the French general, and orders were therefore given that the fleet should, as speedily as possible, be got ready for sea; and the Prince Regent published a dignified proclamation, on the following day, in which he announced a resolution worthy of the former heroism of the house of Braganza, and prepared to seek in Transatlantic climes "that freedom of which Europe had become unworthy."*

22. The fleet at first was in a state but little prepared for crossing the Atlantic, and still less for conveying the

motley and helpless crowd of old men, women, and children, who were preparing to follow the court in their migration to South America. By great exertions, however, and the active aid of the British sailors, who, overjoyed at this extraordinary energy on the part of the Prince Regent, exerted themselves with unheard-of vigour in giving assistance, eight sail of the line, three frigates, five sloops, and a number of merchant vessels, in all six-and-thirty sail, were got ready on the following day, when the royal family prepared to carry their mournful but magnanimous resolution into execution. Preceded by the archives, treasure, plate, and most valuable effects, the royal exiles proceeded in a long train of carriages to the water's edge. Never had been seen a more melancholy procession, or one more calculated to impress on the minds even of the most inconsiderate, the magnitude of the calamities which the unbounded ambition of France had brought on the other nations of Europe. The insane queen came in the first carriage: for sixteen years she had lived in seclusion, but a ray of light had penetrated her reason in this extremity, and she understood and approved the courageous act. "What!" said she, "shall we abandon the kingdom without a blow! Not so fast," addressing the coachman, "they will think we are flying." The widowed princess and the infant, Maria were in the next, with the Princess of Brazil, bathed in tears; after them came the Prince Regent, pale and weeping at thus leaving, apparently for ever, the land of his

* "Having tried, by all possible means, to preserve the neutrality hitherto enjoyed by my faithful and beloved subjects; having exhausted my royal treasury, and made innumerable other sacrifices, even going to the extremity of shutting the ports of my dominions to the subjects of my ancient and royal ally, the King of Great Britain, thus exposing the commerce of my people to total ruin, and consequently suffering the greatest losses in the collection of the royal revenue, I find that the troops of the Emperor of France, to whom I had united myself on the Continent with the hope of being no more disturbed, are actually marching into the interior of my dominions, and are far on their way towards this capital. Desirous to

avoid the fatal consequences of a defence, which would be far more dangerous than profitable, serving only to occasion a boundless effusion of blood, shocking to humanity, and to inflame the animosity of the troops which have entered this kingdom with the declaration and promise of not committing the smallest hostility; and knowing also, that they are more particularly directed against my royal person, and that my faithful subjects would be less exposed to danger if I were absent from the kingdom, I have resolved to retire, with the queen and royal family, to my dominions in America, and to establish myself in the city of Rio Janeiro till a general peace."—*Ann. Reg.* 1807, 776, *State Papers*.

fathers. In the magnitude of the royal distress, the multitude forgot their own dangers; their commiseration was all for the august fugitives, thus driven by ruthless violence to a distant shore with the descendants of a long line of kings, forced to seek, in mournful exile, an asylum from the hand of the spoiler.

23. Such was the crowd which assembled round the place of embarkation, that the prince was compelled to force his way through with his own hand. There was not a dry eye among all the countless multitude, when they stepped on board; uncovered and weeping, the people beheld, in speechless sorrow, the departure of their ancient rulers. In the general confusion of the embarkation, parents were separated from children, husbands from wives; and numbers of both remained ignorant of each other's safety till they landed in the Brasils; while the shore resounded with the lamentations of those who were thus severed, probably for ever, from those whom they most loved. It was some consolation to the crowd, who watched with aching eyes the receding sails, to see the royal fleet, as it passed through the British squadron, received with a royal salute from all the vessels—emblematic of the protection which Great Britain now extended to her ancient ally, and an earnest of that heroic support which, through all the desperate conflict which followed, England was destined to afford to her courageous inhabitants. Numbers, however, observed, with superstitious dread, that at the moment of the salute the sun became eclipsed, and mournfully repeated the words, "The house of Braganza has ceased to reign." Never had a city been penetrated with a more unanimous feeling of grief; the royal family, kindly and warm-hearted, had long enjoyed the affections of the people; the bitterness of contest was felt without its excitement. In mournful silence, the people lingered on the quay from whence the royal party had taken their departure; every one, in returning to his home, felt as if he had lost a parent or a child. Fifteen thou-

sand persons in all were got on board, and followed the fortunes of the royal family to the New World. They were conveyed in eight sail of the line, three frigates, and a great number of transports and smaller vessels pressed into the service for the occasion. The embarkation took place from the quay of Belem, on the same spot from whence, three centuries before, Vasco de Gama had sailed upon that immortal voyage which first opened to European enterprise the regions of Oriental commerce, and whence Cabral set forth upon that expedition which gave Portugal an empire in the west, and had provided in the New World for her an asylum, in the future wreck of her fortunes in the Old.

24. Hardly had the royal squadron, amidst tempestuous gales, cleared the bar, and disappeared from the shores of Europe, when the advanced guard of Junot's army, reduced to sixteen hundred men and a few horsemen, arrived off the towers of Belem. He came just in time to see the fleet receding in the distance, and in the ebullition of his passion, himself discharged a piece of ordnance at a merchant vessel, which, long retarded by the multitude who were thronging on board, was hastening, under the walls of that fortress, to join the fleet which had preceded it. Although, however, the French troops were so few, and in such deplorable condition as to excite pity rather than apprehension, yet no resistance was made; the regency, to whom the prince-royal had, on his departure, intrusted the administration of affairs, wisely deeming a contest hopeless from which the government itself shrank, and regarding as their first duty the negotiating favourable terms for the inhabitants with the invaders. Resistance, therefore, was not attempted; and Europe beheld with astonishment a capital containing three hundred thousand inhabitants, and fourteen thousand regular troops, open its gates to a wretched file of soldiers without a single piece of cannon, the vanguard of which, worn out and attenuated, not fifteen hundred strong, could hardly bear their muskets on their shoulders,

while the succeeding columns were scattered in deplorable confusion over mountain-paths two hundred miles in length. Such was their state of starvation, that, on entering the city, many of the soldiers dropped down in the streets, or sank exhausted in the porches of the houses, being unable to ascend the stairs, until the Portuguese humanely brought them sustenance. Lisbon received its new masters on the anniversary of the very day (30th November) on which, a hundred and sixty-seven years before, the Portuguese had overturned the tyranny of the Spaniards, and re-established, amidst universal transport, the national independence.

25. Junot immediately took military possession of the country; the French troops were cantoned chiefly in the capital and the strongholds in its vicinity; while Elvas surrendered to the Spanish general Solano, and Taranco, with the northern corps of the troops of that nation, took peaceable possession of the important and opulent city of Oporto. The strict discipline maintained by these Peninsular corps afforded a striking contrast to the license indulged in by the French soldiers, whose march, albeit through a friendly state, which had as yet committed no act of hostility, was marked by plunder, devastation, and ruin. Hopes even began to be entertained by those in the French interest, that the independence of their country might still be preserved. But these hopes were of short duration; and Portugal soon experienced, in all its bitterness, the fate of all the countries which, from the commencement of the war, had received, whether as friends or enemies, the tricolor flag. Heavy contributions, both in money, subsistence, and clothing, had from the outset been levied by the French troops; and Junot, with almost regal state, was lodged in the now deserted palace. But the first was ascribed by their deluded friends to the necessitous and destitute condition of the French troops; and the last was forgiven in an officer whose head, never equal to his valour, appeared to have been altogether carried away by the

novelty and importance of the situation in which he was now placed.

26. All uncertainty, however, was soon at an end. A fortnight after their arrival a review of six thousand troops in the capital took place: the soldiers were assembled in the principal streets and squares—the infantry in battalions, the cavalry in squadrons, the artillery limbered up and in order for service; and the whole population of the neighbourhood crowded together to witness the spectacle. Suddenly the thunder of cannon from the Moorish fort attracted their attention; all eyes were instantly turned in that direction, and they beheld the ancient flag of Portugal torn from the staff, upon which the tricolor standard was immediately hoisted. The magnitude of the calamity now became apparent: Portugal, seized by a perfidious ally, was to be reduced to a province of France. At first, a solemn silence prevailed; but soon a hoarse murmur, like the distant roar of the ocean, arose, and cries of "Portugal for ever! Death to the French!" were heard on all sides. But the principal persons of the city were secured, the populace were unarmed, and the forts and batteries were all in the hands of the invaders. The evening passed in feverish agitation; but the people, destitute of leaders, were unable to turn the general indignation to any account, and the day closed without any convulsion having occurred.

27. This measure, however significant as to the ultimate designs of the conqueror, was yet only a demonstration; and as the police of Lisbon was rigidly enforced by the French, and no other change was made in the government but the introduction of two or three creatures of Napoleon's into the regency, which still administered the laws in the name of the Prince Regent, hopes began to be again entertained that the occupation would prove only temporary. But the events which rapidly succeeded demonstrated that Portugal was destined to drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation before the day of its political resurrection came. A forced loan of 2,000,000 cruzados (£200,000)

was exacted from the merchants, though their fortunes were seriously affected, by the blockade of the harbour, and the complete stoppage of foreign commerce and public credit. The entire confiscation of English goods was next proclaimed, and ordered to be enforced by tenfold penalties and corporal punishment; while the carrying of arms of any sort was strictly prohibited, under the pain of death, over the whole kingdom. Meanwhile, fresh troops, the last columns of Junot's array, daily poured into the capital; and to accommodate them, the monks were all turned out of the convents, which were forthwith converted into military barracks. Still no indication of a permanent partition of the kingdom had appeared at Lisbon, and Junot seemed chiefly intent on a small squadron which he was fitting out with great expedition in the harbour, apparently against the English; although the Spanish officers at Oporto and in Alentejo made no secret of the treaty of Fontainebleau, and had already begun to levy the revenue collected there in the name of the King of Spain. But on the 1st February the mask was completely thrown aside, and it appeared that Napoleon was resolved to appropriate the whole monarchy to himself, without allotting any portion to his confederates in iniquity. On that day Junot went in state to the palace of the Inquisition, a fitting place for such a deed, where the regency was assembled, and, after a studied harangue, read a proclamation of Napoleon, dated from Milan in the December preceding, followed by a proclamation of his own, which at once dissolved the regency—appointed Junot governor of the whole kingdom, with instructions to administer it all in the name of the Emperor

* "Inhabitants of Portugal," said Junot's proclamation, "your interests have engaged the attention of the Emperor: it is time that all uncertainty as to your fate should cease; the fate of Portugal is fixed, and its future prosperity secured by its being taken under the all-powerful protection of Napoleon the Great. The Prince of Brazil, by abandoning Portugal, has renounced all his rights to the sovereignty of that kingdom; the house of Braganza has ceased to reign in Portugal; the Emperor Napoleon has determined that that beautiful country, governed

Napoleon—ordained a large body of Portuguese troops to be forthwith marched out of the Peninsula—and for the support of the army of occupation, now termed the Army of Portugal, imposed a contribution of a hundred million of francs, (£4,000,000), above double the annual revenue of the monarchy, upon its inhabitants, besides confiscating the whole property of the royal family, and of all who had attended them in their flight.*

28. These orders were instantly carried into effect. The Portuguese arms were everywhere taken down from the public offices and buildings; and those of imperial France substituted in their room. Justice was administered in the name of the French Emperor, and by the Code Napoleon; the whole revenue was collected by the French authorities, and the regiments assigned for the foreign army moved towards the frontiers. A universal despair seized all classes at this clear manifestation of the subjugation of their country. The peasants, heart-broken and desperate, refused to sow their fields with grain; the soldiers, wherever they were not overawed by a superior force of the French army, disbanded and returned home, or betook themselves to the mountains as robbers; the higher classes almost all fled from Lisbon, as from a city visited by the plague; and, notwithstanding the presence and influence of the French, only three houses were lighted on occasion of the general illumination ordered by the invaders, in honour of the change of government. In the provinces, the general indignation was manifested in still more unequivocal colours. The growing insolence and rapacity of the French soldiers brought

over its whole extent in his name, shall be administered by the general-in-chief of his army." Thus did Napoleon first sign a treaty at Fontainebleau for the entire spoliation of the Portuguese dominions; next, by his perfidious invasion, drive the ruling sovereign into exile; and then assign that very compulsory departure as a reason for the previously determined appropriation of the whole of his territories to himself.—See both the *Milan Decree* and Junot's *Proclamation* in *Fov.* III. 343, 345; *Pièces* *Just.*

them into frequent conflicts with the now aroused population; tumults, massacres, and military executions, occurred in almost every city, village, and hamlet of Portugal; and Junot, alarmed at the increasing ferment, formally disbanded the whole of the army* which had not been ordered, to proceed to France. Meanwhile plunder was universal from the highest rank to the lowest; and the general-in-chief set the example of general spoliation, by appropriating to himself plate and valuable articles of every description, collected from the churches and royal palaces. No sooner had Napoleon received intelligence of the subjugation of the kingdom, however, than, disregarding alike the declared wishes of the inhabitants and the stipulations of the treaty of Fontainebleau, so recently signed by himself, he made offer of the crown of Portugal to his brother Lucien, accompanied with a hint that his daughter by his first marriage might obtain the hand of the Prince of Asturias, an alliance which that prince had already solicited. Lucien, however, with honourable disinterestedness, refused both offers, as they were coupled with the condition that he should repudiate his second wife, Miss Paterson, an American by birth, to whom he was much attached.

29. While the fate of Portugal was thus to all appearance sealed by the usurpation of Napoleon, events of still greater importance were in progress in relation to the Spanish monarchy, which, in their immediate effects, pre-

cipitated the explosion of the Peninsular war. Whatever care the advisers of Ferdinand may have taken to conceal from the reigning monarch his letter of 11th October, proposing, without his father's knowledge, an alliance with the imperial family, no important step did not long remain unknown to the Prince of the Peace. The numerous spies in his employment who surrounded the heir-apparent, both in the French capital and his palace of the Escorial, got scent of the secret; Isquierdo transmitted from Paris intelligence that some negotiation of importance was in progress, in consequence of which the Prince was more narrowly watched; and as the evident anxiety and preoccupation of his mind seemed to justify the suspicions which were entertained, he was at length arrested by order of his father, and seals put on all his papers. He was privately examined before the privy council, and afterwards reconducted as a prisoner by the King himself, in great state at the head of his guards, to the palace of the Escorial, whose walls, still melancholy from the tragic catastrophe of the unfortunate Don Carlos in a preceding reign, were fraught with the most sinister presages.

30. Among his private papers were found one written entirely by the hand of the Prince, blank in date, and with a black seal, bestowing on the Duke del Infantado the office of governor-general of New Castile, and all the forces within its bounds, in the event of the King's death; a key to the correspondence in cipher formerly carried on by the late Princess of Asturias and the Queen of Naples, her mother; and a memorial of twelve pages to the King, filled with bitter complaints of the long-continued persecution of which the prince had been the object, denouncing the Prince of the Peace as guilty of the most wicked designs, even that of mounting the throne by the death of his royal master, and proposing a variety of steps to secure the arrest of that powerful favourite. A paper of five pages was also discovered,

* The Portuguese legion thus drafted off for France was at first thirteen thousand strong, but five thousand deserted or died on the march through Spain, and not four thousand reached Bayona. Napoleon, however, who there reviewed them, said to Prince Volkonsky, "These are the men of the south; they are of an intemperate temperament; I will make them excellent soldiers." They served with distinction, both in Austria and Russia, and were particularly noticed for their good conduct at Wagram in 1809, and Smolensko in 1812. They were attached to their country and cause, though still in their hearts attached to their country, and bore on their standards this striking device.

* Vidimus in hispani Regem; totum populum regem."

—Eury, lib. 40. 42. note.

written, like the preceding, by Macoi-
vay, detailing the measures adopted
by the Prince of the Peace to bring
about a marriage between the heir-
apparent and his wife's sister, and the
best mode of avoiding it; and hinting
at the prospect of an alliance between
the Prince of Asturias and a member
of the imperial family of France. In
these papers, thus laid open without
reserve to the royal scrutiny, there
was nothing, with the exception of the
first, which had even the appearance
of implicating the Prince in any de-
sign against his father's life or autho-
rity; though much descriptive of that
envenomed rancour between his con-
fidents and those of the reigning man-
ner, which the long ascendancy of the
Prince of the Peace, and the animosity
which had prevailed between him and
the heir-apparent, were so well cal-
culated to produce. Even the first,
though it indicated an obvious pre-
paration for the contemplated event
of the King's decease, and fairly in-
ferred an anxiety for that event, could
not, when taken by itself without any
other evidence, be considered as a le-
gitimate ground for concluding that
so atrocious an act as the murder or
deposition of the King was in contem-
plation; since it was equally referable
to the anxiety of the heir-apparent,
who had given no indications of so
depraved a disposition, to secure the
succession, menaced as he conceived
it to be, upon his father's natural de-
cease.

11. Revealed, however, to corrupt
ed court, and falling into the hands
of persons actuated by the worst pas-
sions, became themselves capable
of the most villainous designs, these
papers afforded me an opportunity
to destroy the party of ruining the
Prince, and at the same time gave a
clear intimation of the danger which
they would themselves run upon his
account, if he should be told this
without being made the master of
decisive measures. On the very next
day, accordingly, a proclamation was
issued from the President by which
in which the Prince of Wales was
openly charged with having engaged

in a conspiracy for the dethronement and death of his father, and the immediate prosecution and trial of all his advisers was announced to the bewildered public." At the same time despatches were forwarded to Napoleon, reiterating the same charges and earnestly imploring his counsel and assistance in extracting his unfortunate ally from the difficulties with which he was surrounded.†

32 When Napoleon, however, received this letter, he was noways disposed to lend any assistance to Charles IV, on whose detestment he was fully resolved, though he was as yet uncertain as to the particular means or course to be followed in order to effect that object. He determined, accordingly, to keep himself entirely clear from these discussions, took the utmost care that his name should not

"It was stated in this proclamation that I was living persuaded that I was surrounded by the low-down to a parent by his offspring, when an unknown hand suddenly revealed to me the monstrous and unheard-of conspiracy which had been formed against my life. That life, so often endangered, had become a burden to my conscience, who pre-occupied, blinded and ignorant of all the Christian principles which my wife and I earnestly love have taught him, had engaged in a conspiracy for my destruction. I was anxious myself to ascertain the fact, and, surprising him in his own apartment, I discovered the cipher which enabled him to correspond with his confederates in Italy. Everything necessary has been done, and the proper orders given for the trial of these guilty associates, whom I have ordered to be put under arrest, as well as arrested the management of my son to his own satisfaction."

—Proclamation, with Oath, of the Emperor.

[illegible]

in any way be mixed up with them, and resolved only to take advantage of their existence, to get quit, if possible, of both father and son. He said, therefore, on receipt of the letter, "These are domestic concerns of the King of Spain; I will have nothing to do with them." At the same time Champagny, minister of foreign affairs, wrote to the Prince of the Peace, that on no account was the Emperor's name to be implicated in this affair: and Talleyrand gave the same assurance in the strongest terms to Lequérdo, protesting at the same time Napoleon's fixed resolution to carry into execution the whole provisions of the treaty of Fontenabla.† But though thus cautious to avoid any act which might implicate him in these transactions, Napoleon was not the least active in making every preparation for turning to the best account the dissensions of the royal family of Spain. From that moment he resolved to make them the basis of overturning the whole Bourbon dynasty. Orders were immediately sent to the second army of the Rhine, under General Dupont, to cross the frontier; and at Bayona a third was hastily formed under Moncey, to act as a reserve to the two which preceded it. At the

same time forty-eight depots of battalions, amounting twenty-eight thousand conscripts, were drawn from the arsenals on the Rhine, and ordered to move in the same direction. Mean time the storm which threatened such serious consequences blew over in Spain, from a discovery of the party who was at the bottom of the intrigue. The Prince of Asturias, justly alarmed for his life, revealed, in a private interview with his father and mother, the letter he had written to Napoleon, proposing his hand to one of his relations; and at the same time disclosed all the parties, not excluding the French ambassador, who were privy to that proceeding.

36. This disclosure operated like a wham in stilling the fury of the faction opposed to the Prince. Ignorant of the extent or intimacy of his relations with the French Emperor, they recoiled at the idea of driving to extremities the heir of the throne, who might possibly have engaged so powerful a protector in his cause. The matter was therefore hushed up; the Prince wrote penitential letters to his father and mother, avowing that he had failed in his duty, inasmuch as he should have taken no step without their concurrence; and throwing himself on their mercy. Upon this a decree of the King was issued, declaring, "The voice of nature has disarmed the arm of vengeance; when a guilty party solicits pardon, the heart of a father cannot refuse it to a son. My son has disclosed the authors of the horrible plot which some wretches have put into his head; I pardon him, and shall receive him to favour when he has given proofs of sincere amendment." The trial of the Prince's confidants went on; but terminated, three months past, in their entire acquittal, to the great joy of the nation which had never attached any credit to the alleged conspiracy, but considered it as a got-up device of the Prince of the Peace to ruin his rival Rodriguez. Nevertheless, the count d'Aranda, as well as the Princes of Asturias and St. Carlos, with several others, were kept in confinement, or sent into exile; and

the Emperor insists that on no account should anything be said or published in relation to this affair, which involves him or his ambassador. He has done nothing which could justify a suspicion that either he himself or his minister have known or encouraged any domestic intrigues of Spain. He declares positively that he never has, and never will intermeddle with them. He never intended that the Prince of Asturias should marry a princess of France, or make such a marriage; but since allowed to another, he will agree no marriage of the Prince of Asturias with any person he chooses. The ambassador Rappin has been ordered to leave Paris in the name of Spain. CHAMPAGNY to the PRINCE of the PEACE, 18th October 1807. VENEZUELA, 18th Oct.

"I have just received the Emperor's letter, and I am very glad to see that he has done nothing which could justify a suspicion that either he himself or his minister have known or encouraged any domestic intrigues of Spain. He declares positively that he never has, and never will intermeddle with them. He never intended that the Prince of Asturias should marry a princess of France, or make such a marriage; but since allowed to another, he will agree no marriage of the Prince of Asturias with any person he chooses. The ambassador Rappin has been ordered to leave Paris in the name of Spain. CHAMPAGNY to the PRINCE of the PEACE, 18th October 1807. VENEZUELA, 18th Oct.

Napoleon, who in truth had not instigated this intrigue, but saw the advantage it would give him in his designs against the Peninsula, was rejoiced to see the father and son thus envenomed against each other, and secretly resolved to dispose of them both.*

34. It was not long before this resolution to appropriate to himself a part, at least, of the Spanish dominions, without the slightest regard to his recent and solemn guarantee of their integrity in the treaty of Fontainebleau, was acted upon by the French Emperor. The force of forty thousand men, which had been provided for at Bayonne by that treaty, but which was not to enter Spain except with the consent of the King of Spain, was now increased, in consequence of the orders already noticed, to sixty thousand; and without any authority from the Spanish government, and though the situation of Portugal noways called for their advance, they began to cross the frontier, and take the road, not towards Lisbon, but Madrid. Twenty-four thousand infantry and four thousand horse, with forty guns, under Dupont, first passed the Bidassoa, and moved towards Valladolid, where headquarters were established in the beginning of January. A second army, under Moncey, consisting of twenty-five thousand foot, three thousand horse, and forty pieces of artillery, soon followed; and such was the haste with which these troops were forwarded to their destination, that they were conveyed across France by post, and rapidly despatched towards the Ebro. At the same time, on the other extremity of the Pyrenees, Duhesme, with twelve thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and twenty cannon, entered Catalonia, and took the road to Barcelona. Nor was the Emperor less active in bringing forward additional troops, to act as a reserve to those thus pushed forward into the Peninsula. The old battalions of the Guard Army were

directed towards the Rhine, from the north of Germany; the whole country beyond the Vistula was evacuated by the French troops. Davoust, with his numerous corps, the Poles and the Saxons, moved to the country between the Vistula and the Oder. Soult, with his corps, was recalled from Old Prussia to the west of that kingdom; the Imperial Guard received orders to march on Paris. But though this general move to the westward took place, the Emperor's hold of the north of Germany was not sensibly relaxed. Mortier with his corps was left in Silesia: Victor, with his corps and the reserve cavalry, continued to occupy Berlin: Bernadotte was in Stralsund, and all the fortresses on the Oder and the Elbe were still in the hands of the French. It was not surprising that Napoleon was able in this manner to keep hold of all Europe, for he had at this time 800,000 men in arms of the French empire, besides 150,000 of the allied states.†

35. Although the operations in Portugal afforded no sort of reason for this formidable invasion, yet, so much were the inhabitants of the country in the habit of yielding implicit obedience to the French authorities, in consequence of the submissive attitude of their government for so long a period, that it excited very little attention either in Spain or over the rest of Europe—to the greater part of which it was almost unknown. Public attention followed the progress of the Emperor in Italy; and, dazzled by the splendid pageants and important changes which were there going forward, paid little regard to the progress of obscure corps on the Pyrenean frontier. Notwithstanding all their infatuation, however, the cabinet of Madrid were not with-

* "I never," said Napoleon, "saw the King of Spain against his son. I saw them envenomed against each other, and I saw executed the design of depriving advantage to myself, and disposing both."—G. Mackay, 41, 182.

† "I have upwards of 600,000 men under arms. I have still an army on the Passarge, near the Niemen; I have one at Warsaw, one in Silesia, one at Hamburg, one at Berlin, one at Boulogne, one marching upon Portugal, and a second which I am gathering at Bayonne; one in Italy, one in Dalmatia, which I am withdrawing at this moment with 6000 men; I have one also at Naples. I have garrisons in all the points of my maritime frontier."—SARACEN to JOSEPH, 21st October 1807; *Tourna*, viii. 318, note.

out anxiety at this uncalled-for and suspicious invasion of their frontiers. But they were deceived by the repeated assurances which they received, both verbally and in writing, from the French ministers, of the determination of the Emperor to execute all the provisions of the treaty of Fontainebleau, [date, Chap. III. § 18]; and the Prince of the Peace was fearful lest, by starting ill-timed suspicions, he might put in hazard the brilliant prospects which he conceived were opening both to the Spanish monarchy and himself from the spoliation of Portugal. They were involved in the meshes of guilty ambition, and could not extricate themselves from its toils till they had themselves become its prey.

36. The time, however, was now rapidly approaching when Napoleon deemed it safe to throw off the mask. No sooner had he returned from Italy to Paris than the minister of war transmitted a message to the senate, requiring the levy of eighty thousand conscripts out of those who should become liable to serve in 1809—a requisition which that obsequious body forthwith voted by acclamation, though the peace of Tilisi had, to all appearance, closed the Temple of Janus for a very long period, at least in regard to Continental wars. This warlike message, though levelled ostensibly at England, contained ambiguous expressions which pointed not unequivocally to projects of aggrandisement on the side of the Spanish peninsula.* Shortly after, the French forces began, by fraud and false pretences, to make themselves masters of the frontier fortresses of Spain; and the success with which their dishonourable stratagems were crowned was such as almost to

* "There is a necessity," said Clarke and Champagny, "of having considerable forces on all points exposed to attack, in order to be in a situation to take advantage of any favourable circumstances which may occur to carry the war into the heart of England, to Ireland, or the Indies." Valer politicians conceive the Emperor should deem such a proceeding would be a real outrage to France. It is not enough to have an army in Portugal; Spain is in danger; Cadix, Ceuta is menaced; the English have disembarked many troops in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar; they have directed to that

exceed belief, and such as could not have occurred except in a monarchy debilitated by a long period of despotic misrule. Pampeluna was the first to be surprised. Early in February, General d'Armagnac directed his steps on this perfidious mission through Roncesvalles, the traditional scene of heroic achievement, now for the first time the theatre of disgraceful treachery. He first requested leave from the governor of that fortress to lodge two battalions with the Spanish troops in the citadel; and when this was refused, remained for some days in the town on the most friendly terms with the Spanish garrison, until they were so completely thrown off their guard, that he succeeded in surprising the principal gate of the citadel by means of three hundred men, admitted one by one, with arms under their cloaks, during the night, into his house, which was within the walls, while the attention of the Spanish sentinels was taken off by his soldiers pelting each other in sport with snow-balls close to the drawbridge of the citadel. Next morning a proclamation appeared, beseeching the inhabitants to "consider this as only a trifling change incapable of disturbing the harmony which ought to subsist between two faithful allies." The surprise was complete; but the perfidy and disgrace so evident, that the brave d'Armagnac, who gained it, expressed his disgust at being employed on such a service in his despatches to Berthier announcing it.†

37. Duhesme's instructions were, in like manner, to make himself master of Barcelona; and he was not long of fulfilling his orders. Boldly advancing towards that fortress, under the pretence of pursuing his march to Valen-

quencia, those which have been recalled from the Levant or withdrawn from Sicily. The vigilance of their arsons on the Spanish coast is hourly increasing. They were disposed to revenge themselves on that kingdom for the reverses they have experienced in the colonies. The whole Peninsula, therefore, is in a special manner called to the attention of his majesty."—*Chambers and Greville's Reports, Minutes, 24th Jan. 1808, and Feb. 21. 1808.*

† "On 20th Feb. the General d'Armagnac, D'ARMAGNAC, an officer of the army, Feb. 6, 1808; THAMES, viii. 420.

cia, he totally disregarded the summons of the Conde de España, the captain-general of the province, who requested him to suspend his movements till advice was received from Madrid, and so intimidated the governor, by threatening to throw upon him the whole responsibility of any differences which might arise between the two nations from the refusal to admit the French soldiers within the walls, that he succeeded in getting possession of the town. Still, however, Fort Montjuic and the citadel were in the hands of the Spaniards; but the same system of audacious treachery shortly after made the invaders masters of these strongholds. Count Theodore Leschi, the commander of the Italian division, assembled his troops as for a parade on the glacis of the citadel. After the inspection was over, the Italian general came with his staff on horseback, to converse with the Spanish officers, and insensibly moved forward to the drawbridge; and while still there, so as to prevent its being drawn up, a company of grenadiers stole unperceived round the palisades, and, rushing in, disarmed the Spanish guard at the gate, and introduced four battalions, who got possession of the place. Montjuic fell still more easily: the governor, though a man of courage and honour, was unable to withstand the peremptory summons of the French general, who audaciously demanded the surrender of that impregnable fortress, with the menace to render him respon-

sible for the whole consequences of a war with France, which would inevitably result from a refusal.

Don Fernando de Figueras next fell into the hands of the French. The governor, on his guard against surprise, was obliged into permitting two hundred conscripts to be lodged in the citadel, the finest fortification in Spain, under pretence that there was not accommodation for them in the town. Instead of conscripts, chosen soldiers were introduced; who in the night overpowered the sentinels, and admitted four regiments that lay in the neighbourhood. Finally, San Sebastian, the key to the great road from Bayonne to Madrid, and the destined theatre of such desperate struggles between the French and English, was obtained on still more easy terms. By permission of the Spaniards, it had become the depot for the hospital of the French regiments who had passed through; but the governor, conceiving disquietude at the visible increase in the number of these pretended patients, and having learned some indiscreet expressions of Murat as to San Sebastian being indispensable to the security of the French army, communicated his fears to the captain-general of the province, and also to the Prince of the Peace, with an earnest request for instructions. The prince, too far gone to recede, counselled submission, though his eyes were now opened to the treachery of which he had been the victim; and, to his disgrace be it said, the last bulwark of his country was yielded up in consequence of express instructions from him, written with his own hand.

"My soldiers," said he, "are in possession of the citadel: instantly open the gates of Montjuic, for I have the special commands of the Emperor Napoleon to place garrisons in your fortresses. If you hesitate, I will on the spot declare war against Spain, and you will be exclusively responsible for all the torrents of blood which your resistance will cause to be shed." The terms of Napoleon produced all these marvellous effects. It operated like a charm in suspending the resistance; even of the men who had sworn many oaths to maintain the independence of their country to the last, and the consequence to resistance to the conqueror. The Spanish governor at this period was another excuse—the period with which they were assailed by his orders was so misrepresented as to be more credible to men of honour.—Foy, li. 80.

† On the margin of the letter of the Duke de Mouchon, captain-general of Andalusia, requesting instructions, and thus declaring the danger was written in the Prince of the Peace's own hand:—"Let the governor give up the place, since he has no other means of resisting; but let him do so in an honourable manner, as has been done by others, when there were more force than reason in refusing to submit than in the case of San Sebastian." Murat's own language is: "The general advised me to give up the place, and I have done so." The prince of the Peace is mentioned as the person who was the author of this letter.

39. Thus were taken by the treachery and artifice of the French Emperor, the four frontier fortresses of Spain; those which command the three great roads by Pampeluna, Navarre, and Biscay, across the Pyrenees, and the possession of which gives an invader the entire command of the only passes practicable for any army from France into the Peninsula. And they were taken not only during a period of profound peace, but of close alliance between the two countries, and by a power which, only a few months before, had solemnly guaranteed the integrity of the Spanish dominions! History has few blacker or more disgraceful deeds to commemorate; and, doubtless, the perpetration of them must have been a subject of shame to many of the brave men engaged in the undertaking, how much soever the better feelings of the majority may have been obliterated by that fatal revolutionary principle which measures the morality of all public actions by no other test but success. To the disgrace of Napoleon, it is now proved by the instructions to Murat, signed with his own hand, that these atrocious acts of perfidy were not only planned, but directly enjoined, by himself.* Napoleon, however, who never inquired into the means, provided the end was favour-

able, was overjoyed at this easy acquisition of the keys of Spain, and was led from it to disperse all fears of a serious rupture in the course of his projected changes of dynasty in the Peninsula. With his accustomed vigour, he instantly prepared to make the most of his extraordinary good fortune in these important conquests. Fresh troops were quickly poured into the newly-acquired fortresses; their ramparts were armed, their ditches secured, their arsenals filled; the monks in them were all turned adrift, and the monasteries converted into barracks. Several millions of biscuits were baked in the frontier towns of France, and speedily stored in their extensive magazines. The whole country from the Bidassoa to the Douro was covered with armed men; the Spanish authorities in all the towns were supplanted by French ones; and before a single shot had yet been fired, or one angry note interchanged between the cabinets, the whole of Spain, north of the Ebro, had been already wrested from the crown of Castile.†

40. How deeply soever Godoy may have been implicated, by long-established intimacy and recent lures, in the meshes of French diplomacy, he could not any longer remain blind to the evident tendency of the designs of Napoleon. The seizure of Pampeluna first drew the veil in part from his eyes; the successive captures of Barcelona, Figueras, and San Sebastian, next tore it asunder; finally, the proclamation of Junot, on the 1st February, at once dashed to the earth all his hopes of national or individual aggrandisement. The portentous announcement that Junot was to administer the affairs of Portugal in the whole extent, in the name of the Emperor, evinced clearly that all the provisions

* "Murat's instructions were,—to get together 600,000 rations of biscuits already baked at Bayonne; to occupy at once the *sierra of Pampeluna*, the *forts of Barcelona and St Sebastian*; to give, as a ground to the Spanish commanders for this occupation, the *military rule of securing the rear of an army when advancing over a friendly country*; to keep all the troops well in hand, *not in face of an enemy*; not to hold any communications with the Spanish court without a formal order; to answer no letter from the friends of the Peace; if so questioned as to be unable to remain altogether silent, to reply that the French army entered Spain for purposes known to Napoleon alone, a purpose which was certainly the advantage both of France and Spain; to speak favourably of Godoy and Godoy's wife; to announce to the Spanish provinces that their privileges would be respected; to recommend the most harmonious relations with the noble Basque people; and, in the presence of the French, to send a messenger to the King of the Romans, and deliver to him the *Keys of St Charles*."—*Instructions of Napoleon to Murat*, 20th February 1808. *Union, Chronicle of Europe*, viii. 222, 223.

General Foy, though a liberal writer, and of the Napoleon school, gives a full and full, much to his credit, of these disgraceful transactions, and draws a veil over none of the dishonourable deeds by which they were accomplished.—Foy, *op. cit.* 25. This is the true and honourable spirit of history, and would the most politic and unscrupulous weight to the defence of his country on other points when understood by such a champion.

in the treaty of Fontainebleau in favour either of the Spanish family, who had ceded the throne of Tuscany, or of the Prince of the Peace individually, were blown to the winds. The private correspondence of that ambitious statesman, accordingly, at this period, evinces the utmost uneasiness regarding the designs of France.* But the uncertainty of which he so bitterly complained was of short duration. A requisition by Napoleon for the removal of the Spanish fleet to Toulon, which the cabinet of Madrid were weak enough to comply with, though the rapid succession of events prevented its execution, was soon followed by a formal demand of all Spain to the north of the Ebro, to be incorporated with the French monarchy. In return, he offered to cede to the Spanish monarchy his newly-acquired realm of Portugal; but it was readily foreseen that the proposal would prove entirely elusory, as Junot had taken possession of the whole country in the name of Napoleon, and it was not to be supposed he would ever relinquish his grasp of a monarchy so important in his maritime designs against Great Britain.†

41. Possession of Spain to the north of the Ebro, including, of course, Catalonia, Navarre, the whole frontier fortresses, and the passes through the Pyrenees, was, in a military point of

view, possession of Spain itself: not a fort existed to arrest the French between that river and the capital. The intelligence communicated by Isquierdo, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, revealed the alarming fact, that the title of Emperor of the Indies was to be given to Ferdinand, and that Napoleon continually reverted to the dependence of the tranquillity of France on the succession to the crown of Spain. In the course of the conferences, the Spanish diplomatist had penetrated the real secret, and distinctly warned the Prince of the Peace that the total dethronement of the house of Bourbon was resolved on. The approach of the Queen of Etruria to Madrid at this juncture, who had been forced to renounce one throne by the French Emperor, and since insidiously deprived of the compensation promised her in Portugal, enhanced the general embarrassments; and at length the arrival of Murat at Burgos, where he was received with admiration, with the title of "Lieutenant of the Emperor," and an immense staff, both civil and military, left no room for doubt that Napoleon was determined to appropriate to himself the whole Peninsula. To co-operate in this design, Junot received the most peremptory orders to repress any attempt at insurrection in Portugal, with the utmost sternness, to imitate in that respect the terrible manner in which the Em-

* On 9th February, Godoy wrote to his agent Isquierdo at Paris the following secret despatch:—"I receive no news; I live in uncertainty: the treaty is already a dead letter; this kingdom is covered with troops; the harbours of Portugal are about to be occupied by them; Junot governs the whole of that country. We have just received a demand for the remainder of our fleets to co-operate with the French, which must be complied with. Everything is uncertainty, intrigue, and distrust; public opinion is divided; the appearance of the throne was lately involved in a miserable conspiracy; the French troops live at free quarters on the country; the people are exhausted by their requisitions. You yourself have been to little purpose at Paris; the ambassador there is useless. What is to come of all this? What will be the end of this uncertainty? If you know anything, for God's sake let me know it: anything is better than this uncertainty."—Godoy to Isquierdo, Feb. 9th 1808. *Transactions*, vi. 311, 312.

† The proposal for the cession of the pro-

vinces north of the Ebro was brought to Madrid by Isquierdo, in the form of a *procès-verbal* of the import of long conferences held at Paris between himself, Duran, and Talleyrand. It bore:—"The Emperor is desirous of exchanging Portugal for the Spanish provinces to the north of the Ebro, to avoid the inconvenience of a military road across Castile. A new treaty, offensive and defensive, appears necessary to bind Spain more closely to the Continental System. The repose of his empire requires that the succession to the crown of Castile should be fixed in an irrevocable manner. His Majesty is willing to grant permission to the King to bear the title of Emperor of the Indies, and to give him access in marriage to the Princess of Asturias." Such was the *procès-verbal*, but Isquierdo says that Napoleon was desirous not to see that Napoleon was despoiling all the world; and that he was bent upon giving the entire command of the whole Peninsula, and disposing of it at his pleasure.—*Paris*, II. 109; and Isquierdo's *Despatch* to Godoy, 9th March 1808; *Savary*, II. 145.

peror had repressed the insurrection at Pavia, Verona, and Oleggio, to disband the Portuguese army, and keep a sharp eye on the Spanish divisions in Portugal, and remove them as far as possible from the frontier of the two kingdoms.* Meanwhile Isquierdo, who had penetrated the Emperor's deep-laid designs against Spain, received peremptory and menacing orders to quit Paris without delay, which he did the very next day, bearing with him the most alarming intelligence of the designs of the French.

42. In this extremity the Prince of Peace, roused to more manly feelings by the near approach of danger, both to the monarchy and his own person, recalled a letter which he had despatched to Paris, consenting to the cession of the provinces north of the Ebro, and counselled the King to imitate the example of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and depart for Seville, with a view to embark for America. Preparations were immediately made for the journey. The Guards were assembled at Aranjuez, then the royal residence; thirty pieces of cannon were brought from Segovia, and messengers despatched to Gibraltar to bespeak an asylum for the fugitive monarch within its impregnable walls. Meanwhile Napoleon, keeping up to the last his detestable system of hypocrisy, sent the King a present of twelve beautiful horses, with a letter announcing "his approaching visit to his friend and ally the King of Spain, in order to cement their friendship by personal intercourse, and arrange the affairs of the Peninsula without the restraint of diplomatic forms;" while the passage of the Bidassoa by six thousand of the Imperial Guard, the formation of a new French army, nineteen thousand strong, in Biscay, under Marshal Bessières, and the increase of the forces in Catalonia to fifteen thousand men, told but too clearly that if he did arrive, it would be with the pomp and authority of a conqueror. At the same time, Napoleon, who suspected that a flight to America by the royal family might be in contemplation, sent secret orders in

cipher to Admiral Rosilly, who had the command of the French squadron at Cadix, "to take such a position, that he might, in the event of such an attempt being made, succeed in preventing it, and at once arrest the whole royal family." With truth does M. Thiers, who has revealed these atrocious proceedings, add that, judged by the rules of common morality, they must for ever wither the reputation of their author.†

43. The Prince of Asturias was offered by the King either to share the flight of the royal family, or remain at home with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He at first preferred the former alternative, though his confidants, not yet convinced that the total overthrow of the dynasty was determined on by Napoleon, dissuaded him from the step, and strongly recommended him to throw himself into the arms of the Emperor. Meanwhile the preparations for a journey by the court, and certain vague rumours of their approaching departure from the kingdom, which had transpired, collected an unusual crowd to Aranjuez, and increased to the very highest pitch the anxiety of the people at Madrid, who, notwithstanding the ignorance in which they were kept, had still learned with dismay the seizure of the frontier fortresses, and occupation of the northern provinces by the French troops. The French ambassador openly and loudly condemned the projected departure to the south, as uncalled-for, imprudent, and calculated only to disturb the existing state of amity between the two nations; while Murat at Burgos issued a proclamation, which arrived at this period at the capital, in which he enjoined his soldiers "to treat the Spaniards, a nation estimable in so many respects, as they would treat their French compatriots, as the King

† "Assuredly, if we judged these acts by the rules of common morality, we should be compelled to ascribe to them the stamp of disgrace as indelible as upon the deeds of the common malefactor who appropriates the goods of another; and even when judging them by a different standard, we cannot do otherwise than censure severely." — *Thiers, Consulat et l'Empire*, viii. 274.

* *Thiers, Consulat et l'Empire*, viii. 466.

paper wished nothing but happiness and felicity to Spain." Still the general effervescence continued, and the King, to calm it, issued a proclamation, in which he earnestly commended peace and submission—an advice which had a precisely opposite effect.

44. As the period of departure approached, the reluctance of Ferdinand to accompany the fugitive monarch became hourly stronger, and his friends gave out that he was resolved to remain at home and stand by his country; a resolution which was loudly applauded by the people, who regarded him as the only hope of the nation, and were worked up to a pitch of perfect fury against the Prince of the Peace, whom they regarded as, more than he really was, the author of all the public calamities. A casual expression which dropped from Ferdinand on the morning of the 17th, "This night the court sets out, but I will not accompany them," increased the general excitement, by spreading the belief that the King might possibly be reluctantly torn away from the kingdom of his fathers. At length, when the royal carriages drew up to the door of the palace, and preparations for an immediate departure were made, matters came to a crisis. The people rose in tumultuous masses; a large body took post at the palace, cut the traces of the carriages, and put an entire stop to the intended journey; while a furious mob, composed in great part of disbanded soldiers, surrounded the hotel of the Prince of the Peace, from whose guards they experienced no resistance, forced open the doors, ransacked the most private apartments in searching for the object of their indignation, who, however, for the time escaped. Still, however, observing some moderation in their excesses, they brought the Princess, with all

the respect due to her rank, to the royal palace."

45. In the first moment of alarm, the Prince of the Peace, who was at breakfast at the time, had escaped by a back passage with a single roll, which was lying on the table, in his hand, and, flying up to the garrets, hid himself under a quantity of mats until the first violence of the tumult had subsided. To appease the people, the King issued a decree on the following morning, by which he was deprived of his functions as generalissimo and high-admiral, and banished from court, with liberty only to choose his place of retreat. This measure, however, was far from restoring general tranquillity; the violence of the public feeling was manifested by the seizure of Don Diego Godoy, a relation of the Prince, who was conducted with every mark of ignominy by his own troop of dragoons to his barracks; and secret information was received that a new and more serious tumult was preparing for the succeeding night, having for its object a more important change than the overthrow of the ruling favourite. At the same time intelligence arrived that the Guards, when sounded as to whether they would repel an attack upon the palace, answered, "that the Prince of Asturias could alone insure the public safety; and that prince waited on the King, and offered, by sending the officers of his household through the crowd, to disperse the assemblage; a proposal which was gladly accepted, but necessarily led to the suspicion that he who could so easily appease, had not been a stranger to the origin of the tumult.

46. The night passed quietly over, but next morning, at ten o'clock, a frightful disturbance arose in consequence of the discovery of Godoy in his own palace. This unhappy victim

* The tumult at the Prince of the Peace's palace first commenced from the mob recognising in the person of a veiled lady, who left the palace at dusk on the evening of the 17th, surrounded by the guards, Don Eusebio, who had so long been the mistress of the favourite. His marriage with the niece of the King no more disturbed their relation than either the one or the other excited any

jealousy in the breast of the Queen, whose criminal partiality had been the sole cause of his original elevation; and the tumult at Aranjuez found them not meeting quietly under the same roof. *—Farrar, l. vi. p. 111.* This is a strong proof that, in some cases at least, the origin of the war in a warm climate does not influence the passion of the green-eyed nations.

of popular fury had remained for thirty-six hours undiscovered in his place of concealment; but at length the pangs of thirst became so intolerable as to overcome the fear of death, and he ventured down stairs to get a glass of water. He was recognised by a Walloon sentinel at the foot of the steps, who immediately gave the alarm. A crowd instantly collected; he was seized by a furious multitude; and with difficulty rescued from instant death by some guards who collected around him, and, at the imminent risk of their own lives, dragged him, suspended from their saddles almost in the air, covered with contusions and half dead with terror, at a rapid pace across the Place San Antonio to the nearest barrack, amidst the most dreadful cries and imprecations. His feet were crushed by the horses' hoofs, his thigh pierced by a deep wound, and one eye almost torn from its socket. He was thrown on a bed of straw—the same, by a singular coincidence, which he had occupied as a private in the Royal Guard, before his extraordinary and almost fabulous rise commenced. Prevented from wreaking their vengeance on the chief object of their hatred, the mob divided into separate parties, and, traversing the streets in different directions, sacked and levelled with the ground the houses of the principal friends and dependants of Godoy. At length Ferdinand, to whom all eyes were now turned as the only person capable of arresting the public disorders, at the earnest entreaty of the King and Queen—whose anxiety, amidst all the perils with which they were themselves surrounded, was chiefly for the life of their fallen favourite—flew to the prison at the head of his guards, and prevailed on the maddening mob by which it was surrounded to retire. "Arayon, yet king!" inquired the Prince of the Peace, when Ferdinand first presented himself before him. "Not as yet, but I shall soon be so." In effect, Charles IV., deserted by the whole court, overwhelmed by the opposition heaped on his cautious minister, unable to trust his own guards, and in hourly

apprehension for the life, not only of Godoy, but of himself and the Queen, deemed a resignation of the crown the only mode of securing the personal safety of any of the three; and in the evening a proclamation appeared, in which he relinquished the throne to the Prince of Asturias.

47. The Prince was proclaimed king under the title of Ferdinand VII. on the day of his father's abdication; and this auspicious event, coupled with the fall of Godoy, diffused universal transports. All ranks and classes of the

"Army habitual indolence no longer permit me to bear the weight of the government of my kingdom, and standing in need, for the re-establishment of my health, of a milder climate and a private life, I have determined, after the most mature deliberation, to abdicate the crown in favour of my heir and well-beloved son, the Prince of Asturias, and desire that this, my free and spontaneous abdication, should be fully carried into execution in all points."—*Decree*, 19th March 1808; *Fov*, iii. 371. On the day following, the King informed Murat of his resignation, with full details of his reasons for so doing, but without alleging any others than those set forth in the public instrument; but on the 21st he wrote a secret despatch to Napoleon, in which he asserted—"I have only resigned in favour of my son from the force of circumstances; and when the din of arms and the clamours of my insurgent guards left me no alternative but resignation or death, which would speedily have been followed by that of the Queen, I have been forced to abdicate, and have no longer any hope, but in the aid and support of my magnanimous ally, the Emperor Napoleon." On the same day he drew up a secret protest, which sets forth—"I declare that my decree of 19th March, by which I abdicated the crown in favour of my son, is an act to which I was forced, to prevent the effusion of the blood of my beloved subjects. It should, therefore, be regarded as null."—See both documents in *Fov*, iii. 392, 393; *Pictus Just*. On the other hand, the day after his abdication, Charles IV. said to the diplomatic body assembled at the Escurial—"I never performed an action in my life with more pleasure." The truth appears to be, that the abdication, in the first instance, was prompted chiefly by terror for the life of the Prince of the Peace, for whose safety throughout the royal pair manifested more solicitude than for their own concerns; and it was an after-thought to protest against it as null, or attempt to recede from the act. This idea seems to incline to the opinion that the protest on 21st March was drawn out subsequent to its date, and after the arrival of Murat, though doubtless the resignation of the crown, even if suggested only by terror for Godoy's life, cannot be considered as voluntary deed.—*TORRES*, i. 25, 26; and *TRIMANDEAU*, vi. 323.

people shared in it: the surrender of the frontier forces, the hundred thousand men in the northern provinces, the approach of Napoleon with his Guards, were forgotten, now that the traitors who, it was thought, had betrayed the nation, were fallen: the houses in Madrid were decorated during the day with flowers and green boughs; at night a vast illumination burst forth spontaneously in every part of the city. Ferdinand VII. was hailed with enthusiastic applause, as the saviour of his country, whenever he appeared in public; while the public fury against the Prince of the Peace rose to such a height, that the people in many parts of the kingdom destroyed the institutions which he had established for the promotion even of agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, from which nothing but unmixcd good could have been anticipated.

43. While the Spanish people were thus abandoning themselves to transports of joy at the accession of a new monarch to the throne, Murat, at the head of the French troops, was rapidly approaching Madrid. On the 15th March, he set out at the head of the corps of Moncy, the Imperial Guard and the artillery, from Burgos, taking the road of the Somo-Sierra. On the same day, Dupont, with two divisions of his corps and the cavalry, broke up for the Guadarrama pass; the third division of Dupont's corps remained at Valladolid to observe the Spanish troops which occupied Galicia. No sooner had these forces advanced on the road towards Madrid, than their place at Burgos was supplied by the army of reserve under Bessières. The whole body moved on by brigades, taking with them provisions for fifteen days, and fifty rounds of ball-cartridge each man; the troops bivouacked at night with patrols set, and all the other precautions usual in an enemy's territory. They everywhere gave out that they were bound for the camp of San Roque, to act against the English, at the same time belying these pacific declarations by arresting all the Spanish soldiers and posts whom they met on the road, so as to prevent any

intelligence of their approach being received. In this way they passed without opposition, and almost without their advance being known, the important range of mountains which separates Old from New Castile; and Murat, having received intelligence at Bayraja, on their southern side, of the events at Aranjuez, redoubled his speed, entered Madrid at the head of the cavalry and Imperial Guard and a brilliant staff on the day following, and took up his quarters in the hotel of the Prince of the Peace. This formidable apparition excited much less attention than it would otherwise have done, in consequence of all minds being intent on the preparations for Ferdinand VII. on the following day making his public entry into the capital, and of the mean look of the French soldiers, who, with the exception of the magnificent Imperial Guard, presented a very despicable appearance, widely different from the stalwart peasantry who gazed on their array. They had yet to learn the difference between disciplined conscripts and an undisciplined mob. Ferdinand next day came in accordingly, accompanied by two hundred thousand citizens of all ranks, in carriages, on foot, and horseback, who had gone out to welcome their sovereign; and Murat, who was an eyewitness to the universal transports which his presence occasioned, failed not instantly to write off to Napoleon intelligence of what he had seen, with many observations on the probable effect of so popular a prince permanently retaining the supreme direction of affairs.

44. The first care of Ferdinand, after he ascended the throne, was to transmit to Napoleon a full account of the transactions at Aranjuez, according to his version of the affair; and he anxiously awaited the answer which was to be received from the supreme arbiter of his fate. In the interim, however, he communicated from the French authorities the utmost reserve; and when he made a visit to Murat, and was announced as King of Spain, he had the mortification of being obliged to return, not only with-

out any of the honours due to his rank, but without having had a single word addressed to him by that officer or his attendants." As, however, it was of the utmost importance to the new sovereign that he should be recognised by the French Emperor—and his situation without such countenance was not only precarious but full of danger—no pains were spared to conciliate his favour, and win the goodwill of the French generals in Madrid. Flattery, caresses, obsequious obedience to every demand, were all tried, but in vain. Murat, aware of the secret designs of his brother-in-law on the throne of Spain, was careful to avoid everything which could have the semblance even of recognising Ferdinand's title to the throne. In truth, he nourished secret hopes of it for himself; and the very day after his arrival wrote accordingly to the Emperor, that if he chose it, nothing was easier than to supplant the Bourbon dynasty by "*a prince of his house*."† Meanwhile Charles IV. and the Queen, more and more alarmed for the safety of their fallen favourite, did not let a day pass without reiterating their entreaties to Murat to take him under his protection, and now openly represented the resignation as a compulsory act; while that general, careful above all to advance the interests of his

"The Queen of Etruria had, unknown to Murat, arranged matters for an interview between him and Ferdinand VII., and accordingly he made his appearance and was announced as King of Spain, when the French general was paying a visit to the Ex-Queen of Tuscany. Murat stood up when he entered the room, but did not advance a step to meet him; Ferdinand passed at his unexpected reserve; and the Queen, to put an end to so awkward a scene, sat down to the piano and began to play. Neither said a word; at length Ferdinand mechanically drew near to his sister, and stood beside the instrument; Murat never stirred, and soon after, bowing to the Queen, retired, without having taken any further notice of the embarrassed monarch. —*For. Ill. 140, note.*"

"I should have expected, Sir," he wrote to Napoleon, "after so many years' service and devotion, to have deserved your confidence, and been intrusted with the command of the troops, to have been made aware of the object for which they were employed. I beg that you will give me instructions. Whatever they may be they will be carried out. If you wish to upset the power of Godoy and

master, took military possession of the capital, occupied and fortified the Retiro, reviewed all his forces on the outskirts of the town, and nominated General Grouchy governor of Madrid.

50. Everything asked by the French authorities was instantly granted. All their requisitions for the support, clothing, or pay of the troops, were carefully complied with; and even the ungracious demand for the sword of Francis I., which had hung in the royal armoury ever since it had been taken in the battle of Pavia, was also yielded, from the desire of Ferdinand to conciliate his much-dreaded ally.‡ A hint was next given that the journey of DON CARLOS, Ferdinand's brother, destined to celebrity in future times, to receive the Emperor on the frontiers of the kingdom, would be very acceptable: this, too, was instantly acquiesced in, and preparations were made for his departure. The French troops were everywhere received with acclamations; it was the universal belief that they were come to place Ferdinand on the throne, and terminate the odious rule of the Prince of the Peace. Encouraged by such marks of complaisance, Beauharnais then insinuated that it would have the best effect upon the future relations of the two potentates, if Ferdinand himself were to go at least as far as Burgos to receive re-establish Ferdinand, nothing will be more easy. A word from your mouth will suffice. If you wish to change the dynasty of the Bourbons, and regenerate Spain by giving to one of the princes of your own house, here again nothing will be more easy. Your wish will be accepted as the decree of Providence."—MURAT to NAPOLEON, March 26, 1808. Napoleon answered—"When I ordered you to march by military law, to keep your troops well together and out of action, to provide for them so abundantly as to leave no temptation to disorder, to avoid any collision, to take no part in the dissensions of the Spanish court, and to refer to me for any questions that might be asked, were not these instructions? The result does not concern you, if I tell you nothing, it is because you ought to know nothing."—NAPOLEON to MURAT, 4th April 1808.—*THIERS, Consulat et Empire, xiii. 485, 486.*

§ "It was brought in state from the Armoria Real to the palace of Murat by the Count Alaman. 'It could not, said he, be given up to more worthy hands than those of the illustrious general formed in the school of the hero of the age.'"—*For. Ill. 142.*

his august guest, to throw himself into his arms, and ask his protection, friendship, and alliance. But the advisers of the Spanish monarch were startled at this demand, especially so soon after the perfidious seizure of the fortresses; and the inhabitants of Madrid, grievously offended at the coldness of the French authorities to their beloved prince, and the unauthorised intrusion of their troops into the capital, are long become exasperated at their imperious allies. Meanwhile Murat, anxious above everything to check the growing enthusiasm in favour of Ferdinand, which seemed equally hostile to the views of his imperial master and those of himself, recommended to the old king to represent his abdication as a forced act, and held out hopes, which were eagerly embraced, of his restoration to the throne by the influence or force of Napoleon. He promised to forward the protest against the resignation without delay to the Emperor, whom he represented as strongly inclined to support the cause of the old sovereigns, and protect not only them, but the Prince of the Peace, whose unpopularity had involved them in his fall.

51. Napoleon received the account of the events at Aranjuez on the night of the 26th March at Paris. He instantly took his final resolution, and next morning offered the crown of Spain to his brother Louis. His letter to that prince still exists, and affords decisive evidence of his views on that monarchy even at that early period, and of the profound dissimulation as well as thorough perfidy by which his subsequent conduct, both to Ferdinand and Charles IV., was characterised.*

* Napoleon's letter to his brother Louis was in these terms:—"5th March 1808.—The King of Spain has just abdicated; the Prince of the Peace has been imprisoned; insurrectionary movements have shown themselves at Madrid. At that instant our troops were still forty leagues distant, but on the 23d Murat must have entered that capital at the head of forty thousand men. The people demand me, with loud cries, to fix their destinies. Being convinced that I shall never be able to conclude a solid peace with England, his Majesty has caused a great movement on the Continent. I have resolved to put a French prince on the throne of Spain. In this state of affairs,

Louis, however, was not deceived by the specious offer thus held out to him; he had felt on the throne of Holland the chains of servitude, and the responsibility of command, and he was thinking rather of resigning his onerous charge than accepting another still more burdensome: he therefore refused. Some time before, Napoleon had had a long conversation with Isquierdo at St Cloud as to the state of public opinion in the Peninsula, and the feelings with which they would regard a prince of his family, or even himself, as their sovereign. Isquierdo replied, "The Spaniards would accept your majesty for their sovereign with pleasure, and even enthusiasm; but only in the event of your having previously renounced the crown of France." Struck with this answer, and the confirmation it had recently received, he meditated much on the affairs of Spain; and, without revealing to him his real designs on the Spanish crown, sent Savary to Madrid, to carry into execution his intrigues in the Spanish capital. Foreseeing that the crisis of the Peninsula was approaching, and that it was indispensable that he should get both Charles and Ferdinand into his power, he set out himself for Bayonne in the beginning of April. He had now finally made up his mind to take advantage of the dissensions of the Spanish royal family to dispossess both the claimants, and place one of his own family on the throne.

52. When Savary received his final instructions for Madrid, Napoleon said to him:—"Charles IV. has abdicated; his son has succeeded him; and this change has been the result of a revolution in which the Prince of the Peace

I have turned my eyes on you for the throne of Spain. Say at once what is your opinion on that subject. You must be aware that this plan is yet to embryo; and that, although I have 100,000 men in Spain, yet, according to circumstances, I may either advance directly to my object in which case everything will be concluded in a fortnight, or be more circumspect in my advances, and the final result will appear only after several months' operations. Answer accordingly. As I declare you King of Spain, can I rely on you?" See Napoleon at Bayonne, 18th March 1808; TOMEI, i. 100; and FERNANDEZ, ii. 324.

has fallen, which looks as if these changes were not altogether voluntary. I was fully prepared for some changes in Spain; but I think they are now taking a turn altogether different from what I intended. See our ambassador on the subject; inquire especially why he could not prevent a revolution in which I shall be forced to interfere, and in which I shall be considered as implicated. Before recognising the son, I must be made aware of the sentiments of the father; nothing will induce me to do so till I see the resignation duly legalised, otherwise a troop of traitors may be introduced into my palace during the night, who may force me to abdicate, and overturn the state. When I made peace on the Niemen, I stipulated that, if England did not accept the mediation of Alexander, he should unite his arms to mine to constrain that power to submission. I would be weak indeed, if, having obtained that single advantage from those whom I have vanquished, I should permit the Spaniards to embroil me afresh on my weak side, and give that power much greater advantages than she had lost by the rupture with Russia. *What I fear above everything is a revolution of which I neither know the direction nor hold the threads.* Doubtless, it would be a great object to avoid a war with Spain: such a contest would be a species of sacrilege; but I would willingly incur all its hazards, if the prince who governs that state is disposed to embrace such a policy. I should thus be in the same situation with Louis XIV. when he engaged, in support of his grandson, in the War of the Succession; the same political necessity governs both cases. Had Charles IV. not resigned, and the Princes of the Peace not been overturned, we might have remained at peace, because I could rely on them; but now all is changed. But if Spain is inclined to throw itself into the opposite policy, I should not hesitate to enter the monarchy with all my forces; for that country, if ruled by a warlike prince inclined to direct against us all the resources of his nation, might per-

haps succeed in displacing by his own dynasty my family on the throne of France. You see what might happen in France if I do not prevent it; it is my duty to foresee the danger, and take measures to deprive the enemy of the resources they might otherwise derive from it. If I cannot arrange with either the father or son, *I will make a clean sweep of both*; I will reassemble the Cortes, and resume the designs of Louis XIV. I am fully prepared for all that; I am about to set out for Bayonne; I will go on to Madrid, but only if it is absolutely unavoidable." His official instructions to Savary, still existing in the archives of the Louvre, set his perfidious intentions in the clearest light.*

53. No person could be better qualified than Savary to execute the ambiguous but important mission with which he was now charged. Devoted in his attachment to the Emperor; intimately acquainted with his most secret projects; active, insinuating, skilful; a perfect master of finesse and dissimulation; and wholly unscrupulous in the means employed for the execution of his purposes—he was admirably adapted for conducting that dark intrigue, which was intended, without a rupture, to terminate in the dethronement of the entire race of the

* "The instructions were:—Not to recognise the authority of the son, to feign a solemn respect for the authority of the father, to keep up that authority as long as might be desirable for the better enabling him to *seize upon the crown*, making sure of it sooner or later according to circumstances; to draw Ferdinand from Madrid, to bring him to Burgos or Bayonne, so as to secure his person, and get from him a cession of his rights, holding out to him an indemnity in Italy, such as the kingdom of Sicily; to manage matters carefully, and draw Ferdinand to Madrid by the hope of seeing the dispute settled in his favour; but, if he was obstinate, to publish without hesitation the proclamation of Charles IV., declaring that he alone reigned in Spain, and treat Ferdinand as a rebel son and subject." M. Thiers, much to his credit, fully admits the baseness of these designs.—"The proofs exist," says he, "and leave no doubt on the subject; and I who wish to cast no shade on the glory of Napoleon, must speak the truth, (as I did in the case of the Duke d'Angoulême), from the simple and imperative obligation upon a historian so narrate facts as they happened."—Thiers, *Consulat et l'Empire*, viii. 538, 539.

Spanish house of Bourbon. In the most flagitious as well as important deeds of Napoleon's life—the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, the Russian negotiations which followed the battle of Austerlitz, and in those which succeeded the treaty of Tilait—he had borne a conspicuous part; and his present situation at the head of the Gendarmerie d'Elite, gave him the direction of the most important part of the state police. Fully possessed of the secret views of the Emperor, and entirely regardless of any breach of faith in carrying them into effect,* he spared neither menaces, nor flattery, nor assurances of safety, to accomplish the grand object of getting Ferdinand into the hands of his master. No sooner had he arrived at Madrid than he demanded a special audience of the King, which was immediately granted. He there declared,† “I have come at the particular desire of the Emperor solely to offer his compliments to your majesty, and to know if your sentiments in regard to France are in conformity with those of your father. If they are, the Emperor will shut his eyes to all that is past; he will not intermeddle in the smallest particular in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and he will instantly recognise you as King of Spain and the Indies.” Murat also had an audience of Ferdinand, and made the same protestations in still more emphatic terms.‡ This gratifying assurance was accompanied with so many flattering expressions and

such apparent cordiality, that it entirely imposed not only on Ferdinand, but on his most experienced counselors; and Savary's entreaties that he would go at least as far as Burgos to meet the Emperor,‡ who was already near Bayonne, on the road to Madrid, were so pressing, that their reluctance to his departure from the capital was at length overcome, and he set out from Madrid, in company with the French envoy, to meet his august protector.

54. The King was everywhere received on his route to the northern provinces with the same enthusiastic joy as at Aranjuez and Madrid; though the simple inhabitants of Castile, not involved in the trammels of intrigue, and uninfluenced by the delusions which were practised on their superiors, beheld with undiagnosed anxiety the progress of their sovereign towards the French frontier. At Burgos, however, the uneasiness of the royal counsellors greatly increased; for not only were they now surrounded by the French troops, but the Emperor had not arrived, and no advices of his having even crossed the frontier were received. The matter was warmly and

“I asked permission,” says Savary, “to accompany the King on his journey to the north, *solely for this reason*.—I had come from Bayonne to Madrid as a common courier, as was the custom of travelling at that time in Spain. I had scarcely arrived when I was under the necessity of retracing my steps in the same fashion in order to meet the Emperor, at the same time that Ferdinand was pursuing the same route. I found it much more convenient to request leave for my carriage to join that of his majesty; I did so, and my carriage accordingly made part of the royal cortege.”—SAVARY, *ii.* 195, 196.—It is not credible that this was the real reason which induced Savary to accompany the King back to Burgos. Don Pedro Cevallos says, “General Savary made use of the most pressing instances to induce the King to go to meet the Emperor, alleging that such a step would appear infinitely flattering to his imperial majesty; and this he repeated so often, and in such insinuating terms, asserting, at the same time, that the Emperor might be hourly expected, that it was impossible to withhold credit from the assertion. When the day of departure was fixed, the French general solicited the honour of accompanying his majesty in his journey, which could in no event be prolonged beyond Burgos, according to the positive intelligence he had just received of the approach of his majesty.”—CEVALLOS, 81.

* He admitted to the Abbé de Pradt, that his mission was, by one means or another, to get Ferdinand to Bayonne.—DE PRADT, 73.

† Murat saw him, he carefully avoided any promise to recognise him as Ferdinand VII., but declared several times that Napoleon possessed none but the most friendly intentions; that he wished in no way to interfere with the internal affairs of Spain, that if his troops were at the gates of Madrid during the last revolution, it was a pure chance; but that, as Europe might hold him responsible for that revolution, he must, before recognising the new King, satisfy himself that everything at Aranjuez had been transacted in a formal and legitimate manner; that as one could so well inform him on this subject as Ferdinand VII., and that his presence and oral explanations could not fail to have a decisive influence on the mind of Napoleon.”—BARRAS, *viii.* 557, 558.

anxiously debated in his council, and opinions were much divided as to the course which should be adopted; Don Pedro Cevallos earnestly insisting that the King should go no farther, and portraying in vivid colours the evident peril with which such an inconsiderate surrender of his person into the hands of so ambitious a potentate would be attended. The other counsellors of the King were more undecided; alleging for their public justification that it was utterly inconceivable that Napoleon should entertain any sinister designs against the person of the monarch on the throne of Spain, and thus run the risk not only of lighting up the flames of a frightful war in the Peninsula, but of placing the whole resources of its Transatlantic possessions at the disposal of the English government.

55. These, however, were not their only, not their real reasons; in truth they had gone too far to recede. It had already transpired that Charles IV. had denounced the resignation of Aranjuez as a forced act, and was doing his utmost to engage the French government in his interest. They were all, with the exception of Cevallos, involved in that transaction, and they thus saw the penalties of treason menacing them in rear. The country was overrun by French troops; a national struggle in defence of Ferdinand appeared hopeless, or at least there were no preparations for it; and there seemed no safety even to their lives but in advancing rapidly, and, by early submission and adroit flattery, winning the powerful protection of the French Emperor before the partisans of the late monarch had had time to make any impression. This is the true secret of the majority of Ferdinand's counsellors advising him to go on to Bayonne, after the danger of it had become so evident as to excite tumults even in the humblest ranks of the people.

56. Cevallos, however, with honourable constancy maintained his opinion, and the ultimate determination appeared still uncertain, when Savary joined the deliberations. He protest-

ed loudly against any change in the King's plans as uncalled for and unnecessary, prejudicial alike to the honour of the French Emperor and of himself as his envoy, and likely, more than any other step which could be taken, to embroil the two kingdoms, and destroy that good understanding which was just beginning to arise between their respective monarchs. "I will let you cut off my head," said he, "if, in a quarter of an hour after the arrival of your majesty at Bayonne, he does not recognise you as the King of Spain and of the Indies." To preserve consistency, he will perhaps, in the first instance, address you by the title of your Highness; but in a few minutes he will give you that of your Majesty. The moment that is done, everything is at an end; then your majesty may instantly return to Spain." The King was in great perplexity, and it was extremely doubtful what course would be finally resolved on, when Savary again represented that the nearer they approached Napoleon the more he would become disposed in their favour, and that, by going forward to Bayonne, their suspense would be terminated two days sooner than it otherwise would.

57. These words were decisive: the King was surrounded by eight thousand of the French troops, without a single guard of his own. The earnest manner and apparent sincerity of Savary disarmed suspicion. Even if it had still existed, resistance was hardly possible where there was not a battalion to support it; and the fatal resolution to continue the journey to Bayonne was taken almost from necessity, although the people were so alive to the danger that they everywhere manifested the utmost repugnance to the journey being continued, and rose at Vittoria in menacing crowds to prevent it.* At that place a faithful counsellor of the King, Don Mariano de Urquijo, arrived from Bilbao, and not only laid

* "Tribuni et militis, monendo, suadendo, et quanto longius abscedebatur; spartiore custodia, postremo gnarum necessitatibus urbem trahere."—TACITUS, *Annal.* The arts of tyranny are the same in all ages.

before him a memoir, distinctly foretelling the danger which awaited him from the French Emperor, but suggested a plan by which escape in disguise was still possible, and mentioned that both the captain-general of Biscay and a faithful battalion would be at hand at Mondragon to conduct him to Durango, and from thence to the fortified town of Bilbao. Hervax repeated the same advice: the chief of the custom-house tendered two thousand of his officers to protect his majesty: the Duke of Mahon, governor of Guipuscoa, offered to pledge his head that he should escape safely into Aragon, and to accompany him in his flight, observing that it should never be said that a great-grandson of the brave Crillon was wanting in the hour of need to a descendant of Henry IV.

53. So many and such concurring efforts would probably have diverted the King from his design, were it not that at that very moment Savary, who had gone on to Bayonne, and seen the Emperor, returned, bringing a letter

* Napoleon said in this letter,—"The affair of Aranjuez took place when I was occupied with the concerns of the north. I am not in a situation to form an opinion concerning it, nor of the conduct of the Prince of the Peace; but what I am clear about is, that it is dangerous for kings to accustom their subjects to the shedding of blood, and to taking justice into their own hands. The King has no longer any friends. Your highness will have none, if ever you prove unfortunate. The people willingly take vengeance for the homage which they in general pay us. As to the abdication of Charles IV., it took place at a moment when our armies covered Spain; and, in the eyes of Europe and posterity, I shall appear to have sent my troops for no other purpose but to precipitate from the throne my friend and ally. As a neighbouring sovereign, I am called on to inquire into, before I recognise, that abdication. I declare to your royal highness, and to the whole world, that if the abdication of King Charles was really voluntary, if he was not constrained to it by the revolt and insurrection of Aranjuez, I will, without hesitation and at once, recognise you as King of Spain. I desire much to converse with you on this subject. The circumspection which, for some months, I have employed in these affairs, should induce you to rely with the more confidence on me. If, in your turn, factions of any sort should disturb you on the throne. Your royal highness has now my whole thoughts. You see that I vacillate between different ideas, and have need to be fixed. You may, however, rest as-

from Napoleon himself to Ferdinand, dated from that town only two days before. This letter was couched in such encouraging terms, and held out such flattering though equivocal assurances of an immediate recognition, which were strongly repeated by Savary on his word of honour, that it relieved Ferdinand's counsellors of all their perplexities; and it was finally resolved to continue the journey without delay to Bayonne.* It is now known that this resolution was not the cause of the catastrophe which followed. Ferdinand in reality had no alternative; he was surrounded by French troops, and they had distinct orders to arrest him, and bring him a prisoner to Bayonne, if he proved refractory.† When the Duke of Mahon wished still to remonstrate, Escoiquiz, who entirely directed the King, interrupted him by the words—"The affair is settled; to-morrow we set out for Bayonne; we have received all the assurances which we could desire." Still the public anxiety continued; and when the horses

sured, that, in any event, I shall conduct myself towards you as I have done towards your father. Rely on my desire to reconcile everything, and on my wish to find occasion to give you proofs of my affection and perfect esteem."—NAPOLEON TO FERDINAND, Bayonne, April 16, 1808.—When he put this insidious epistle into Savary's hands, Napoleon said to him,—"If the Prince of Asturias had followed wise counsels, I should have found him here; but from what you tell me, I suppose he conceived apprehensions from the preparations of the Grand-duke of Berg, (Murat). Return, and give him this letter from me; allow him to make his reflections on it. You have no need of finesse; he is more interested in it than I am. Let him do as he pleases. According to your answer or your silence, I shall take my line, and also adopt such measures as may prevent him from returning elsewhere except to his father. There is the fruit of bad counsels. Here is a prince who perhaps will cease to reign in a few days, or induce a war between France and Spain." At the same time he wrote to Murat to save the life of the Prince of the Peace, but to send him immediately to Bayonne.—SAVARY, iii. 200, 212, 213.

† "Napoleon gave immediate orders to Murat as well as to Marshal Bessières, not to hesitate, but at a word from Savary, to arrest the Prince of Asturias, and at the same moment publish the protest of Charles IV., declaring that he alone reigned, and that his son was a usurper, who had insinuated the revolution of Aranjuez in order to clear his way to the throne."—THIERS, viii. 572, 573.

came to the door the following morning, a vast crowd assembled, and cut the traces. A proclamation was immediately issued to calm the general effervescence, in which the King declared, "that he was assured of the constant and sincere friendship of the Emperor of France, and that, in a few days, the people would return thanks to God for the prudence which dictated the temporary absence which gave them so much disquietude." Upon this resistance ceased, and the carriage, surrounded by a mournful and submissive, but still unconvinced crowd, took its departure, guarded by the French division of Verdier. At Vittoria it was surrounded by the superb squadrons of the Imperial Guard, and Ferdinand set out at the gallop in state, a real prisoner in the hands of his perfidious ally. Two days afterwards he crossed the Bidassoa, and, proceeding to Bayonne, finally committed himself to the honour of the French Emperor. In former days, other kings, won by the arts of the Roman Emperors, had done the same, and had experienced the fate which awaited Ferdinand. Already was the French Revolution terminating in the same dark atrocities as the Roman.* After having rivalled the glory of Cæsar, Napoleon had descended to the arts of Tiberius!

59. Upon his departure from Madrid, Ferdinand had intrusted the government to a regency, of which Don Antonio, uncle to Ferdinand, was the head. Murat, however, was the real centre of authority: the presence of thirty thousand French troops gave him an influence which was irresistible. No sooner had the King left the capital than he insisted that the Prince of the Peaces should be immediately given up to him. Don Antonio refused to do so, until he received authority from Ferdi-

nand, to whom he instantly despatched a courier for instructions. Meanwhile the French general continued to insist for the delivery of the important prisoner, threatening, at the same time, to put to the sword, in case of refusal, the six hundred provincial guards intrusted with his custody. At length authority arrived from the King for his surrender, which the Infant communicated to the officer in command of the Guards, with the simple observation, "that on the surrender of Godoy depended the preservation of the crown of Spain to his nephew." On the same day Godoy set out from Madrid under a strong French escort, and six days afterwards arrived at Bayonne. Meanwhile Murat harassed the regency with repeated and vexatious demands, apparently prompted by no other motive than to disgust them with the cares of an unsubstantial command, and accustom the people to regard the French headquarters as the centre from which all real authority emanated. Soon after he repaired in person to the Escorial, and had long and repeated conferences with Charles IV. and the old Queen. The result of their deliberations soon appeared in the transmission to Don Antonio of the ante-dated and secret state paper, already noticed, in which the King protested against his abdication as brought about by constraint and intimidation; and by the earnest advice of Murat, he set out immediately after, in company with the Queen, surrounded by French guards, for Bayonne, to lay his grievances at the feet of Napoleon, where he arrived four days after his fallen favourite. Thus did the French Emperor, by the influence of his name, the terrors of his armies, and the astuteness of his diplomatists, succeed in inducing the leaders of all the parties which distracted Spain, including the late and present sovereign, to place their persons at his disposal; while, at the same time, the communications on his part which brought about this extraordinary result were managed with such address, and enveloped in such mystery, that not only could none of

* "He repressed hostile and suspected kings by force, rather than by complaints. Certain of these, drawn to him by flattery and promises, he did not permit to depart—as Marobodius the German, Rheuscopo the Thracian, Artabanus the Cappadocian, whose kingdom he also reduced to the form of a province."—Suetonius' "Tiberius," i. 474. *Valpy's Classics.*

them boast of possessing a distinct pledge of what he intended to do, but all had reason to hope that the result would prove entirely conformable to their interests.

60. Meanwhile Napoleon, though possessed of such extraordinary influence, and invested with almost absolute power over the affairs of Spain and Portugal, and the interests of the crowned heads which they contained, was extremely embarrassed how to act. Not that he swerved in the slightest degree from his intention of making, as he himself said, "a clean sweep of them," (*maison nette*), but that he perceived, in the clearest light, the abyss on the edge of which he was placed, and anticipated, with just and sagacious foresight, the incalculable consequences which might result from the lighting of the flames of a national war in the Peninsula. Through all the weakness and submission of the last century, he still discerned the traces of energy and resolution in the Spanish character. The timidity of its foreign conduct, the abuses of its internal administration, he justly ascribed to the corruption of the nobles, or the imbecility of the court. His generals had transmitted daily accounts of the alarming excitement which seemed to prevail, especially among the lower classes of the community: and he rightly concluded that he would be involved in inextricable embarrassment if, on a side where he had so long been entirely secure, there should arise a contest animated by the indignant feelings of a nation hitherto a stranger to revolutionary passions. M. de Tournon, a secret agent whom he employed at Madrid, from a well-founded distrust of Murat's political capacity, and a thorough perception of his ambitious views on the Spanish crown, transmitted at this critical juncture detailed and graphic accounts of the enthusiasm of the people in favour of Ferdinand VII., of the extreme jealousy which prevailed of French interference, and of the great danger of lighting up a national war in Spain, where political passions had not yet worn themselves out, and the people

were by nature and temperament vehement and impassioned, and inclined to act, alike individually and collectively, on the impulse of the moment. These wise representations for a brief period made a great impression on Napoleon. His instructions to Murat, accordingly, at this period, were to conduct himself with the utmost circumspection; to avoid everything which might excite an angry feeling or provoke a hostile collision; to strengthen his military hold of the country; but to do nothing which might disturb the pacific negotiations by which he hoped, without drawing the sword, to obtain in a few days the whole objects of his ambition.*

"I fear," said Napoleon, "M. Grand-duke of Berg, that you are deceiving me on the real situation of Spain, and that you deceive yourself also. The events of the 19th March have singularly complicated our affairs. I am in the greatest perplexity; never suppose that you are engaged with a disarmed nation, and that you have only to show yourself to insure the submission of Spain. The revolution of 20th March proves that they still have energy. You have to deal with a *virgin people*; they already have all the courage, and they will soon have all the enthusiasm, which you meet with among men who are not worn out by political passions.

"The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain; if they become seriously alarmed for their privileges and their existence, they will rouse the people and induce an unending war. At present I have many partisans among them; if I show myself as a conqueror, I will soon cease to have any. The Prince of the Peace is detested, because they accuse him of having given up Spain to France: that is the cry which led to the usurpation of Ferdinand; but for it the popular party would have been the least powerful. The Prince of Asturias has none of the qualities essential for the chief of a nation; that want, however, will not prevent them, in order to oppose us, from making him a hero. I have no wish to use violence towards that family; it is never expedient to render one's self odious, and inflame hatred. Spain has above one hundred thousand men in arms; less would suffice to sustain an interior war; scattered over several points, they might succeed in effecting the total overthrow of the monarchy. I have now exhibited to you the difficulties which are manifest; there are others which you will not fail soon to discover.

"England will not let slip this opportunity of multiplying our embarrassments; she sends out forces daily, which she keeps on the coasts of Portugal and the Mediterranean; she is making enrolments of Sicilians and Portuguese. The royal family having quitted

61. Murat, however, was not a character to execute with skill the delicate mission with which he was intrusted; and he was too much accustomed to make everything bend to military force, to be qualified to assume at once, in circumstances singularly difficult, the foresight and circumspection of an experienced diplomatist. His precipitance and arrogance, accordingly, accelerated the catastrophe the Emperor was so solicitous to avoid. The Emperor, too, on hearing of the acclamations with which Murat had been received on entering Madrid, got the better of all his scruples, and returned with more determination than ever to his ambitious designs. He entirely mistook the cause of the favourable demonstration which had been made, thinking it was an indication of a partiality for French government, when in fact it was only an expression of joy at beholding the supposed supporter of

Ferdinand VII. Already, without his being aware of it, the real sentiments of the people had made themselves known. An alarming explosion had taken place at Toledo: cries of "Long live Ferdinand VII!" had been heard in the streets from countless multitudes; and when General Dupont was despatched, five days afterwards, to restore order, it was only by a well-timed and earnest mediation of the archbishop that a serious conflict was avoided. The fermentation in the capital was hourly increasing, especially since it was known that Ferdinand had crossed the frontier to throw himself into the arms of Napoleon, and that his father and Godoy had since set out in the same direction.

62. Though the French had hitherto observed tolerable discipline, yet the disorders inseparable from the continued passage of such large bodies of men, accustomed to the license of

Portugal to establish itself in the Indies, nothing but a revolution can change the state of that country, and that is the event for which, perhaps, Europe is the least prepared. The persons who see the monstrous state of the government in its true light are a small minority; the great majority profit by its abuses. Consistently with the interests of my empire, I can do infinite good to Spain. What are the best means of attaining that object? Should I advance to Madrid, and assume the rights of a protector by declaring for the father against the son? It is difficult to re-establish Charles IV. His rule and his favourite have become so unpopular, they could not stand three months. Ferdinand, again, is the enemy of France; it is because he is so that they have put him on the throne. To keep him there would be to assist the factions who, for twenty-five years, have wished the subjugation of France. A family alliance would be a feeble bond; the Queen Elizabeth and other princesses perished miserably when it was wished to sacrifice them to atrocious vengeance. I think we should precipitate nothing, and take counsel from future events.

"I do not approve of your taking possession so precipitately as you have done of Madrid: you should have kept the army ten leagues from the capital. Your entry into Madrid, by exciting the alarm of the Spaniards, has powerfully supported Ferdinand. I will write to you what part to adopt in regard to the old King: take care you do not commit me to meet with Ferdinand in Spain, unless you deem it expedient for me to recognise him as King of Spain. Above all, take care that the Spaniards do not suspect what course I am about to adopt: you can

have no difficulty in doing so, for I have not fixed upon one myself.

"Impress upon the nobles and clergy, that if France is obliged to interfere in the affairs of Spain, their privileges will be respected. Say to the magistrates and citizens of towns, and to the enlightened persons, that Spain requires the re-creation of the machine of government: that it has need of institutions which will preserve it from the pressure of feudalism, and protect and encourage industry. Point to them the present condition of France, despite the wars it has undergone: the splendour of its religion; the importance of a political regeneration; the internal security and external respect which it brings in its train. I will attend to your private interests—have no thought of them.—*Portugal remains at my disposal. Let the French army avoid every encounter, either with the Spanish army or detached bodies; not a cartridge should be burned on either side. Keep the army always some days' march distant from the Spanish corps. If war break out, all is lost.*" —NAPOLEON TO MURAT, 29th March 1808; SAVARY, iii. 68, 171. History does not afford a more luminous example of sagacious foresight than this letter presents; and yet the Emperor soon after fell headlong into the very dangers which he here so clearly depicted, and was so disastrous to avoid! It is remarkable as a proof of his profound habits of dissimulation, even with his most confidential servants, that, in this letter to his lieutenant at Madrid, he makes no mention of the design to place a relation of his own on the throne of Spain, though only three days before he had offered it to Louis, King of Holland.—*Ante*, Chap. II. § 50.

campaigns, had produced repeated conflicts between them and the inhabitants; blood had flowed in several places, and at Burgos, the assemblage had been so alarming, that it required to be dispersed by regular discharges of the French infantry. The common people, whose instinct often sees deeper into the real tendency of events than the speculations of more learned persons, were in such a state of agitation at the King's departure, that they would have broken out into open insurrection, had not his counsellors issued a proclamation, in which it was declared that Napoleon was coming in person to Madrid, to consolidate the happiness of Spain, and that the King had only gone to meet his august guest, and conduct him to the capital. Irritated at these symptoms of resistance, and looking for no means but force for its suppression, Murat wrote in the most menacing terms to Don Antonio, stating that he could permit no concourse of men in the streets; that the anarchy which prevailed was intolerable; that his resolution to suppress it was irrevocably taken; and that, if the government was not sufficiently strong to enforce obedience to its orders, he would take upon himself the maintenance of the public tranquillity. The regency issued severe proclamations against seditious assemblages or meetings, and replied in the most submissive manner to the thundering menaces of Murat: but though no public demonstration had yet taken place, the most alarming reports were in circulation. The French officers publicly gave out that Napoleon would reinstate Charles IV. on the throne; the departure of that sovereign with the Prince of the Peace for the Pyrenees seemed to countenance that idea; and reports were circulated, and greedily credited, that thirty thousand armed Biscayans had fallen on Bayonne, and rescued their beloved Prince from his oppressors, while Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre had risen in a body to cut off the retreat of the French army.

63. At length, in the beginning of May, matters came to extremities.

The government was a prey to the most cruel disquietude, being left in the approaching crisis of the monarchy with the responsibility of command, and without its powers; ignorant which sovereign they were ultimately to obey; fearful of betraying their country, and equally so of precipitating it into a hopeless struggle; actuated at times by a generous desire to maintain the national independence, and throw themselves on public sympathy for their support, and apprehensive at others that in so doing they might incur an accommodation when on the point of being concluded, and incur the pains of treason from a sovereign whom they had involved in irretrievable embarrassments. Unable to determine on any decided course in the midst of such unparalleled difficulties, they adopted meanwhile the prudent step of confining the troops to their barracks, and exercising the most rigid vigilance, by means of the police, to prevent the quarrels, often attended with bloodshed, which were perpetually occurring between the French soldiers and the Spanish citizens. The Imperial Guard, with a division of infantry and brigade of cavalry, alone were quartered in Madrid; the artillery was all in the Retiro; but large bodies of troops, amounting in all to above thirty thousand men, were in the immediate neighbourhood, ready to pour in on the first signal. The whole population of the capital was in the streets; business was everywhere at a stand; and in the menacing looks and smothered agitation of the groups might be seen decisive proofs that a great explosion was at hand. "*Agebatur huc illuc urbs vario turbæ fluctantis impulse; completis unigue basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu, neque populi aut plebis ulla vox: sed attoniti vultus, et conversæ ad omnia aures: non tumul-*"

* "The city was agitated various ways by the changing impulse of the mob; the temples and courts were everywhere filled by crowds with a mournful aspect, from whom not a voice was to be heard: but the countenances were bewildered, the ears of all erect—it was neither a tumult nor quiet, but the silence which bespoke mighty fear and mighty wrath."

tus, non quies : quale magni metus et magnæ iræ silentium erat." Matters were in this combustible state when Murat demanded that the Queen of Etruria, and the Infants Don Francisco and Don Antonio, should forthwith set out for Bayonne. The government hesitated on this demand, which was in effect delivering up the whole remainder of the royal family into the hands of the French Emperor: Murat insisted, throwing upon them the whole responsibility of a war in case of refusal ; and the minister of war, upon being referred to, drew so gloomy a picture of the military resources of the monarchy, that resistance was deemed impossible, and this last requisition was agreed to, and the hour of their departure fixed for the following morning.

64. At ten o'clock on that day the royal carriages came to the door of the palace, and preparations for the departure of the princes took place. The Queen of Etruria, who from her long residence in Italy had ceased to be an object of interest to the people, set off first, and was allowed to depart without disturbance, though an immense crowd was collected, and the whole city was in violent agitation. Two other carriages remained, and it was known among the bystanders that they were to convey the Infants Don Antonio and Don Francisco: a report soon spread that Don Francisco, who was a boy of thirteen, was weeping in the apartments above, and refused to go away: presently an aide-de-camp of Murat arrived on horseback, and making his way through the throng, ascended the stairs of the palace; the report instantly flew through the crowd that he was come to force the royal youth from the palace of his fathers. Nothing more was requisite to throw the already excited multitude into a commotion: the French officer was violently assailed, and would have been despatched on the spot, if Don Miguel Flores, an officer of the Walloon Guards had not protected him at the hazard of his own life. Both would, however, in all probability, have fallen victims to the fury of the popu-

lace, had not a French picquet at that moment come up, which withdrew the officer in safety to his comrades. Murat instantly resolved to punish severely this insult to his authority; a detachment of foot-soldiers appeared with two pieces of cannon, and by several discharges with grape-shot, within point-blank range, easily dispersed the crowd which was collected round the palace. But the sound of these cannon resounded from one end of the Peninsula to the other; in its ultimate effects it shook the empire of Napoleon to its foundation: it was literally the beginning of the end.

65. Instantly, as if by enchantment, the city was in a tumult: the Spanish vehemence was roused at once into action. All considerations of prudence, consequences, and probabilities of success were forgotten in the intense indignation of the moment. Everywhere the people flew to arms: knives, daggers, bayonets, were seized wherever they could be found; the gun-smiths' shops ransacked for firearms, and all French detachments passing through the streets surrounded, and in many cases cut to pieces. Such a tumultuary effort, however, could not long prevail against the discipline and skill of regular soldiers: the Spanish troops were locked up, by orders of their government, in their barracks, and could render no assistance; and though the rapid concentration of the French, when the firing commenced, induced the people for a time to imagine that they had driven them from the capital, yet they were soon, and cruelly, undeceived. Reinforced by the numerous battalions which now poured from all quarters into the city, and supported by the artillery, which on the first alarm had been brought from the Retiro, the French returned to the charge: rapid discharges of grape cleared the streets of Alcala and San Geronymo; while the Polish lancers and Mamelukes of the Imperial Guard, following up the advantage, charged repeatedly through the flying masses, and took a bloody revenge for the death of their comrades. Meanwhile the Spanish troops, agitated by the sound of the

tumult and discharges of artillery, but without any orders how to act, were uncertain what to do, when they were decided by an attack of the French on one of their barracks. 'Determined by this hostile act, the artillerymen drew out their guns, and placing themselves in front of the people, who had retreated to them for support, fired several rounds with fatal effect into the French columns, which were approaching. By a sudden rush, however, the cannon were carried, and a great part of the artillerymen bayoneted, among whom were the brave Daoiz and Velarde, illustrious as the first distinguished men who fell in the Peninsular war. At two o'clock in the afternoon the insurrection was suppressed at all points, and the troops on both sides had returned to their barracks:—on the side of the French two hundred had fallen; on that of the Spaniards, twelve hundred.*

66. Hitherto neither party could be said to have been to blame: the tumult, however deplorable in its consequences, was evidently the result of a collision unpremeditated on both sides; the measures of Napoleon had rendered unavoidable an ebullition of indignation on the part of the outraged Spanish nation; they had burst forth, and could not complain if they met with the usual fate or hazards of war. In repelling the violence with which they were assailed, the French had not exceeded the bounds of military duty; the Spanish ministers, especially O'Farril and Azanza, had thrown themselves into the thickest of the tumult, earnestly imploring a cessation of the strife, and, at the hazard of their own lives, had saved great numbers of both nations from destruction. Many deeds of generosity had occurred on both sides, and shed a lustre alike on the French and Spanish character. But at this juncture, after the fighting had

ceased and the danger was entirely over, Murat commenced a massacre as unprovoked as it was impolitic, as unjustifiable as it was inhuman. Trusting to the amnesty which had been proclaimed by the chiefs on both sides, the Spaniards had resumed in part their ordinary occupations, or were walking about the streets discussing the events of the day, when great numbers of them were seized by the French soldiers, on the charge of having been engaged in the tumult, hurried before a military commission, and forthwith condemned to be shot.

67. Preparations were immediately made to carry the sentences into execution: the mournful intelligence spread like wildfire through Madrid; and all who missed a relation or friend were seized with an agonising fear that he was among the victims of military barbarity. While the people were in this state of anxiety, and when the approach of night was beginning to increase the general consternation, the firing began, and the regular discharge of heavy platoons at the Retiro, in the Prado, the Puerto del Sol, and the church of Senora de la Soledad, told but too plainly that the work of death was in progress. The dismal sounds froze every heart with horror: all that had been suffered during the heat of the conflict was as nothing compared to the agonising feeling of that cold-blooded execution. Nor did the general grief abate when the particulars of the massacre became known. Numbers had been put to death, who were merely found in the streets with a knife on their persons, and who had never been in the conflict at all: all were denied the consolations of religion in their last moments. Tied two and two, they were mown down by repeated discharges of musketry: the murders were continued on the following morning; and nearly a hundred had perished before, on the earnest intercession of the Spanish ministers, Murat consented to put a stop to the barbarity.†

* "According to the letters of the Prussian minister at Madrid, nearly two hundred Frenchmen and twelve hundred Spaniards must have perished on this occasion. This account seems to us to be correct. A disinterested witness, the Prussian minister, had no bias to exaggerate the loss upon either side."—Burton, vii. 261, note.

† "Among those who were shot were many who had never been engaged in the conflict, and whose only crime consisted in

68. This atrocious massacre was as impolitic as it was unjustifiable. The Spaniards, who had taken up arms with such desperate though hopeless courage to prevent the last remnant of their royal family from being torn away from their capital, were not the subjects of the French crown, nor could they be regarded, either legally or morally, as rebels to its authority. Deprived as they were by the fraud and artifices of the French Emperor of their lawful sovereign, with their capital in the possession of his troops, and their fortresses perfidiously seized by his directions, they had no resource but in national resistance. To treat a nation so situated, when attempting to assert its rights, like rebels against their own government, and in cold blood put them to death in great numbers after the conflict was over, was so glaring an act of cruelty and injustice as could not fail to excite the unanimous indignation of mankind. Of all people in the world the French had the least right to object to such a popular

effort in defence of the national independence, as it was founded on the principle on which their whole resistance to the coalition of the European powers against their Revolution had been founded, and which they had, on numberless occasions held up to the admiration and imitation of mankind.

69. The indignation, accordingly, which this massacre excited throughout Spain was indescribable. With a rapidity that never could have been anticipated, in a country where so little internal communication existed, the intelligence flew from city to city, from province to province, and awakened that universal and energetic feeling of national resentment, which, if properly directed, is the certain forerunner of great achievements. With a spirit hitherto unknown in Europe since the commencement of the first triumphs of the French revolutionary armies, the people in all the provinces, without any concert amongst each other, or any direction from the existing authorities, began to assemble and concert measures for the national defence.

being found on the streets with large knives or cutting instruments upon their persons. They were put to death without the assistance of their priest to console their last moments—a circumstance which in that religious country added to the horror which the executions excited.”—Foy, iii. 172. “The honesty and candour of General Foy are as admirable as his talents and eloquence.

“At the distance of twenty years,” says an eyewitness, the Spanish historian, “our hair still stands on end at the recollection of that mournful and silent night, the calm of which was only interrupted by the cries of the unhappy victims, or the sound of the cannon and musketry discharged at intervals for their destruction. The inhabitants all retired to their homes, deplored the cruel fate which was then befalling a parent, a brother, a child. We, in our family, were bewailing the loss of the unhappy Oviedo, whose release we had been unable to obtain, when he entered pale and trembling into the house. He had been saved by the generosity of a French officer, after his hands were bound, and he was drawn up for execution in the court of the Retiro, who was melted by the energy of his address, in that awful moment, to break his bonds, and set him at liberty. He was hardly out of the limits of the palace when he heard the discharges which terminated the agony of his companions in misfortune. Among the victims were many priests, old men, and persons of the most respectable character.”—Tomazow, i. 142, 143.

Far from being intimidated by the possession of their capital and principal fortresses by the enemy, they were only roused, by the sight of such advantages in the hands of a perfidious foe, to the more vigorous exertions to dispossess him. The movement was not that of faction or party; it animated alike men of all ranks, classes, and professions. The flame spread equally in the lonely mountains as in the crowded cities; among the hardy labourers of the Basque provinces as the light-hearted peasantry of the Andalusian slopes; amid the pastoral valleys of Asturias and the rich fields of Valencia, as in the crowded emporiums of Barcelona and Cadiz. The movement was universal, unpremeditated, and simultaneous; and within a week after the untoward tidings reached Bayonne, Napoleon was already engaged in a struggle, which threatened to be of the most sanguinary character, with the Spanish people.

70. While the perfidious invasion of Napoleon, and the cruel massacres of Murat, were thus exciting the flames

of a national war in the Peninsula, matters were fast approaching a crisis at Bayonne. Intimidated by the violence of Murat, and no longer able to withstand the commands which he conveyed to them from his imperial master, the Infants Don Francisco and Don Antonio set out, the day after the tumult at Madrid was quelled, for Bayonne, leaving the capital without any native government, entirely at the mercy of the French generals. Before they could arrive at the place of their destination, however, matters had reached a crisis between Napoleon and the royal family of Spain. No sooner had Ferdinand taken the fatal step of crossing the Bidassoa, and throwing himself upon the generosity of the French Emperor, than he discerned, in the manner in which he was received, such tokens as inspired the most serious disquietude as to his future fate. The customary marks of respect to a crowned head were wanting; the French authorities addressed him only by the title of "Your Royal Highness," instead of "Your Majesty." His first reception by Napoleon, however, was calculated to dispel these sinister presentiments. Shortly after his arrival at Bayonne, the Emperor came in person on horseback, attended by a brilliant staff, to pay him a visit; Ferdinand went to the end of the street to meet him; the Emperor embraced him round the neck, and though he never used the word Majesty, yet he treated him with such distinction as inspired the most flattering hopes.

71. On the same day he went to dine at the château of Marac, where the imperial headquarters were established; Napoleon sent his own carriages to bring him and his suite to his palace, where he was received by the Emperor himself at the foot of the staircase—a piece of attention never paid by sovereigns except to crowned heads. During the entertainment, the attention of the Emperor to his guest was unbounded; and although he still eluded the decisive word "Majesty," yet his manner was such as to inspire both Ferdinand and his attendants with the belief that he was their

decided friend, and that every difficulty would speedily be adjusted. But this pleasing illusion was of short duration. After sitting a short time at table, Ferdinand returned to his hotel; while Escoiquiz remained, by special desire, to have a private conference with Napoleon. In the course of it, the Emperor fully unfolded his real design, and informed the faithful counsellor, without disguise, that his royal master must make up his mind to an immediate abdication. Escoiquiz pleaded and remonstrated, but in vain: he was informed, in the most peremptory terms, that he had no alternative but immediate submission. He concluded in these words—"Neither you nor Spain can resist me. Policy, policy must alone direct such a person as me. Return to your prince; dispose him to become King of Etruria, if he will be a King somewhere; for he may rest assured he shall never be a king of Spain." At the same time Savary, at the hotel of Ferdinand VII., made the same announcement to that monarch in person. A few minutes after the Spanish King arrived there, he was followed by Savary, who announced, on the part of the Emperor, that his resolution was irrevocably taken, that Ferdinand must instantly resign the throne both of Spain and of the Indies, in both of which the family of the Bourbons was to be succeeded by a prince of the Napoleon dynasty. Should he agree amicably to these conditions, hopes were held out that he might obtain the grand-duchy of Tuscany as an indemnity. It is remarkable that Napoleon should have chosen for the time of this stunning announcement the very moment when Ferdinand had returned from his gracious reception at the imperial residence; and for the person to convey it, the very officer who had been dispatched by himself to Madrid for the purpose of inducing him to advance to Bayonne to meet him, and who had offered to pledge his head, not five days before, that the moment he arrived there the Prince of Asturias would be recognised as King of Spain.

72. This terrible announcement fell with the more force upon Ferdinand and his counsellors, that they were entirely unprepared for it; the assurances held out by Savary and the letters of Napoleon having inspired them with the belief, that all that was wanting to a satisfactory adjustment of affairs was, that Ferdinand should show so much deference to Napoleon as to proceed to Bayonne to meet him. Neither the prince nor his council, however, were overwhelmed by the extraordinary disclosure. Without absolutely committing themselves at first to any decided proposition, they continued the negotiation for nearly a week afterwards, both by means of Cevallos and Escoiquiz, who had frequent interviews with Napoleon in person, and with Champagny, who had now succeeded Talleyrand as his minister for foreign affairs. These conferences, however, came to nothing. On the part of Napoleon and his ministers, it was strongly urged, that the interest, not merely of France, but of Spain, imperatively required that the two monarchies should be placed under dynasties belonging to the same family; that Napoleon could not submit any more than Louis XIV. to have a dubious ally or hidden enemy in his rear, while engaged with the forces of Europe in front; that the secret hostility of Spain had been clearly evinced by the ill-timed proclamation of the Prince of the Peace immediately before the battle of Jena; that the numberless corruptions and abuses of the Spanish internal administration loudly called for an immediate remedy, and this could never be applied with safety by any other authority but that great conqueror who, educated amidst the storms and enlightened by the experience of the Revolution, was now the master of such irresistible power as to be able to give to other states the benefits of liberal institutions suited to the spirit of the age, without the risk of those convulsions which had obliterated so many of their beneficial effects in his own country.

73. It was replied to these specious arguments, which came with additional

weight from the mouth of the Emperor, by Cevallos and Escoiquiz, that it was as impolitic as unjust to compel a sovereign who had left his own dominions to throw himself upon the honour of another, and that too at the special request of that other, to renounce the throne which had descended to him from his ancestors; that if anything was deemed illegal in the resignation of Charles IV. at Aranjuez, that might be a good reason for restoring the throne to the deposed monarch, but could be none for transferring it to the French Emperor; that the effort, however, now made to obtain a renunciation of the crown from Ferdinand evidently showed that the transaction was regarded as legal, and that the title to dispose of the crown was vested in its present holder; that the expedience, for both monarchies, of a close alliance between France and Spain was indeed indisputable; but that France had already enjoyed it ever since the peace of Bâle, and the way to secure it in future was instantly to recognise the Prince of Asturias, whereby both the monarch and his subjects would be bound by such important obligations as would render the future union between the two monarchies indissoluble; whereas, by wresting from him his sceptre, the most imminent risk would be run of exciting a national war in the Peninsula, and giving the English an advantageous base from which to direct their military efforts against Napoleon, besides the certainty of separating the Transatlantic colonies from the mother country, and throwing those vast and rising states, with their important treasures and commerce, into the arms of the inveterate enemy of the French empire.

74. To this last argument, the justice of which could not be denied, Napoleon replied, that he was well aware of that danger, but that he had provided against it by having sent out frigates to the South American states, who were prepared to receive with thankfulness their transfer to a prince of the Napoleon dynasty. These conferences, as might have been expected,

led to no result; at a secret meeting of the counsellors of Ferdinand, held, at midnight, it was resolved to decline the proposals of the French Emperor, and demand passports for their immediate return to Spain, which was accordingly done next day. Napoleon was highly indignant at this resistance to his wishes, and refused the passports, under the pretence that, till the Aranjuez affair was cleared up, he could neither issue passports to Ferdinand as King of Spain, nor permit him to depart from a situation where he was liable to answer for his conduct to his justly offended parent. At the same time, a decisive report was presented by Champagny to the Emperor, which was, of course, merely the echo of his private instructions. This state paper set out with his favourite maxim, that the design of Louis XIV. must be resumed; that policy required, just as authorised, the troubles of Spain rendered it indispensable, that a change of dynasty should take place; that the interests of France and Spain indispensably called for identity both in the dynasty who governed and the institutions which prevailed amongst them; that to recognise the Prince of Asturias was to surrender Spain to the enemies of France, and deliver it over to English usurpation; to restore Charles IV. was to renew the reign of imbecility and corruption, and occasion a boundless effusion both of French and Spanish blood: no alternative remained, therefore, but for Napoleon to dispossess them both, and establish in Spain a prince of his own family, with institutions analogous to those of the French empire.

75. Napoleon was greatly perplexed at the steady refusal of Ferdinand to surrender the throne. He had not calculated upon such firmness in any prince of the house of Bourbon. Not that he had the slightest hesitation as to persisting in his original plan of entirely dethroning that family, but that he attached the greatest weight to the acquisition of a legal title to their possessions. No man knew better that, although force may subjugate the physical strength, a sense of legal right is

generally necessary to win the moral consent of nations; and although Spain seemed prostrated, with its fortresses and capital in his possession, yet he deemed his acquisitions insecure till he had obtained, in form at least, the consent of the legal inheritors of its throne. Hoping, therefore, to succeed better with the father than he had done with the son, he reiterated his directions to Murat to send on Charles IV. and the Queen, with the Prince of the Peace, to Bayonne as quickly as possible. Such was his anxiety on this subject, that he enjoined him, if necessary, to use force to compel them to come.* Meanwhile, in private conferences with Escoiquiz, he unfolded with unreserved confidence, from their very commencement, his views upon the Spanish Peninsula. They took their rise, he stated, from the proclamation of the Prince of the Peace on the eve of the battle of Jena. Ever since that important revelation, he had been able to see nothing in the relation of the Spanish government but secret enmity veiled under the mask of friendship; the contemplated marriage of the Prince of Asturias to a relation of his own, appeared but a feeble bond to hold together nations now actuated by hostile sentiments: he proposed to give to the Prince of Asturias an indemnity in Portugal or Tuscany, and to place one of his brothers on the Spanish throne. He had now divulged to him, and to him alone, the whole of his designs in regard to the Peninsula. The conversation in which these determinations were expressed by the Emperor is given at full length by Escoiquiz, and is one of the most valuable historical documents of his reign. Though doubtless extended and ampli-

* "Looking upon the presence of Charles IV. as an indispensable means of setting the right of the father against that of the son, he urged upon Murat the necessity of sending to him the old King and Queen, and also the Prince of the Peace, who was still a prisoner at Villa-Viciosa. He enjoined Murat to employ force, if necessary, not for the movement of the old King and Queen, who were anxious to come, and whom nobody thought of stopping, but to let loose the Prince of the Peace, whom the Spanish party wished to keep at any price."—THIERS, viii. 590, 591.

fied by the Spanish counsellor, it contains all the marks of Napoleon's original thought; and Thibaudeau, whose long acquaintance with the Emperor in the council of state had rendered him the best possible judge both of his ideas and expressions, has declared that it "bears the signet-mark of truth."*

76. From this embarrassment, how-

* "I have long desired, Monsieur Escobiquiz," said the Emperor, "to speak to you on the affairs of the Peninsula, with the frankness which your talents and your position with the Prince of Asturias deserve. I cannot, in any situation, refuse to interest myself in the fate of the unhappy King who has thrown himself on my protection. The abdication of Charles IV. at Aranjuez, in the midst of seditious guards, and a revolted people, was clearly a compulsory act. My troops were then in Spain; some of them were stationed near the court; appearances authorised the belief that I had some share in that act of violence, and my honour requires that I should take immediate steps to dissipate such a suspicion. I cannot recognise, therefore, the abdication of Charles IV., till that monarch, who has transmitted to me a secret protest against it, shall have confirmed it by a voluntary deed when freed from restraint.

"I would say further that the interests of my empire require that the house of Bourbon, the implacable enemy of mine, should lose the throne of Spain; and the interests of your nation equally call for the same change. The new dynasty which I shall introduce will give it a good constitution, and, by its strict alliance with France, preserve Spain from any danger on the side of that power which is alone in a situation seriously to menace its independence. Charles IV. is willing to cede to me his rights, and those of his family, persuaded that his sons, the Infants, are incapable of governing the kingdom in the difficult times which are evidently approaching.

"These, then, are the reasons which have decided me to prevent the dynasty of the Bourbons from reigning any longer in Spain. But I esteem Ferdinand, who has come with so much loyalty to throw himself into my power, and I am anxious to give him some indemnity for the sacrifices which he will be required to make. Propose to him, therefore, to renounce the crown of Spain for himself and his descendants, and I will give him in exchange Eturia, with the title of King, as well as my niece in marriage. If he refuses these conditions, I will come to an understanding with his father, and neither he nor his brother shall receive any indemnity. If, on the other hand, he does what I desire, Spain shall preserve its independence, its laws, usages, and religion. I do not desire a village of Spain for myself."

Escobiquiz then endeavoured in vain to combat the Emperor's reasons for holding

ever, Napoleon was soon relieved by the arrival of Charles IV. and the Queen at Bayonne. "Such was the impatience of the royal travellers to reach the place of their destination, that they wrote from Aranda to Napoleon to inform him of their approach, and testify their anxiety to throw themselves entirely upon his protection. So sensible were the counsellors of Ferdinand

the matter at Aranjuez as constrained. Napoleon then added, "But suppose it were not so, can you deny that the interests of my house require that the Bourbons should cease to reign in Spain? Even if you are right in all that you say, I should answer, Bad policy." Having said these words, he took Escobiquiz by the ear, which he pulled in good humour. "Come, Canon, you are amusing me with real *châteaux en Espagne*. Do you really think that while the Bourbons remain on the throne at Madrid, I could ever have the security which I would have, if they were replaced by a branch of my family? The latter, it is true, might have some disputes with me or my descendants; but so far from wishing, like a Bourbon, the ruin of my house, they would cling to it in moments of danger, as the only support of their own throne.

"It is in vain to speak to me of the difficulties of the enterprise. I have nothing to apprehend from the only power who could disquiet me in it. The Emperor of Russia, to whom I communicated my designs at Tilsit, which were formed at that period, approved of them, and gave me his word of honour he would offer no resistance. The other powers of Europe will remain quiet, and the resistance of the Spaniards-themselves cannot be formidable. The rich will endeavour to appease the people, instead of exciting them, for fear of losing their own possessions. I will render the monks responsible for any disorder, and that will lead them to employ their influence, which you know is considerable, in suppressing any popular movements. Believe me, Canon, I have much experience in these matters; the countries where the monks are numerous are easily subjugated; and that will take place in Spain, especially when the Spaniards see that I am providing for the national independence and benefit of the country, giving them a liberal constitution, and at the same time maintaining their religion and usages. Even if the people were to rise in a mass, I would succeed in conquering them, by sacrificing two hundred thousand men. I am not blind to the risk of a separation of the colonies; but do not suppose I have been slumbering even on that point. I have long kept up secret communications with Spanish America, and I have lately sent frigates there to obtain certain advices as to what I may expect; and I have every reason to believe that the intelligence which I shall receive will prove of the most favourable description."—Escobiquiz, 197, 185; *Pièces Just.*

of the advantage which the French Emperor would derive from the presence of the late monarch, that they were no sooner informed of his approach than they again earnestly solicited passports for Ferdinand to return to Spain, which were refused: and it was soon apparent, from the movements of the police, that he was detained a prisoner in the hotel he occupied. Meanwhile Napoleon enjoined Murat to communicate to the junta of government and the council of Castile at Madrid, the protest of Charles IV. against his resignation, which nullified the title of Ferdinand to the *present* enjoyment of the throne, and induced a sort of interregnum favourable to the designs of usurpation which he meditated. His instructions to Murat were, not to expect any revolution of opinion in the capital in favour of the changes, but to restrain the common people by the display of force, and endeavour to win over persons of sense by an enumeration of the political and social benefits which the change of dynasty would confer on the Peninsula. On the 29th there appeared in the Bayonne Gazette the protest of Charles IV. against his abdication, and his letter of 23d March to Napoleon — publications which sufficiently evinced the tenor of the reception which he was to experience. On the following day the late King and Queen entered Bayonne, highly elated with the reception he had met with from the French authorities. Ever since passing Burgos they had been treated with royal honours: at the Bidassoa they were received by Berthier with great pomp, and at the gates of Bayonne by the whole garrison under arms. Soon after their arrival at the hotel, Napoleon came to visit them in person, having, in his eagerness to show respect, hastened there at the gallop. The old King met him at the foot of the stair, and threw himself into his arms: Napoleon whispered in his ear, "You will find me always, as you have done, your best and firmest friend." He even supported him under the arm as he returned to the apartments. Such was the apparent kindness of his man-

ner, that the discrowned monarch burst into tears. "See, Louisa!" said the old King, "he is carrying me." Never had the Emperor's manner appeared more gracious; never did he more completely impose, by the apparent sincerity of his kindness, upon the intended victims of his perfidy.

77. Immediately after the arrival of Charles IV., Napoleon had a private conference with him, the Queen, and the Prince of the Peace, in which it was resolved, by the united authority of the Emperor and the old King, to compel Ferdinand to resign the throne. He rightly judged that, having once overcome that difficulty, it would be a comparatively easy matter to extract the resignation of the crown from the former monarch, when reinstated in his rights. Ferdinand, accordingly, was sent for next day; and the moment he came into the room, Charles IV. commanded him to deliver to him, before six o'clock on the following morning, a simple and unqualified resignation of the crown, signed by himself and all his brothers. In case of refusal, it was distinctly intimated that he and all his counsellors would be proceeded against as traitors. Napoleon strongly supported the old King, and concluded with ominous menaces in the event of refusal. Ferdinand endeavoured to speak in his own defence, but he was interrupted by the King, who commanded him to be silent; and the Queen soon after broke into the apartment, with such violent and passionate expressions, that Ferdinand found it impossible to make a word be heard. He retired from the conference overwhelmed with consternation and despair. Similar threats of instant death were conveyed on the same evening by Duroc to the Infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio; and such was the impression produced by these menaces, that it was determined by the counsellors of Ferdinand that no alternative remained but immediate submission. A conditional resignation was accordingly written out and signed by them all on the following day, in which Ferdinand renounced the crown, on condition that he and his father should both

return to Madrid, where the Cortes should be assembled; and that, if Charles declined to return to Spain to govern himself, he should govern the kingdom in his father's name, and as his lieutenant.

78. This qualified resignation, however, in which the Prince of Asturias still announced his intention of returning to Madrid as his father's lieutenant, and resuming there, in his name, the royal functions, was far from meeting the views of Napoleon, who was irrevocably set upon obtaining from the young King such an unconditional surrender of his rights as might leave the throne vacant for a prince of his own family. He wrote, therefore, a letter, which was signed by Charles IV., and passed for his own production, though the depth of its thought and the energy of its expressions clearly indicated the imperial hand.* Ferdinand, however, was still unmoved, and replied, two days afterwards, in a letter, in which he vindicated his own conduct, and expressed his astonishment at the colour

* "What has been your conduct?" the old king was made to say. "You have spread sedition through my whole palace; you have excited my very body-guards against me; your own father became your prisoner; my first minister, whom I had raised and adopted into my own family, was dragged, covered with blood, into a dungeon; you have withered my grey hairs, and despoiled them of a crown borne with glory by my fathers, and which I have preserved without stain; you have seated yourself on my throne; you have made yourself the instrument of the mob of Madrid, whom your partisans had excited, and of the foreign troops who at the same moment were making their entry. Old, and broken down with infirmities, I was unable to bear this new disgrace; I had recourse to the Emperor, not as a king at the head of his troops and surrounded by the pomp of a throne, but as a fugitive, abandoned monarch, broken down by misfortune. I have found protection and refuge in the midst of his camp: I owe him my own life, that of the queen, and that of my prime minister: he is acquainted with all the outrages I have experienced, all the violence I have undergone: he has declared to me that he will never recognise you as king. In tearing from me the crown, it is your own which you have broken; your conduct towards me, your letters, which evince your hatred towards France, have put a wall of brass between you and the throne of Spain. I am king by right of descent; my abdication was the result of force and violence. I can admit the alidity of no acts resulting from the as-

sembly of armed mobs: *everything should be done for the people, nothing by them.* Hitherto I have reigned for the people's good, hereafter I shall still act with the same object; when I am once assured that the religion of Spain, its independence, integrity, and institutions are secured, I shall descend to the grave, imploring pardon for you for 'the bitterness of my last days.' I can agree to no assembly of the Cortes; that is a new idea of the inexperienced persons who surround you."—*Letter of CHARLES IV. to FERDINAND, 2d May 1808.*

79. More successful with the father than the son, Napoleon had already obtained from Charles IV. an unqualified resignation of all his rights to the throne of Spain. A treaty to this effect, agreed to on the 4th and signed on the 5th of May, by Duroc and the Prince of the Peace, in virtue of special powers from their respective masters, contained an unqualified resignation of the crown of Spain, not only for himself and Ferdinand, but for all his successors, and a transference of it in

semblance of armed mobs: *everything should be done for the people, nothing by them.* Hitherto I have reigned for the people's good, hereafter I shall still act with the same object; when I am once assured that the religion of Spain, its independence, integrity, and institutions are secured, I shall descend to the grave, imploring pardon for you for 'the bitterness of my last days.' I can agree to no assembly of the Cortes; that is a new idea of the inexperienced persons who surround you."—*Letter of CHARLES IV. to FERDINAND, 2d May 1808.*

Unquestionably it was neither Charles IV. nor the Prince of the Peace who penned these vigorous lines. It is curious to observe the sentiment, "everything for the people, nothing by them," in the mouth of the military champion of the Revolution.

† Ferdinand in this letter made the just observation, "that the perpetual exclusion of his dynasty from the throne of Spain could not be effected without the consent of all those who either had or might acquire rights to its succession, nor without the formal consent of the Spanish nation assembled in Cortes, in a situation free from all restraint; and that any resignation now made would be null, from the obvious restraint under which it was executed."—*FERDINAND to CHARLES IV., 4th May 1808; TORENO, vol. i. App. No. 9* Already the opposing parties had changed sides: Napoleon, the hero of the Revolution, would consent to no assembling of the Cortes; Ferdinand, the heir of the despotic house of Bourbon, appealed for support to that national assembly.

absolute sovereignty to the Emperor Napoleon. The only provisions in favour of Spain were, that the integrity of the kingdom should be preserved; that its limits should be unchanged by the prince whom Napoleon might place on the throne; that the Catholic religion should be maintained, and no Reformed religion tolerated. The palace of Compiègne was to be assigned to the King, the Queen, and the Prince of the Peace, during the lifetime of the former, with a pension of thirty millions of reals, (£40,000). The only point in this treaty upon which there was any serious discussion was the matter of the pensions; the surrender of the monarchy was agreed to without hesitation by the imbecile monarch and his pusillanimous minister. Thus had Charles IV. the disgrace of terminating his domestic dissensions by the abandonment of his throne and the liberties of his people into the hands of a stranger; and the Prince of the Peace the infamy of affixing his name, as the last act of his ministerial existence, to a deed which deprived his sovereign and benefactor of his crown, and aimed to disinherit for ever his descendants.*

80. On the same day on which this treaty was signed, a secret deputation reached Ferdinand from the provisional government of Madrid, consisting of Zayas, aide-de-camp to the minister of war, and Castro, under-secretary of state. They came to demand instructions, chiefly on the points, whether they were at liberty to shift their place of deliberation, as they were subjected to the control of the French army in the capital; whether they

should declare war against France, and endeavour to prevent the further entrance of troops into the Peninsula; and whether, in the event of his return being prevented, they should assemble the Cortes. Ferdinand replied, that "he was deprived of his liberty, and in consequence unable to take any steps in order to save either himself or the monarchy; that he therefore authorised the junta of government to add new members to their number, to remove such as they thought proper, and to exercise all the functions of sovereignty: that they should stop the entrance of fresh troops, and commence hostilities the moment that he was removed into the interior of France, a step to which he never would consent till forced to it by violence; that the Cortes should be convoked, in the first instance, to take measures for the defence of the kingdom, and then for such ulterior objects as might require consideration. The decrees necessary to carry these instructions into effect were soon after brought to Madrid by an officer destined for celebrity in future times, DON JOSEPH PALAFOX.

81. From the embarrassment arising from the continued resistance of Ferdinand to make the resignation required of him, Napoleon was at length relieved by the receipt of intelligence of the bloody commotion at Madrid, which at once brought to a crisis the affairs of the Peninsula. He received the news of that calamitous event as he was riding out to Bayonne, at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th of May, and immediately returned to his chateau, where he sent for Charles IV.,

* Charles IV. was not destitute of good qualities, but he was a weak incapable prince, totally unfit to hold the reins of power during the difficult times which followed the French Revolution. He himself gave the following account to Napoleon of his mode of life at their first dinner together at Bayonne:—"Every day," said he, "winter as well as summer, I went out to shoot from the morning till noon; I then dined, and returned to the chase, which I continued till sunset. Manuel Godoy then gave me a brief account of what was going on, and I went to bed to recommence the same life on the morrow, if not prevented by some important solemnity." Such had been his habits for twenty years, and those, too, the most critical for the Span-

ish monarchy. Notwithstanding all this, however, he would have passed for a respectable prince in ordinary times, but for the pernicious influence of his wife; for he was gifted with an admirable memory, quick parts, and considerable powers of occasional application, and had, throughout, that humanity and love of justice, which are the most valuable qualities in a sovereign. But his indolence and negligence of public business ruined everything in the monarchy, by throwing the whole direction of affairs into the hands of the Queen and the Prince of the Peace, whose infamous connection, dissolute habits, and unbounded corruption, both degraded the character and paralysed the resources of the nation.—TORENO, i. 155, 156.

the Queen, Ferdinand, and the Prince of Asturias. The Prince of Asturias was assailed by Charles IV. and the Queen with such a torrent of abuse, that Cevallos, who was present on the occasion, has declared that he cannot prevail on himself to transcribe it. Napoleon joined in the general vituperation, and the sternness of his manner and vehemence of his expressions at once showed that the period had now arrived when submission had become a matter of necessity. He spoke of the outraged honour of the French armies; of the blood of his soldiers, which called aloud for vengeance; of a war of extermination, which he would wage to vindicate his authority.* He concluded with the ominous words—"Prince, you must choose betwixt cession and death."† Similar menaces were conveyed by Duroc to the Infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio, and other members of the royal family. Sensible now that any further resistance might not only, without any benefit, endanger his own life, but possibly draw after it the destruction of the whole royal family, Ferdinand resolved upon submission.

82. On the following morning, he addressed a letter to his father, in which he announced his intention of

* Napoleon on this occasion made it a special subject of reproach to Ferdinand, "that by flattering the opinion of the multitude, and forgetting the sacred respect due to authority, he had lighted the conflagration now ready to devour the Peninsula."—FOY, iii. 177. "Behold," said the old King to Ferdinand—"See your work! the blood of my subjects has been shed; that of the soldiers of my friend, the great Napoleon, has also been spilled. To what disasters would not your conduct have exposed Spain, if we had to do with a less generous victor! See the results of what you and your friends have done to enable you to wear only a little sooner a crown which I was anxiously trying to place upon your head. You have let loose the populace, and no man now can bridle them. Surrender this crown, which is too weighty for you, and give it to him who alone is capable of supporting it."—THIERS, viii. 615.

† "'Prince, you must choose between cession and death.' Although we may doubt the use of this expression as coming from a justly questionable authority, we admit that these words may have been used by Napoleon."—BIGNON, vii. 262.

VOL. VII.

unqualified obedience; and four days afterwards, a treaty was signed, by which he adhered to the resignation by his father of the Spanish crown, and acquired in return the title of Most Serene Highness, with the palace, park, and farms of Navarre, with fifty thousand arpents of wood connected therewith, and an annuity of six hundred thousand francs a-year from the French treasury. The same rank, with an annuity of four hundred thousand francs, was allotted to the Infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio. As soon as this treaty was signed, Ferdinand and his brothers were removed to Bordeaux, where the two princes signed a renunciation of their rights to the throne, and Ferdinand was made to affix his name to a proclamation, in which he counselled submission and peace to the Spanish people. The three royal captives were shortly after removed to Valençay, the seat of Talleyrand, in the heart of France, where they continued during the remainder of the war. Napoleon on this occasion sent a confidential letter to Talleyrand, directing that the royal captives should be treated with respect but watched with vigilance, and hinting that it was desirable that some fair lady should attach Prince Ferdinand—the more especially if she was secure in the French interest. No indemnity whatever was provided for the Queen of Etruria or her son, who, compelled by Napoleon in the outset of these transactions to renounce the crown of Tuscany, had been subsequently amused by the elusory promise of a throne in Portugal, and was now sent a destitute captive into the interior of France.‡

‡ "If you have a theatre at Valençay, and you bring a company of actors there, there will be no harm done. If the Prince of Asturias attached himself to some pretty girl, it would not be undesirable, especially if we could rely upon her. I have the greatest possible interest in seeing that the Prince of Asturias commits no false step. I am anxious, therefore, that he should be occupied and amused."—NAPOLEON to TALLEYRAND, Bayonne, 9th May 1808; THIERS, viii. 620.

§ Napoleon's own account of the Bayonne affair is in all substantial points the same as

83. Having now succeeded in his main object of dispossessing the Bourbon family, and obtaining a semblance of legal title from the ejected owners to the Spanish throne, Napoleon was not long of bringing to an issue his other arrangements regarding the Peninsula. The refusal of his brother Louis to accept the throne had induced him to cast his eyes upon Joseph, King of Naples—an arrangement which, besides providing a sovereign who, it was hoped, would prove entirely submissive to the views of the Emperor in that important situation, was attended with the additional advantage of opening a throne for Murat, who, after holding the almost regal state of lieutenant of the Emperor at Madrid, could hardly be expected willingly to descend to any inferior station. To preserve appearances, however, it was deemed advisable that the semblance of popular election should be kept up; and with that view, the moment that the Emperor had obtained the consent of Ferdinand to his resignation, he despatched instructions to Murat, to obtain a petition from the junta of government, and, the principal public bodies of Madrid, for the conferring of the throne upon the King of Naples. At the same time, to supply any in-

that above given. "Ferdinand offered, on his own account, to govern entirely at my devotion, as much so as the Prince of the Peace had done in the name of Charles IV.; and I must admit that, if I had fallen into their views, I would have acted much more prudently than I have actually done. When I had them all assembled at Bayonne, I found myself in command of much more than I could have ventured to hope for; the same occurred there, as in many other events in my life, which had been ascribed to my policy, but in fact were owing to my good fortune. Here I found the Gordian knot before me; I cut it. I proposed to Charles IV. and the Queen that they should cede to me their rights to the throne. They at once agreed to it, I had almost said voluntarily; so deeply were their hearts ulcerated towards their son, and so desirous had they and their favourite now become of security and repose. The Prince of Asturias did not make any extraordinary resistance: neither violence nor menaces were employed against him: and of fear decided him, which I well believe was the case, it concerns him alone."—LAS CASES, iv. 210, 211.

terim defects of title which might be thought to exist in the Emperor's lieutenant to act in Spain in civil concerns, a decree was signed by Charles IV. on the very day of his renunciation, and transmitted to Madrid, where it arrived three days afterwards, which conferred on Murat the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, with the presidency of the junta of government, which in effect put that important body, now reduced merely to the official ministers, entirely at his disposal. This nomination was accompanied by a proclamation of the old King, drawn up by Godoy, in which he counselled his former subjects, "that they had no chance of safety or prosperity for themselves but in the friendship of the Emperor his ally." This was followed by another, the work of Escoiquiz, from the Prince of Asturias, dated from Bordeaux on the 12th; in which he also advised his countrymen "to remain tranquil, and to look for their happiness only in the wise dispositions and power of Napoleon."

84. Though profoundly mortified at not obtaining for himself the throne of Spain, which he had confidently expected, Murat exerted himself to pave the way for that elevation of Joseph which promised so immediately to promote his own advantage. The most energetic measures were immediately adopted to obtain at Madrid declarations in favour of the new dynasty; and the leading authorities, perplexed and bewildered in the unparalleled situation in which they were placed, and by the earnest exhortation to submission which they received from their lawful sovereign, were without difficulty won over to the interest of the rising dynasty. The junta of government, indeed, at first protested against the abdication at Bayonne, and refused to connect themselves in any way with these proceedings: but they were soon given to understand that their lives would be endangered if they continued to uphold the rebel authority of the Prince of Asturias; and at the same time the most flattering prospects were held out to them, if they took the lead in recognising

the new and inevitable order of things. These artifices proved successful; and the junta, satisfied with protesting that they in no way recognised the acts of Charles IV. and Ferdinand, and that the designation of a new monarch should in no ways prejudice their rights or those of their successors, concluded with the resolution that the Emperor's choice should fall on his elder brother the King of Naples. The municipality of Madrid also presented a petition to the same effect; and Napoleon, satisfied with having thus obtained the colour of public consent to his usurpation, issued a proclamation convoking an assembly of one hundred and fifty Notables, to meet at Bayonne on the 15th June following. Joseph, who had no choice but submission, quitted with regret the peaceful and smiling shores of Campania, set out for his new kingdom, and arrived at Bayonne on the 6th June, where he was magnificently received by Napoleon,* and on the

* On this occasion the Emperor addressed the following proclamation to the Spanish people:—"Spaniards! after a long agony, your nation was on the point of perishing: I saw your miseries, and hastened to apply a remedy. Your grandeur, your power, form an integral part of my own. Your princes have ceded to me their rights to the crown of Spain. I have no wish to reign over your provinces, but I am desirous of acquiring eternal titles to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is old: my mission is to pour into its veins the blood of youth. I will ameliorate all your institutions, and make you enjoy, if you second my efforts, the blessings of reform without its collisions, its disorders, its convulsions. I have convoked a general assembly of deputies from your provinces and cities; I am desirous of ascertaining your wants by personal intercourse; I will then lay aside all the titles I have acquired, and place your glorious crown on the head of my second self, after having secured for you a constitution which may establish the sacred and salutary authority of the sovereign, with the liberties and privileges of the people. Spaniards! Reflect on what your fathers were; on what you now are! The fault does not lie in you, but in the constitution by which you have been governed. Conceive the most ardent hopes and confidence in the results of your present situation; for I wish that your latest posterity should preserve the recollection of me and say—he was the regenerator of our country."—THIBAUDEAU, VI. 390, 391.

same day proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies.

85. Such is a detailed account of the artifices by which Napoleon succeeded in wresting the crowns of Spain and Portugal from their lawful possessors, and placing the first on the head of one of his own brothers, while the second remained at his disposal for the gratification of one of his military lieutenants. Not a shot was fired, not a sword was drawn, to effect the vast transfer. The object for which Louis XIV. unsuccessfully struggled during fourteen years was gained in six months; present fraud, the terrors of past victory, had done the work of years of conquest. But these extraordinary successes were stained by as great vices; and perhaps in the whole annals of the world, abounding as they do in deeds of wickedness, there is not to be found a more atrocious system of perfidy, fraud, and dissimulation, than that by which Napoleon won the kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula.

86. He first marched off the flower of its troops into the north of Germany, and, by professions of amity and friendship, lulled asleep any hostile suspicions which the cabinet of Madrid might have conceived. Next he entered into an agreement with Alexander for the dethronement of its sovereigns, and bought the consent of Russia to that spoliation of the faithful allies of ten years' duration, by surrendering to its ambition the more recent confederates which he had roused into hostility on the banks of the Danube during the desperate struggle of the last six months. He then concluded a treaty with Spain at Fontainebleau, in which he purchased the consent of that power to the partition of his ally Portugal, by promising to the court of Madrid a share of its spoils, and to its minister a princely sovereignty carved out of its dominions; and in return for this forbearance solemnly guaranteed all its possessions. Hardly was the ink of this treaty dry, when he directed his armies across the Pyrenees, in such force as to evince an intention not merely of appropriating to himself the

whole dominions of his old tributary dependent Portugal, but of seizing upon at least the northern provinces of Spain; while the remaining forces of that monarchy were dissipated in the south and north of Portugal, in search of elusory acquisitions at the expense of the cabinet of Lisbon. The sentence, at the same time, went forth from the Tuilleries, "The house of Braganza has ceased to reign," and the royal family at Lisbon were driven into exile to Brazil; while the Queen of Etruria was obliged to resign the throne of Tuscany, on a promise of an indemnity in the northern provinces of Portugal. Scarcely, however, is the resignation elicited under this promise obtained, when that promise too is broken; the dispossessed Queen, albeit a creation of Napoleon's own, is deprived of her indemnity; the stipulated principality in favour of the Prince of the Peace is cast to the winds; and orders are issued to Junot to administer the government of the whole of Portugal in name of the Emperor Napoleon.

87. Meanwhile the French armies rapidly inundate the northern provinces of the Peninsula: the frontier fortresses are seized, in the midst of profound peace, by a power in alliance with Spain, and which, only four months before, had formally guaranteed the integrity of its dominions: a hundred thousand men overspread the provinces to the north of the Ebro, and approach the capital. These disastrous events excite the public indignation against the ruling monarch and his unworthy favourite; they are overthrown by an urban insurrection, and the Prince of Asturias, by universal consent, is called to the throne. No sooner is he apprised of this event, than Napoleon despatches Savary to induce the new King to come to Bayonne, under a solemn assurance, both verbally and in writing, that he would at once recognise him, if the affair at Aranjuez was explained; and that in a few minutes everything would be satisfactorily adjusted. Agitated between terror and hope, Ferdinand, in an evil hour, and when his capital is occupied by French troops, consents

to a step which he had scarcely the means of avoiding, and throws himself on the honour of the French monarch. Napoleon, in the interim, sends for Charles IV. and the Prince of the Peace, and between the terror of his authority and the seductions of his promises, contrives to assemble all the royal family of Spain with their confidential counsellors at Bayonne.

88. No sooner are they arrived than he receives and entertains them in the most hospitable manner, and when they are beginning to indulge the hopes which such flattering conduct was fitted to inspire, suddenly salutes them with the announcement that the house of Bourbon has ceased to reign, and closes this matchless scene of duplicity, fraud, and violence, by extorting, by means of persuasion, menaces, and intimidation, a resignation of the throne from both the father and son, whom he had so recently solemnly bound himself to maintain in their possessions! To crown the whole, while alluring, like the serpent, his victims into his power, he is secretly offering their dominions to one of his brothers after another; he is, underhand, holding out promises of support both to the old and the new King of Spain, and he has all the while irrevocably resolved upon the dethronement of both, and upon supplanting the house of Bourbon by that of Bonaparte in both the thrones of the Peninsula. He concludes by sending Charles IV. and Ferdinand, with all their family, into state captivity in the interior of France; discarding Godoy without his stipulated principality; cheating the Queen of Etruria out of her promised indemnity; disinheriting at once the regal families of Spain, Portugal, and Etruria, and placing his own brother on the throne of the Peninsula, in virtue of a determination formed, by his own admission, at the treaty of Tilait!

* 89. Was, then, such atrocious conduct as successful in the end as it was in the commencement? and did the dynasty of Napoleon reap in its final results benefits or injury from acquisitions obtained by so black a course of

perfidy? Let the answer be given in his own words—"It was that *unhappy war in Spain which ruined me*. The results have irrevocably proved that I was in the wrong. There were serious faults in the execution. One of the greatest was that of having attached so much importance to the dethronement of the Bourbons. Charles IV. was worn out; I might have given a liberal constitution to the Spanish nation, and charged Ferdinand with its execution. If he put it in force in good faith, Spain would have prospered, and put itself in harmony with our new institutions; if he failed in the performance of his engagements, he would have met with his dismissal from the Spaniards themselves. The unfortunate war in Spain proved a real wound, *the first cause of the misfortunes of France*. If I could have foreseen that that affair would have caused me so much vexation and chagrin, I would never have engaged in it. *But, after the first steps taken in the affair, it was impossible for me to recede*. When I saw those imbeciles quarrelling and trying to dethrone each other, I thought I might as well take advantage of it to

* The assertion here made, and which was frequently repeated by Napoleon, that he was not the author of the family disputes between Charles IV. and Ferdinand, but merely stepped in to dispossess them both, was perfectly well founded, and is quite consistent with all the facts stated in the preceding deduction. It is evident, also, that such was the fascination produced by his power and talents, that little difficulty was experienced in getting the royal family of Spain to throw themselves into his hands; nay, that there was rather a race between the father and son which should first arrive at his headquarters, to state their case favourably to that supreme arbiter of their fate. That Savary was sent to Madrid and again back to Vittoria, to induce Ferdinand to come to Bayonne, was admitted by himself, but he evidently had no great difficulty in accomplishing his task. But the real reproach against Napoleon, and that from which he has never attempted to exculpate himself, is his having first agreed with Alexander at Tilsit to dispossess the houses of Braganza and Bourbon; then, to lull asleep the latter power, signed the treaty of Fontainebleau, which guaranteed its dominions; then perfidiously seized its fortresses without a shadow of pretext; and finally taking advantage of the family dissensions to attract both the old King and his son to Bayonne, where they were compelled to abdicate.

dispossess an inimical family; but I was not the contriver of their disputes. Had I known at the first that the transaction would have given me so much trouble, I would never have attempted it."* "He was drawn on," says M. Thiers, "from chicanery to perfidy, and came to affix to his name a spot which has for ever tarnished his glory. He had no means left of expiating his fault but by the good which he might do to Spain, and through it to France. But Providence did not reserve for him even that expiation. The pages which follow will show how its terrible justice, *worked out of the consequences of these very events*, punished genius, which, not less than mediocrity, is subject to the laws of honour and good sense."†

90. The fact thus admitted by Napoleon, and clearly proved by his history, that the Spanish war was the principal cause of his ruin, is one of the most luminous examples which the annals of the world exhibit of the subjection of human affairs to the direction of an overruling Power, which makes the passions and vices of men the instrument of their own punish-

Long as the preceding narrative of the causes which led to the Peninsular war has proved, it will not by the intelligent reader be deemed misplaced, when the vital importance of the facts it contains, both to the issue of the contest and the elucidation of the character of Napoleon, is taken into view, the more especially as it has hitherto not met with the attention it deserves from English historians. Colonel Napier, in particular, dismisses the whole subject in a few pages; and blames Napoleon, not for attacking Spain, but chiefly, if not entirely, for not attacking it in the interests of democracy. "There are many reasons," says this energetic and eloquent writer, "why Napoleon should have meddled with the interior affairs of Spain; there seems to be no good one for his manner of doing it. His great error was, that he looked only to the court, and treated the people with contempt. Had he taken care to bring the people and their government into hostile contact first, instead of appearing as the treacherous arbitrator of a domestic quarrel, he would have been hailed as the deliverer of a great people."—NAPIER, i. 22, 23. In energy and fire of military description, and ability of scientific disquisition, the gallant Colonel is above all praise; but he is far from being equally safe as a guide to political events, or as a judge of the measures of government.

† THIERS, viii. 668.

ment. So far as mere worldly policy was concerned, and on the supposition that there were no moral feelings in mankind, which cannot for a length of time be outraged with impunity, there can be no doubt that he judged wisely in attempting, by any means, the extension of his dynasty over the Peninsula. The reasons of state policy which rendered it essential for Louis XIV. to face the strength of banded Europe in order to maintain the Family Compact in the Peninsula, were still more forcibly applicable to Napoleon, as his dynasty was a revolutionary one, and could not hope to obtain lasting support except from sovereigns whose thrones rested on a similar foundation. How, then, did it happen that a step recommended by so clear a principle of expedience, and attended by the most unhopèd-for success in the first instance, should ultimately have been attended with such disaster? Simply because it was throughout based on injustice; because it violated the moral feelings of mankind, outraged their national attachments, and roused all classes by the overbearing excitement of the generous emotions into an unreflecting, it may almost be called, an instinctive resistance.

91. In the final success of that resistance, in the memorable retribution which it at last brought on the principal actors in the drama which began with such apparently undeserved success, is to be discerned the clearest proof of the manner in which Providence works out the moral government of the world, and renders the guilt and long-continued success of the wicked the instruments of their own ultimate and well-deserved punishment. When the Spaniards beheld Napoleon sending their princes into captivity and wresting from them their crown, from themselves their independence; when they saw Murat in triumph extinguishing the Madrid insurrection in blood, and securely massacring her gallant citizens after the fight was over, they sang and wept in silence, and possibly doubted the reality of the Divine superintendence of human affairs, when

such crimes were permitted to bring nothing but increase of power and authority to their perpetrators. But mark the end of these things, and the consequences of these atrocities upon their authors, by a series of causes and effects, every one of which now stands forth in imperishable light. Napoleon, who then sent an unoffending race of monarchs into captivity, was himself, by its results, driven into lasting and melancholy exile: France, which then lent its aid to a perfidious and unjust invasion, was itself, from its effects, subjected to a severe and galling subjugation: Murat, who then with impunity massacred the innocent by the mockery of military trial, signed, in the order for their condemnation, the warrant for his own dethronement and execution not eight years afterwards!

92. In authorising or committing these enormous state crimes, Napoleon and France were in truth acting in conformity to that moral law of the universe, which dooms outrageous vice, whether in nations or individuals, to prepare, in the efforts which it makes for its present gratification or advancement, the means of its ultimate punishment. Napoleon constantly said, and said truly, that he was not to be blamed for the wars which he undertook; that he was driven on by necessity; that he was always placed in the alternative of further triumphs or immediate ruin; that he was in truth the head of a military republic, which would admit no pause to its dictator in the career of victory.* There is no one who at-

* "Throughout my whole reign," said Napoleon, "I was the keystone of an edifice entirely new, and resting on the most slender foundations. Its duration depended on the issue of my battles. If I had been conquered at Marengo, the disastrous times of 1814 and 1815 would immediately have come on. It was the same at Austerlitz, Jena, and other fields. The vulgar accuse my ambition as the cause of all these wars; but they, in truth, arose from the nature of things, and that constant struggle of the past and the present, which placed me continually in the alternative of conquering, under pain of being beaten down. I was never, in truth, master of my own movements; I was never at my own disposal. At the commencement of my elevation, during the Consulate, my parti-

tentively considers his career but must admit the justice of these observations, and absolve him individually, in consequence, from much of that obloquy which the spectacle of the dreadful and desolating wars, in which he was so powerful an agent, has naturally produced among mankind. But that just indignation at the profuse and unprofitable effusion of blood, which has been erroneously directed by a large

sans frequently asked me, with the best intentions, whither I was tending, and I constantly answered with perfect sincerity, I did not know. They were astonished, but I said no more than the simple truth. My ambition, I admit, was great, but it was of a frigid nature, and caused by the opinion of the masses. During all my reign, the supreme direction of affairs really lay with the people; in fact, the imperial government was a kind of republic."—LAS CASES, vi. 41, vii. 125; O'MEARA, i. 405.

and influential class in France to the single head of Napoleon, should not on that account be supposed to be ill-founded. The feeling is just—the object only of it is mistaken. Its true object is that selfish spirit of revolutionary aggrandisement, which merely changed its direction, not its character, under the military dictatorship of the French Emperor; which hesitates at no crimes, pauses at no consequences; which, unsatiated by the blood and suffering it had produced in its own country, sought abroad, under his triumphant banners, the means of still greater gratification; and never ceased to urge on its remorseless career, till the world was filled with its devastation, and the unanimous indignation of mankind was aroused for its punishment. ●

CHAPTER LIII.

THE SPANISH PENINSULA AT THE OPENING OF THE WAR.

1. THE Spanish peninsula, in which a frightful war was now about to commence, and where the armies of France and England at last found a permanent theatre of combat, has been distinguished from the earliest times by memorable achievements, and rendered illustrious by the exploits of many of the greatest captains who have ever left the impress of their actions on the course of human events. The mighty genius of Hannibal there began its career, and under the walls of Saguntum gave the earliest indication of that vast capacity which was soon to shake to its foundation the enduring fabric of Roman power. In it Scipio Africanus first revived the almost desperate fortunes of the republic, and matured those talents which were destined on a distant shore to overthrow the fortunes of the inveterate enemy of his country. The talents of Pompey,

the capacity of Sertorius, the genius of Cæsar, were exerted on its plains. A severer struggle than that of Pharsalia awaited the founder of the empire on the shores of the Ebro. The desperate contest between the Cross and the Crescent raged for centuries amidst its mountains, and from their rocks the wave of Mussulman conquest was first permanently repelled. Nor has the Peninsula been in modern times the theatre of less memorable exploits. The standards of Charlemagne have waved in its passes; the bugles of Roncesvalles have resounded through the world; the chivalry of the Black Prince, the skill of Gonzalvo of Cordova, have been displayed in its defence. The genius of Napoleon, the firmness of Wellington, have been exerted on its plains; and, like their great predecessors in the wars of Rome and Carthage, these two illustrious

chiefs rolled the chariot of victory over its surface, and, missing each other, severally conquered every other opponent, till their mutual renown filled the world, and Europe, in breathless suspense, awaited the issue of their conflict on another shore.

2. From the earliest times, the inhabitants of the Peninsula have been distinguished by a peculiarity of military character and mode of conducting war which is very remarkable. Inferior to many other nations in the firmness and discipline with which they withstand the shock of battle, they are superior to them all in the readiness with which they rally after defeat, and the invincible tenacity with which they maintain a contest under circumstances of disaster, when any other people would succumb in despair. * In vain are their armies defeated and dispersed, their fortresses taken, their plains overgrown, their capital subdued. Singly, or in small bodies, they renew the conflict; they rally and reunite as rapidly as they disperse; the numerous mountain-chains which intersect their country afford a refuge for their broken bands; their cities make a desperate though insulated defence; and from the wreck of all regular or organised opposition emerges the redoubtable GUERRILLA warfare. "Praelio victi Carthaginenses," says Livy, "in ultimam Hispaniam oram, ad oceanum, compulsi crant—disparem autem; quod Hispania, non quam Italia modo, sed quam ulla pars terrarum, bello reparando aptior erat, locorum hominumque ingeniiis. Gens nata instaurandis reparandisque bellis brevi replevit exercitum, animosque ad tentandum de integro certamen fecit."** It is a singular fact, strikingly illustrative of the durable influence of common descent and phy-

sical circumstances on national character, through all the varieties of time, religion, and political condition, that the system of warfare, thus deemed peculiar to Spain, of all nations in the world, in the days of Pompey and Sertorius, has continued to distinguish its inhabitants, without any interruption, to the present time. It was pursued without intermission for eight hundred years in their wars with the Moors, formed the characteristic of the struggle with Napoleon, and continued afterwards to be the leading feature of the savage contest between the aristocratic and democratic parties, which for so many years bathed the Peninsula in blood. †

3. Durable characteristics of this kind attaching for ages to a nation, though its inhabitants have in the course of them become the mixed progeny of many different tribes of mankind, will invariably be found to arise from some peculiarity in its physical circumstances, or some distinctive mental quality in its predominant races, which has imprinted a lasting character on all its successive inhabitants. This is in an especial manner the case with Spain and Portugal. Their territory differs in many important particulars from any in Europe. Physically considered, it belongs as much to Africa as Europe. The same burning sun parches the mountains and dries up the valleys of both; no forests clothe their sides; naked, they present their arid fronts to the shivering blasts of the north and the scorching rays of a tropical sun. Vegetation in general spreads in proportion only as irrigation can be obtained. Aided by that powerful auxiliary, the steepest mountain-sides of Catalonia and Aragon are cut into terraces and clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation: without it, vast plains in Leon and the Castiles are almost entirely destitute both of cultivation and inhabitants. So extensive in consequence are the desert tracts of Spain, that the country, viewed from the summit of any of the numerous mountain ridges with which its inland provinces are intersected, in general exhibits only a confused group of barren elevated

* "The Carthaginians, conquered in battle, were driven into the farthest provinces of Spain next the ocean. But these were unlike all other places; for Spain is better adapted, not merely than Italy, but than any part of the world, for repairing defeat, not merely by the nature of the country, but the disposition of the people. A nation born for restoring the fortune and repairing the losses of wars, speedily refilled the ranks, and inspired the spirit to renew the contest."—LIVY.

plains and lofty naked peaks, intersected here and there by a few glittering streams flowing in deep valleys, only on the margins of which are to be seen crops and flocks, and the traces of human habitation. A feeling of melancholy steals over the mind in traversing its wide and broken plains: the general sterility is allied to sublimity; and, amidst the desolation of nature, deep impressions are made, and a lofty character communicated to the mind.

4. The whole Peninsula may be viewed as a vast mountainous promontory, which stretches from the Pyrenees to the southward, between the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas. On the shores of the ridge to the east and west are plains of admirable fertility, which at no distant period have emerged from the waves of the sea; but in the interior an elevated assemblage of mountain ridges and lofty desert plains is to be found, the external slopes of which were once washed by the ocean, in the centre of which Madrid is placed in an upland basin at a height of eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. This lofty plateau consists of immense dry plains, scorched by a burning sun in summer, swept by frozen blasts in winter. Over these vast expanses the habitations are rare, towns or villages still rarer, and the only animated beings in general to be seen are vast flocks of sheep, tended by huge dogs and fierce but manly shepherds. The inhabitants of these elevated regions partake of the stern and melancholy character of the scenery by which they are surrounded. They are grave, silent, and thoughtful; but, like all persons of that temperament, capable, when roused, of heroic actions, and deeply imbued with romantic feelings. The great rivers from the elevation of this plateau flow for the most part to the east and west in long courses, and are fed by tributary streams, which meander at the bottom of ravines of surprising depth, shut in often by precipitous banks or very steep declivities. Three great chaussées only—viz. that leading from Madrid to Bayonne by the Somo-Sierra pass, that to Valencia, and that to Barcelona—intersect this great central desert region.

In every other quarter the roads are little better than mountain-paths, uniting together towns built for the most part on the summit of hills, surrounded by walls, environed by superb olive woods, but having little intercourse either with each other or with the rest of Europe. It may readily be imagined what extraordinary advantages a country of such natural strength and character must afford to insulated and defensive warfare.

5. Spain contains 23,850 square geographical leagues, or about 214,000 square geographical miles, being more than double the superficies of the British Islands.* It was inhabited in 1808 by 11,000,000, which in 1834 had risen to 14,660,000 souls. Its revenue in 1826 was 105,000,000 francs, or £4,200,000; in 1833, 162,000,000, or £6,500,000 sterling; and its public debt, 4,000,000,000 francs, or £160,000,000. Its agriculture produces 1,847,000,000 francs, or £74,000,000 sterling annually. The total yearly produce of its industry, agricultural and commercial, is 2,250,000,000 francs, or £90,000,000; facts indicating at once the disordered state of its finances, and the vast amount of its physical resources. In 1808 the revenue was 126,000,000 francs, or about £5,000,000; the expenditure 159,000,000 francs, or £6,400,000; the public debt about £50,000,000 sterling. The surface of the country, generally speaking, is arid, rocky, and sterile, unless aided by irrigation—which, however, whenever it can be obtained, produces, under its genial sun, luxuriant vegetation. Vast tracts, especially in Leon, Castile, and Estremadura, have from time immemorial been devoted to pasturage; over their dry and unenclosed expanses immense flocks of sheep constantly wander, the wool of which is celebrated all over the world for the fineness of its texture. Such is the wealth and influence of the owners of these flocks, that it has enabled them to perpetuate for centuries the privileges of the *Mesta*, so ruinous to agriculture, by which they are permitted to wander at pleasure over nearly the whole extent of the kingdom. In some alluvial plains, as those of Valencia, the Llobregat in

Catalonia, and the banks of the Guadalquivir in Andalusia, the soil is of surpassing fertility, and the crops rival those of Lombardy or the Campagna of Naples in variety and richness. Manufactures, with a few exceptions, are in every part of the country in a state of infancy.

6. In almost every quarter, the Peninsula is intersected by long rocky and almost inaccessible mountain ridges, which form a barrier between province and province, almost as complete, not merely to hostile armies, but even to the inhabitants of the country, as is that interposed by the Alps or the Pyrenees. Branching out from the great chain which separates France from Spain, one vast assemblage of mountains runs to the westward, forming in its course the Alpine nests and inaccessible retreats of Asturias and Galicia; while another, stretching to the eastward, covers with its various ramifications nearly the whole of Catalonia, and encloses in its bosom the admirable industry and persevering efforts of its hardy cultivators. In the interior of the hills which descend from the crest of the Pyrenees to the long vale of the Ebro, are formed the beautiful and umbrageous valleys of Navarre and Biscay, where, in mountain fastnesses and amidst chestnut forests, liberty has for six hundred years diffused its blessings, and the prodigy has been exhibited of independent privileges and democratic equality having been preserved untouched, with all their attendant security and general comfort, under an otherwise despotic monarchy. Beyond the Ebro, one great mountain range, stretching across from the frontiers of Catalonia to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, forms the almost impassable barrier between the valleys of the Tagus and the Douro, and the provinces of Old and New Castile, Leon, and Estremadura. Its western extremity has been immortalised in history; it contains the ridge of Busaco, and terminates in the rocks of Torres Vedras.

7. Another, taking its rise from the high grounds which form the western limit of the plain of Valencia, extends in a south-westerly direction to Cape St Vincent in the south of Portugal,

and separates in its course the valleys of the Tagus and the Guadiana. A third, also reaching in the same direction across the whole country, forms the boundary between the valleys of the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir, under the name of the Sierra-Morena, divides the province of New Castile from that of Andalusia, and has been immortalised as the scene of the wanderings of the hero of Cervantes. A fourth, detached by itself in the southern extremity of the Peninsula, forms the romantic mountains of Ronda, whose summits, wrapped in perpetual snow, withstand the genial sun which ripens oranges and citrons and all the productions of Africa on their sides. Two great and rich alluvial plains alone are to be found in Spain, the character of whose inhabitants differs from that of all the rest of the Peninsula: in the first of which, amidst water-melons, luxuriant harvests, and all the richest gifts of nature, the castanets and evening dances of the Valencians present the unforeseen gaiety of tropical regions; while in the second, the indolent habits, fiery character, and impetuous disposition of the Andalusians attest, amidst myrtle thickets, the perfume of orange groves, and the charms of a delicious climate, the undecaying influence of Moorish blood and Arabian descent.

8. Spain has never been remarkable for the number or opulence of its towns: Madrid, Cadiz, Valencia, Barcelona, and Seville, the largest of which, after the capital, does not contain above a hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, alone deserve the name of cities.* But it has in every

* Madrid contained, in 1808, 190,000 inhabitants.—*Edin. Gazetteer*, Art. *Madrid*.

The population of the principal Spanish towns in 1834 was as follows:—

Madrid,	201,000
Barcelona,	120,000
Seville,	91,000
Granada,	80,000
Cadiz,	53,000
Valencia,	65,900
Saragossa,	55,000
Malaga,	52,000
Cordova,	46,000
Murcia,	35,000
Eliza,	34,000
Valladolid,	32,000

age been distinguished beyond any other country recorded in history, by the unconquerable resolution with which their inhabitants have defended their walls, even under circumstances when more prudent courage would have abandoned the contest in despair. The heart of every classical scholar has thrilled at the fate of Numantia, Saguntum, and Astapa, whose heroic defenders preferred perishing with their wives and children in the flames to surrendering to the hated dominion of the stranger; and the same character has characterised their descendants in modern times.* With invincible resolution Barcelona held out for its rights and privileges, after Europe had adjusted its strife at Utrecht, and Eugland, with perfidious policy, had abandoned her Peninsular allies to the arms of their enemies. The double siege of Saragossa, the heroic defence of Gerona, the obstinate stand at Rosas, have put the warriors of Northern

Carthagena,	29,000
Orihuela,	25,000
Alicant,	23,000
Lorca,	40,000
Jaen,	18,000
Corunna,	13,000
Sanctander,	18,000
Perrol,	15,000
Toledo,	15,000
Alcala Real,	14,000
Port de Marie, near Cadiz,	17,000
Almeria,	19,000
Antequera,	20,000
Ronda,	18,000
Vélez Malaga,	14,000
San Lucar,	16,000
Xeres,	31,000
Tortosa,	13,000

—MALTE BRUN, vii. 661, 663.

* "They fixed upon a place in their forum in which they collected the most valuable of their property, and having directed their wives and children to seat themselves upon this heap, they raised a pile of wood around it, and threw on it bundles of twigs.—There was another more horrible carnage in the city, where a harmless and defenceless crowd of women and children were butchered by their own countrymen, who threw their bodies, most of them still alive, upon the burning pile, while streams of blood damped the rising flame; and lastly, wearied with the piteous slaughter of their friends, they threw themselves, arms and all, into the midst of the flames."—LIVY, xlviii. c. 22, 23. Numantia and Saguntum have become household words over the world, but the heroism of ASTAPA here narrated has not received the fame it deserves.

Europe to the blush for the facility with which they surrendered fortresses to the invader, incomparably stronger and better provided with arms and garrisons; while Cadiz alone of almost all European towns successfully resisted the utmost efforts of the spoiler, and, after a fruitless siege of two years, saw the arms even of Napoleon roll back.

9. The peculiar political constitution of the Spanish monarchy, and the revolutions which its inhabitants have undergone in the course of ages, have been as favourable to the maintenance of a defensive and isolated internal, as they were prejudicial to the prosecution of a vigorous external warfare by its government. Formed by the amalgamation at various times of many different nations of separate descent, habits, and religion, it has never yet attained the vigour and unity of a homogeneous monarchy. Its inhabitants are severed from each other, not only by desert ridges or rocky sierras, but by original separation of race and inveterate present animosity. The descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Spanish soil are there mingled with the children of the Goth, the Vandal, and the Roman; with the faithlessness of Moorish blood, or the fire of Arabian descent. These different and hostile races have never thoroughly amalgamated. For many centuries they maintained separate and independent governments, and kept up prolonged and bloody warfare with each other; and when at length they all yielded to the arms and fortune of Ferdinand and Isabella, the central government neither acquired the popular infusion nor the inherent energy which is necessary to mould out of such discordant materials a vigorous state. The peculiar character of the people formed by this singular blending of so many different races in their progenitors, is chiefly to be seen in the inhabitants of the country. The Spanish peasant has no resemblance either to the French, the English, or the German. He has neither the gaiety of the former, nor the perseverance of the latter. He unites the individual enervancy of the Turk or the Arab to the

religious and political passions of the European. He is not worn out, like the labourers of most other countries, by incessant toil, nor occupied with the exclusive care of amassing money. Indolent, when not roused by passion, in towns; wandering for the most part over vast plains after flocks of sheep, or pursuing the more gainful trade of smuggling, he is ever ready to join in his favourite amusements of dancing or bull-fighting, or to listen to heart-stirring tales of ancient days, or share in the political passions of the present moment.

10. The example of Great Britain, where the various and hostile races of the Britons, the Saxons, the Danes, Scots, and Normans, have been at length blended into one united and powerful monarchy, proves that such an amalgamation is possible; that of Ireland, where the Saxon and the Gael are still in fierce and ruinous hostility with each other, that it is one of the most difficult of political problems. Without the freedom of the English constitution, which unites them by the powerful bond of experienced benefits and participated power, or the crushing vigour of the Russian despotism, which holds them close in the bands of rising conquest, it is hardly possible to give to such a mixed race the vigour of homogeneous descent. In Spain this had never been attempted, and, if attempted, it would probably have proved unsuccessful. The Aragonese were jealous of the Catalonians; the Castilians despised the Valencians; the Galicians even were at variance with the Asturians; and the freeborn mountaineers of Navarre and Biscay had their local antipathies. All the inhabitants of the north regarded as an inferior race the natives of Grenada and Andalusia, where Moorish conquest had degraded the character, and Moorish blood contaminated the descent of the people; and where, amidst orange groves, evening serenades, and bewitching forms, the whole manly virtues were thought to be fast wearing out under the enervating influence of an African sun.

11. But while these circumstances

were destructive to the external vigour and consideration of the Spanish monarchy, they were, of all others, those best calculated to enable its inhabitants, when deprived of their central government and left to their own guidance, to oppose a formidable resistance to the invader. When deprived of the direction of their sovereign, the provinces of Spain did not feel themselves powerless, nor did they lose hope because abandoned by those who were their natural protectors. Society, when resolved into its pristine elements, still found wherewithal to combat; the provinces, when loosened or severed from each other, separately maintained the contest. Electing juntas of government, and enrolling forces on their own account, they looked as little beyond their own limits as the Swiss peasants in former times did beyond the mountain ridges which formed the barriers of their happy valleys. If this singular oblivion of external events, and concentration of all their energies on local concerns, was subversive in the end of any combined plan of operations, and effectually prevented the national strength from being hurled, in organised and concentrated masses, against the enemy, it was eminently favourable, in the first instance, to the efforts of tumultuary resistance, and led to the assumption of arms, and the continuance of the conflict, under circumstances when a well-informed central government would probably have resigned it in despair. Defeats in one quarter did not lead to submission in another. Their general ignorance, haughty pride, and unconquerable prejudices, led them to prolong the contest under circumstances when well-informed reason would probably have abandoned it. The occupation of the capital, the fortresses, the military lines of communication, was not decisive of the fate of the country; as many victories required to be gained as there were cities to be captured or provinces subdued; and, like the Anglo-Saxons in the days of the English heptarchy,* they fought resolutely in their separate districts, and rose up again in arms when the

invader had passed on to fresh theatres of conquest. In every age they have verified the character given of them by the ancient historian, that alone of all the provinces of the empire, Spain became sensible of its strength after it had been conquered.*

12. The nobility in Spain, as in all countries where civilisation and wealth have long existed, and the salutary check of popular control has not developed their energy and restrained their corruption, were, when the French war broke out, sunk in the lowest state of selfish degradation. Assembled for the most part in the capital, devoted to the frivolities of fashion, or the vices of a court; taught to look for the means of elevation, not in the energy of a virtuous, but the intrigues of a corrupted life, they were alike unfit for civil or military exertion. The nobility of Spain, alone of the European states, must, with a few brilliant exceptions, be considered as strangers to the glories of the Revolutionary war. Not more than three or four of the higher *grandees* were in the army when the war broke out in 1808; and the inferior noblesse, almost all destitute alike of education, vigour, or active habits, took hardly any share in its prosecution. The original evil of entails had spread to a greater extent, and produced more pernicious consequences in Spain than in any other country of Europe; a few great families engrossed more than half the landed property of the kingdom, which was effectually tied up from alienation, and of course remained in a very indifferent state of cultivation; while the domains of the cities or corporate bodies, held in mortmain, and for the most part uncultivated, were so extensive, that a large proportion of the arable land in the kingdom still remained in a state of nature.

13. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the elements of great political activity and energetic national conduct existed in the Peninsula. The peasantry were everywhere

an athletic, sober, enduring race; hardy from exercise, abstemious from habit, capable of undergoing incredible fatigue, and of subsisting on fare which to an Englishman would appear absolute starvation. The officers in the Spanish armies during the war, drawn from the ill-educated urban classes, were for the most part a most conceited, ignorant, and inefficient body; but the men were almost always excellent, and possessed not only the moral spirit, but the physical qualities, calculated to become the basis of an admirable army. Colonel Napier has recorded his opinion that the Catalonian Miquelets or smugglers formed the finest materials for light troops in the world, and the Valencian and Andalusian levies presented a physical appearance greatly exceeding that of both the French and English regular armies.† The cause of this remarkable peculiarity is to be found in the independent spirit and general wellbeing of the peasantry. Notwithstanding all the internal defects of their government and institutions, the shepherds and cultivators of the soil enjoyed a most remarkable degree of prosperity. Their dress, their houses, their habits of life, demonstrated the long-established comfort which had for ages prevailed among them; vast tracts, particularly in the mountainous regions of the north, were the property of the cultivators—a state of things of all others the most favourable to social happiness, when accompanied with a tolerable degree of mildness in the practical administration of government; and even in those districts where they were merely tenants of the nobility, the cities, or the church, their condition demonstrated that they were permitted to retain an ample share of the fruits of their toil.

14. The general comfort of the Spanish peasantry, especially in the northern and mountainous provinces, is easily explained by the number of them who were owners of the soil,

* "Spain alone, of all the provinces, knew its own strength after it was conquered."—FLORUS.

† I heard Lord Lynedoch, then Sir Thomas Graham, express this opinion in 1809, immediately after the retreat of Sir John Moore, in which he bore a part.

coupled with the vigour and efficacy of the provincial immunities and privileges which, in Catalonia, Navarre, the Basque Provinces, Asturias, Aragon, and Galicia, effectually restrained the power of the executive, and gave to the inhabitants of those districts the practical enjoyment of almost complete personal freedom. So extensive were their privileges, so little did government venture to disregard them, that in many cases those enjoying them were to be considered rather as democratic commonwealths, inserted into that extraordinary assemblage of separate states which formed the Spanish monarchy, than as subjects of a despotic government. The classification of the population was as in the note below, which speaks volumes as to the condition of the people, and the causes of their prolonged resistance to the French invasion.*

15. But the peasantry, hardy and undaunted as they were, would have been unable to have combined in any effective league for their common defence, destitute as they for the most part were of any support from their natural leaders, the owners of the soil, if it had not been for the weight and influence of a body which, in every age, has borne a leading part in the contests of the Peninsula. This was the church, the lasting and inveterate enemy in every country of revolutionary innovation. The ecclesiastics in Spain were very numerous, amounting, according to the census taken in 1787, to twenty-two thousand four hundred and eighty parish priests, and forty-seven thousand seven hundred and ten regular clergy belonging to monasteries or other public

religious establishments. The influence of this great body was immense. Independent of their spiritual ascendancy in a country more strongly attached than any in Europe to the Romish church, they possessed, as temporal proprietors, an unbounded sway over their flocks. As in all other countries, it had long been felt that the church was the best and most indulgent landlord; the ecclesiastical estates, which were very numerous and extensive, were much better cultivated in general than any in the hands of lay proprietors; and the tenantry held their possessions under them for such moderate rents, and by so secure a tenure, that they had long enjoyed almost the advantages and consideration of actual landholders.

16. Nor was this all: the charity and beneficence of the monks had set on foot, in every part of the country, extensive institutions, through which, more than any others by which they could be effected, the distresses of the poor had been relieved. They partook in a great degree of the character of the *hospice*, particularly in the northern provinces. To the peasant they often served as banking establishments, where none other existed in the province, and as such essentially contributed to agricultural improvement. The friars acted as schoolmasters, advocates, physicians, and apothecaries. Besides feeding and clothing the poor, and visiting the sick, they afforded spiritual consolation. They were considerate landlords and indulgent masters; peace-makers in domestic broils, a prop of support in family misfortune; they provided periodical amusements and festivities for the peasants; advanced them funds if assailed with misfortune; furnished them with seed if their harvest had failed. Most of the convents had *funtilaciones*, or endowments, for professors who taught rhetoric and philosophy, besides keeping schools open for the use of the poor; they also supplied parochial ministers when wanted, and their preachers were considered the best in Spain. Superficial or free-thinking travellers, observing that the

* Total inhabitants,	10,400,879
Families engaged in agriculture, . .	872,000
Owners of the soil they cultivated, . .	360,000
Farmers holding under landlords, . .	602,000
Ecclesiastical proprietors,	6,216
Parish priests,	22,480
Regular clergy,	47,710
Total cities, towns, and villages, . .	25,488
Free cities or burghs,	12,071
Subject to a feudal superior,	9,466
Subject to an ecclesiastical superior,* .	3,926
—HARDENBERG, x. 173, 174.	

The population is now (1837) 14,660,000.—
MALTE BRUN, vii. 604.

aged, the sick, and the destitute, were always to be found in numbers round the convent gates, supposed that they created the suffering which they were so instrumental in relieving, and in consequence that the church was chargeable with the augmentation of pauperism; forgetting that the poor ever will be assembled together round those establishments where their sufferings are relieved; and that to represent such beneficent institutions as the cause of this distress, is just as absurd as it would be to decry fever hospitals because their wards are generally filled with typhus patients; or poor-laws in Ireland, because a large proportion of its *two millions* of present destitute inhabitants will hereafter infallibly be found in the neighbourhood of the workhouses where parochial relief is dealt out.

17. It is observed with surprise by General Foy, that in every age the king, the church, and the people, have combined together in Spain: an alliance utterly inexplicable on the principles of the French revolutionary school, but susceptible of an easy solution when the benefits which the ecclesiastical bodies conferred both on the crown, in standing between it and the encroachments of the nobility, and the peasantry, in averting from them the evils of poverty, are taken into consideration. The whole course of events, during the Peninsular war, demonstrated that this influence was established on the most durable foundation. Everywhere the parish priests were the chief promoters of the insurrection; it was their powerful voice which roused the people to resistance; and many of the most renowned leaders of the desultory bands who maintained the contest when the regular forces were destroyed, came from the ecclesiastical ranks. The clergy, both regular and parochial, early perceived the total destruction of their interests which would ensue from the triumph of the French invasion; they recollected the decrees of the Convention against the clergy, and the horrors of the war in La Vendée. And though Napoleon had to a certain extent re-

stored the altar, yet they were well aware that even his powerful hand had been able to do this only in a very ineffectual manner. They knew that religion was tolerated in France, not re-established; and that the indigent curés, who to the north of the Pyrenees drew a wretched pittance yearly from the public treasury, were very different, both in consideration and influence, from the dignified clergy in possession of their own estates, who formerly constituted so important a part of the French monarchy. It was this body, possessed of such influence, and animated with such feelings, who in Spain proved the real leaders of the people; who, in the absence of the government, the nobility, and the army, boldly throw themselves into the breach; and, organising out of the strength and affections of an intrepid peasantry the means of prolonged resistance, rendered the Peninsula the charnel-house of the French armies, and the grave of revolutionary power.

18. Most of all, Spain was still a virgin soil. Her people were not exhausted with revolutionary passions; they had not learned by bitter experience the vanity of all attempts to regenerate mankind by any other means than the improvement of their moral and religious principles. Though the monarchy was grey in years, the nobility corrupt or selfish, the government feeble and incapable, the nation as a whole was still untainted: the debility of the Bourbon reigns had passed over the state without either weakening the force of popular passion, or destroying the fountains of public virtue. The peasants in the mountains, the shepherds in the plains, still inherited, in unmixed purity, the blood of the Cid and Pelajo—still were animated by the spirit which sustained the conflict of seven centuries with the Moorish invader. They were free from that last and worst cause of national corruption, which springs from the people having been themselves admitted to a share of power, participating in its passions, feeling its sweets, profiting by its corruptions. They were exempt from that despair

which results from the experienced impossibility, by changing the class which governs, of eradicating either the vices of the governors, or the sufferings of the governed. Hence an intermixture in the Peninsular revolutionary war of passions the most opposite, and usually ranged in fierce hostility against each other; and hence the long duration and unexampled obstinacy with which it was conducted. While the rural population, at the voice of their pastors, everywhere took up arms, and rushed with inconsiderate zeal into the conflict, to combat under the banners of the Cross for their salvation, the indolent urban multitudes were roused not less by temporal ambition to league their forces under the national colours. The dissolution of government, the resolution of society into its pristine elements, had generally thrown political power and the immediate direction of affairs into their hands; revolutionary passion, democratic ambition, were called into activity by the very necessity which had everywhere thrown the people upon their own resources. The provincial juntas, chosen in the chief towns, soon became so many centres of revolutionary action and popular intrigue. And thus the two most powerful passions which can agitate the human heart, religious enthusiasm and democratic ambition, usually seen in opposite ranks, and destined to fierce collision in that very realm in future times, were for a season, by the pressure of common danger, brought to unite cordially with each other.

19. Such was the country which thereafter became the grand theatre of the contest between France and England; and such the eminently favourable battle-field which the unbounded ambition and perfidious treachery of the French Emperor at length afforded to the British arms. They now descended to the conflict on the popular side; they went forth to combat, not merely for the real interests, but for the present desires of the people. The forces, indeed, which the contending parties could bring into this great arena were, to appearance at least,

very unequal; and even the most sanguine could not contemplate without alarm the enormous preponderance which weighed down the scale on the side of Napoleon. He had above six hundred thousand French soldiers, including seventy thousand horse, and at least a hundred and fifty thousand auxiliaries from the allied states at his disposal; but the magnitude of this force, great as it was, constituted the least formidable part of its character.* It was the quality, experience, and spirit of his soldiers which formed the principal source of their strength. They stood forth to the conflict, strong in the experience of fifteen years of warfare, terrible from the recollection of a hundred triumphs. The halo of glory which surrounded, the *prestige* of victory which preceded them, was more difficult to withstand than either the charges of their cuirassiers or the ravages of their artillery. It fascinated and subdued the minds of men; spread universally that belief of their invincibility which was the surest means of realising it; paralysed alike the statesman who arrayed nations and the general who marshalled armies for the combat; and roused even in the bravest hearts the dispiriting conviction that the contest was hopeless, and that to sink honourably was all that remained to gallant soldiers. This feeling especially prevailed at this juncture, after the hopes of Europe, strongly elevated by the strife of Eylau, had been dashed to the earth by the wreck of Friedland, and the reserve of Christendom, on whom so many eyes had been turned in breathless anxiety, had abandoned the conflict as one apparently striving against the decrees of fate.

* The numbers were as follows, all paid by the French government:—

Infantry of the line	380,000
Cavalry	70,000
Swiss, Germans, Hanoverians, and Irish, in French pay	32,000
Artillery and engineers	46,000
Gendarmerie, coast-guards, veterans, &c.	92,000

620,000

Besides the forces of the Confederation of the Rhine, Italy, Naples, Holland, and the grand-duchy of Warsaw—at least 150,000 more.—
For, i. 52, 53.

20. Nor was the actual efficiency of this immense army inferior to its imaginative terrors. Though the wars of Germany and Poland had made frightful chasms in the ranks of the veteran soldiers, yet the officers and non-commissioned officers, the bones and sinews of the army, possessed the immense advantage of tried merits and long experience. Such had been the consumption of human life during the late campaigns, that every conscript who survived a few years was sure of becoming an officer; and while this certainty of promotion to the few survivors kept alive the military spirit of the whole population, it insured for the direction of the army the inestimable basis of tried valour and experienced skill. Every military man knows, that if the officers and non-commissioned officers are experienced and brave, it is no difficult matter, even out of the most unpromising materials, to form in a short period of time an effective army. The examples of the Portuguese and Hindoos under British, and the northern Italians under French officers, were not required to establish a fact illustrated by the experience of every age from the days of the Romans. This advantage appeared not merely in the field of battle; desperate valour, fortunate accident, can sometimes there supply the wants of experience and organisation. But in the long run, in undergoing the fatigues of a campaign, in discharging its multifarious duties, and facing its varied difficulties, the superiority of veteran armies, or even new levies incorporated with a veteran frame, soon becomes conspicuous. The Spaniards never were a match for the French, either in regular combats or in the conduct of a campaign; and although the native courage of the English, even in the outset, uniformly gave them the advantage in pitched battles, yet it was long before they became at all equal to their opponents in the general conduct of a campaign. It augments our admiration for the illustrious chief and his able lieutenants who ultimately led them to victory under such disad-

vantages, that they were compelled not only to lead, but in a manner to educate their troops in presence of the enemy; and that it was while struggling to maintain their ground against superior bands of a veteran foe, that they imbibed in many respects even the rudiments of the military art.

21. The English army, however, at this period, was far from being in the inefficient state, either in respect to discipline or experience, which was generally presumed on the Continent; and the French government, which judged from recent events, and were ignorant of the vast efforts in the military department which had been made since the commencement of the war, were equally mistaken as to the courage and capacity of the regular forces, and the extent to which a warlike spirit had imbued the nation. The British regular troops in the spring of 1808 consisted of nearly two hundred thousand men, of whom twenty-six thousand were cavalry, besides eighty thousand militia, equal in discipline and equipment to the troops of the line, though not bound to serve beyond the British Isles; and two hundred and ninety thousand volunteers, of whom twenty-five thousand were cavalry, in a very considerable state of efficiency. Great part of this immense force, without doubt, was absorbed in the defence of the numerous and extensive colonies which formed part of the English dominions. But the official returns proved that a hundred thousand men, including twenty thousand cavalry, were disposable in the British Isles: and in a minute made out by the Duke of York, it was proved, that "in 1808, sixty thousand men could have been provided for the campaign in Spain without detriment to any other service." Of this force it is not going too far to say that it was all in the highest state of discipline and equipment; and that not only was it equal for a pitched battle to any body of men of similar amount which could be brought against it, but, if all assembled, was adequate to the encounter of the largest army

ever yet collected in a single field under the standards of Napoleon.*

22. But it was not so much from underrating the numerical strength, as from mistaking the spirit which animated the British army, and the degree of interest which its exploits excited in the country, that the French government was led to regard too lightly the chances of success which it possessed in a Continental struggle. With all his information and sagacity, Napoleon here fell into the common error of judging of the present by the past. The English soldiers had achieved so little during the war, that it was generally supposed they were incapable of doing anything: their navy had done so much, that it was taken for granted it could do anything, and that the whole interest and pride of the nation were centred on its triumphs. In the interim, however, the general arming of the people, the excitement produced by the threats of invasion, the profound interest kept alive by the Continental war, the triumphs of Alexandria and Maida, had awakened a most extraordinary degree of military ardour, and diffused no inconsiderable amount of military information, throughout the people. The warlike establishments which pervaded the country were admirably calculated to foster this growing enthusiasm, and turn it to the best account in augmenting the numbers and increasing the spirit of the regular army. The militia served as an invaluable nursery for the line; the volunteers, changed soon after into local militia, corresponding very nearly to the German *landwehr*, provided a

never-failing supply of recruits, tolerably instructed in the rudiments of discipline, for the militia. Numbers of young men of all ranks, caught by the animation, the idleness, or the dress of soldiers, embraced the military profession: thenceforward to the end of the war there was no difficulty whatever experienced in finding adequate supplies of recruits for the army, and filling up all the fearful chasms which war and disease made in its ranks. Thus, while the French were deluded with the idea that the English were altogether contemptible by land, they had already made great progress in the formation of a powerful army; and while their enemies were talking about sea-wolves and maritime skill, the spirit was engendered destined to produce the triumphs of Vittoria and Waterloo.

23. The vast ameliorations effected by the Duke of York in the discipline and organisation of the army, and the improved military education which the younger officers had now for some years received, had at the same period afforded increased advantages for the successful display of that physical strength, and that undaunted moral resolution, which in every age have formed the great characteristics of the British soldiers. The latter invaluable quality gave them a very great advantage: it is the true basis of a powerful army. Skill, experience, discipline, can be superadded by practice, or acquired by exercise; but if this one moral quality be wanting, all such acquisitions will prove of little avail. How inferior soever to their antagonists in experience, or that dexterity in the

* The numbers, in July 1808, were:—

REGULARS.		MILITIA.	VOLUNTEERS.	
Infantry, . . .	156,561	77,990	Infantry, . . .	254,544
Cavalry, . . .	26,815		Cavalry, . . .	25,342
			Artillery, . . .	9,420
	182,876			289,306
In all,	Regulares, . . .	182,867		
	Militia, . . .	77,990		
	Volunteers, . . .	289,306		
		550,163		
	In arms,			

Of this force of regulars, 81,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry were at home in the British Isles, and of course disposable. In the muster-rolls of the English army, sabres and bayonets are alone estimated, which is not the case in the French and Continental services: a peculiarity which made the real strength of the English regular army about 200,000 men.—*Parl. Deb.*, ix. iii. App.

varied duties of a campaign which actual service alone can give, the English soldiers, from the very first, had the animating conviction that they were their equals, possibly their superiors, in actual combat; and that all the advantages of their veteran opponents would be at an end if once they engaged in a regular battle. And so it proved even from the outset; and it is inconceivable how soon this one quality of *dogged resolution in the field* came to neutralise all the superiority of acquired skill and veteran discipline. The military is essentially a practical art; its wants and necessities are soon brought home by actual experience and suffering to an army in the field. But no amount of experience or discipline can supply the want of individual courage; with it, all the rest is easily acquired. If it possesses the resolution to fight, and the discipline to obey, a very short time will supply the rest. There is no education so rapid and effectual as that which takes place in the presence of an enemy.

24. Of various natural and acquired excellence, it is hard to say whether, in the Peninsular war, the British or French soldiers, after a few years, were the most admirable. In the service of light troops; in undergoing with cheerfulness the fatigues of a campaign; in dexterity at making themselves comfortable under privation; in rapidity of firing, care of their horses by the cavalry, and enthusiastic gallantry at the first onset, the French troops for a long period had the advantage; and this, joined to their almost invariable superiority of numbers, had ordinarily turned the general issue of the campaign in their favour. But when the hostile lines actually met, and the national resolution was fairly put to the test, the British soldiers from the very beginning successfully asserted their superiority. It is a most extraordinary fact, but one which this History will abundantly demonstrate, that in every battle between the English and the French, from the beginning to the end of the Peninsular war, without exception the former were victorious, although they were for the most part inexperienced

at first in actual warfare, and their opponents had been trained in fifteen years of conflict and victory. Splendid in appearance, overflowing with courage, irresistible in a single charge, the British cavalry could hardly be said to be equal—at least for general service, or the protracted fatigues of a campaign—to that of Napoleon: a remarkable circumstance, when the great attention bestowed on horses in England is taken into consideration. But their artillery, superior to any in the world in the admirable equipment of the guns and ammunition train, was second to none in the coolness and practice of the gunners; and in the steadiness and precision of their fire, the constancy which they displayed under danger, their calmness in anger, and the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, the British infantry were beyond all question the first in Europe.*

25. In one important particular, the English army was formed upon an entirely different principle from the French. In the latter, the officers constituted in no degree a separate class from the soldiers; the equality, which was the object of universal desire at the outset of the Revolution, and the conscription, which reached indiscriminately all ranks in its later stages, alike forbade any such line of demarcation. Thus, not only had all the marshals and generals in the service originally entered on the military career in the ranks, but to such as survived the rapid consumption of life in the imperial wars, promotion was still certain from the humblest station to the highest grades in the army. In the former, again, a line, in practice almost impassable, separated the private soldier from the officer; they were drawn from different classes in society, accustomed to different habits, instructed by a different education, actuated by different desires. To the French conscript, glory, promotion, the prospect of ultimate greatness, were the

* "The English soldier," says General Foy, "possesses the quality most precious in war, calmness in anger"—(le calme dans la colère).—Foy, i. 227.

chief stimulants to exertion; in the English army, though the influence of such desires was strongly felt by the officers, yet the efforts of the common men were principally excited by a different set of motives. A sense of military duty, the wish to win the respect of their comrades, an instinctive principle of courage, an anxious desire to uphold the renown of their regiment, a firm determination to defend the cause of Old England, and an undoubting faith in the superiority of its arms, constituted the real springs of military exertion.

26. The great majority of the English soldiers felt no desire to be made officers. To become sergeants and corporals was, indeed, a very general and deserved object of ambition to the meritorious privates, because that elevated them in, without taking them out of, their own sphere in life; but they felt that they would be uncomfortable in the daily society of the commissioned officers, their superiors in birth, habits, and acquirements. And though many, in the course of the war, from the force of extraordinary merit, broke through these restraints, and some discharged in the most exemplary manner the duties of the most elevated ranks, who had originally borne a musket on their shoulders, yet in general the situation of privates who had risen to the officers' mess was not so comfortable as to render the change an object of general desire.

27. It may appear paradoxical to assert, but it is nevertheless strictly true, that this feeling of the propriety of each class striving to become respectable in itself, without seeking to overstep its limits, is the natural effect of long-established freedom and order; and is much more nearly allied to the genuine spirit of liberty than the feverish desire of individual elevation, which, throughout all its phases, was the mainspring of the French Revolution. Where each class is respectable and protected in itself, it feels its own importance, and often disdains to seek admission into that next in succession. The universal passion for individual exaltation is the offspring of a state of society where

the rights and immunities of the humbler ranks have been habitually, by all persons in power, trampled under foot. The clearest proof of this is to be found in daily experience. The men who throughout so many ages have maintained the liberties of England, are not those who were striving perpetually to elevate themselves by a sudden start above their neighbours, but those who, by a life of unobtrusive honest industry, have risen to comfort or opulence in their own sphere, without any desire to leave it. And the strength of the state at present is not to be found in the anxious aspirants after aristocratic favour, or the giddy candidates for fashionable distinction, but in the unheeded efforts of that more numerous but unobserved class, which is too proud of its own rank to aspire to any above it.

28. An iron discipline had given the military force, thus constituted, a degree of firmness and regularity unknown to any other service in Europe. The use of the lash—that terrible remnant of savage rule—was still painfully frequent; and instances were not uncommon of soldiers, for inconsiderable offences, receiving five hundred, eight hundred, and even one thousand stripes—an amount of torture equal perhaps to any ever inflicted by the Inquisition. But though the friends of humanity beheld with horror this barbarous infliction, so foreign to the spirit of the English constitution, and one disused in the French and several other Continental armies, yet the experienced observers, who considered the character of the class from which the English recruits were almost exclusively drawn, and the impossibility of giving them the prospect of promotion which operated so strongly on French conscripts, still hesitated as to the practicability of abolishing this painful and terrible correction, though they strenuously contended for the limitation of its frightful barbarity. They regarded its disgrace as the price paid by the nation for the democratic economy, which denied to the soldiers such a pay as would secure for the ranks of its army a class with whom

such inflictions might be unnecessary, or render expulsion from these ranks a sufficient object of dread; and that constitution which, by confining commissions in the military service to men of family and property, possessed of a permanent interest in the commonwealth, had obtained the best possible security against its force being applied to the destruction of the public liberties.

29. Better fed, clothed, lodged, and paid than any other in Europe, the English soldier had an attention devoted to his wants, both in health and sickness, and experienced an integrity in the administration of every department of the army, which could be attained only in a country where habits of freedom have long co-existed with those of order, and experience had pointed out the mode of effectually checking the abuses which invariably have a tendency to grow up in every branch of the public administration.

* General Foy has left a graphic picture of the different habits of the English and French soldiers during a campaign in the Peninsular war, of the truth of which everyone must, to a certain degree, be convinced. "Behold," says he, "the French battalions, when they arrive at their bivouacs after a long and painful march. No sooner have the drums ceased to beat, than the havresacks of the soldiers, disposed round the piles of arms, mark out the ground where they are to pass the night. They put off their coats: clothed only in their greatcoats, they run to collect provisions, water, and straw. The fires are lighted; the soup is soon prepared; trees brought from the adjoining wood are rudely

sarracks are raised; the air resounds with the sounds of the hatchet; while the soup is preparing, the young men, impatient of their idleness, clean their arms, arrange their knapsacks, clean their gaiters. The soup is soon ready: if wine is wanting, the conversation soon flags, and the noisy multitude is speedily buried in sleep. If, on the other hand, the generous fluid circulates, joyous looks follow the barrels as they are brought on men's backs into the centres of the rings; the veterans recount to the young conscripts the battles in which their regiment has acquired so much renown, and the universal business when the Emperor mounted on his

... suddenly appeared among them. "Turn now to the English camp. You see the soldiers exhausted and motionless, reclining on the ground: are they waiting like the Spahis in the Turkish camp till the slaves prepare their victuals? No! they have made at leisure a very moderate march, and

Pensions, varying according to the period or the amount of service, secured for the veteran, the maimed, or the wounded, an adequate maintenance for the remainder of life. True, he fought—in the language of Colonel Napier—in the cold shade of aristocracy; true, he could not boast that the rays of imperial favour would be attracted by the helmet of the cuirassier, or the bayonet of the grenadier; but he was sure, from good conduct, of obtaining that respect in his own sphere, and those substantial advantages, which were adapted to his situation and his wishes. Experience has abundantly proved that the concentration of government support on those whose only title to power is military distinction, is a sure prelude to unbridled administration; and that, if the soldier no longer fought in the cold shade of aristocracy, the citizen would pine in the hopeless frost of military despotism.*

have reached at two in the afternoon the ground they are to occupy for the night. Bread and meat are brought; the sergeant makes the distribution; he tells them where they will find water and straw, and where the trees which are to be felled will be found. When the logs arrive, he shows where each is to be placed; he reprimands the unskilful, and stimulates the lazy. Where is the industrious enterprising spirit of that nation which has outstripped all others in vigour and intelligence? Out of their own routine the soldiers can do nothing: if once the restraints of discipline are broken, excesses of every kind are indulged in, and intemperance prevails to a degree which would astonish the Cossacks themselves. Nevertheless, do not hazard an attack unless you are well assured of success: the English soldier is not brave at times merely; he is so whenever he has eat well, drunk well, and slept well. Yet their courage, rather instinctive than acquired, has need of solid nutriment; and no thoughts of glory will ever make them forget that they are hungry, or that their shoes are worn out.

"Nor is the difference less remarkable in the superior officers. While a French general of division is occupied during the leisure moments of a campaign in studying the topography of the country, or the disposition of its inhabitants; in attending to the nourishment, drilling, or haranguing of his troops; in endeavouring to persuade the Spanish people to adopt the system of administration, or yield to the political conduct of his country—the English general opposed to him spends his time between the chase, riding on horseback, and the pleasures of the table. The first, alternately governor, engineer, commissary,

30. Nor was the inequality of force with which this great struggle was to be conducted so great in its progress as it appeared in the outset. Napoleon, indeed, commenced the contest with a hundred and fifteen thousand infantry, and sixteen thousand horse, in the Peninsula,* and the possession of all the most important strongholds which it contained; and the French force permanently maintained over its surface, after the British troops landed, exceeded two hundred and fifty, and rose at times as high as three hundred and fifty thousand men; while there never were so many as fifty thousand

has his mind continually on the stretch; his daily occupations lead to an enlargement of his intellect, and a continual extension of his sphere of activity. The other, as indifferent to the localities of the country in which he makes war, as to the language, disposition, or prejudices of its inhabitants, applies to the commissary to supply provisions; to the quarter-master-general for information concerning the country in which he has to act, and the marches he has to perform; to the adjutant-general for any other supplies of which he may stand in need. Unless when employed in a separate command, he seeks to narrow the sphere of his exertions and responsibility. He leads on his troops in battle with the most admirable courage; but in cantonments his habitual exertions are limited to superintending the police of his troops, seeing that their exercises are daily performed, and transmitting reports to his superiors." Notwithstanding his admirable general candour, the French general appears, in this graphic description, to have been somewhat influenced by the prejudices of his country, though the outline of the sketch is undoubtedly correct. But the military is essentially a practical art; and notwithstanding all their riding and hunting, experience soon made the English generals as expert at all the really useful parts of their profession as the more inquisitive and instructed Frenchmen; and they are not the worst soldiers who, without disquieting themselves with the duties or designs of their superiors, are at all times ready with undaunted courage to carry them into effect.

* Viz., In Spain—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.
Dupont's corps, . . .	24,428	4,056
Moncey's do.	20,341	3,660
Bessières' do.	19,096	1,881
Duhesme's do.	12,724	2,085
Imperial Guard, . . .	6,412	3,800

In Portugal—

Junot's corps,	24,978	1,771
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116,979 + 16,901

Besides 44,874 infantry, and 4,685 cavalry, who arrived on the Ebro by the 1st August 1808.—*For, iv. Table 1, Appendix.*

British soldiers in the Peninsula. Indeed, the actual force under the standards of Wellington seldom exceeded thirty, and was generally for the first three years not above twenty-five thousand English sabres and bayonets. Still this force formed the nucleus of an army which, with the addition of the Portuguese levies of equal amount, disciplined and led by British officers, soon became extremely formidable; and from the position which it occupied, backed by the sea, the true base of British military operations, and on the flank of the French armies dispersed through the Peninsula, became more than a match for double the amount of the enemy.

31. In a fortunate central position in Portugal, resting on what became, under the tutelary genius of Wellington, an impregnable intrenched position in front of Lisbon, afforded to a commander of talent a favourable opportunity of striking serious blows at the enemy before their dispersed forces could collect from different quarters. If they did so, the insurrection burst forth again in the provinces they had evacuated; if they remained long together, famine, in an inland country so largely intersected by arid plains or desert ridges, soon paralysed any considerable offensive operations. The truth of the old saying of Henry IV., "If you make war in Spain with a small army, you are beaten—if with a large one, starved," was never more strongly evinced than in the Peninsular campaigns. Though Wellington frequently experienced this difficulty in the severest manner, when he advanced into the interior of the country, yet his army, in the general case, from its vicinity to the sea-coast of Portugal, or the water-carriage of its principal rivers, was in comparison abundantly supplied with provisions; and though he was in general inferior in number to the enemy, sometimes to a very great degree, when he hazarded a battle, yet the discrepancy in this respect was never so great as the extraordinary difference in the sum-total of the regular forces which the two nations had in the field might have led us to expect.

32. The military establishment of Spain, when the contest commenced at the signal of the French cannon in the streets of Madrid on the 2d May, was by no means considerable. It consisted, in 1807, of eighty thousand troops of the line, besides sixteen thousand cavalry and thirty thousand militia; but the ranks were far from being complete, and the total effective force, including the militia, was under a hundred thousand men. From this number were to be deducted sixteen thousand under Romana in Holstein, six thousand in Tuscany, or on the march thence to the north of Germany, and the garrisons of the Canary and Balearic Isles. Thus the troops that could be brought into the field did not at the utmost exceed seventy thousand, of whom twenty thousand were already partially concentrated in the Alentejo and Oporto, and the only considerable body of the remainder, about ten thousand strong, was in the lines of St Roque, at Gibraltar. The composition of this force was still less formidable than its numerical amount. Enervated by a long Continental peace, the soldiers had lost much of the spirit and discipline of war; the men, enrolled for the most part by voluntary enlistment, and only in case of necessity, and in some of the provinces, by conscription, were sober, active, and brave. But the officers were, in most instances, extremely deficient, both in the knowledge and proper feelings of their profession; and the proportion which they bore to the common men, as in the French army previous to the Revolution, was altogether excessive. The common men were ill fed and clothed, and habitually cheated by their officers in their food and equipment. The navy was in a still worse condition: it was reduced to thirty-three ships of the line and six frigates, of which only six were equipped and fit for service.

33. Like the land forces, the navy was devoured by a host of supernumerary and useless officers, who did nothing but consume the funds which should have gone to the sailors' support. They were, indeed, for the

most part, men of family—a certain proof of descent being necessary to obtaining commissions in two-thirds of the military offices at the disposal of government. But the restriction afforded no security either for extended information or generous sentiments in a country where four hundred thousand *hidalgos*, too proud to work, too indolent to learn, loitered away an inglorious life, basking in the sun, or lounging in the billiard-rooms, or coffee-houses of the great towns. From this ignorant and conceited class the great bulk of the officers of all ranks were taken; not more than three or four of the high nobility held situations in the army when the war broke out. Leading an indolent life in towns, sleeping half the day in uncomfortable barracks, associating indiscriminately with the common soldiers, many of whom were superior in birth and intelligence to themselves, and knowing no enjoyments but idleness, gallantry, and billiards, they were as deficient in the energy and vigour which the Revolution had developed in the French, as in the sentiments of honour and integrity which the habits of a monarchy tempered by freedom had nursed in the English army. It was easy to foresee that no reliance could be placed, in a protracted struggle, on this debilitated force. Yet such is the importance of discipline and military organisation, even in their most defective form, in warlike operations, that the only great success achieved in the field by the Spaniards during the whole war was owing to its exertions.

34. Though Portugal had a surface of only 5035 square geographical leagues, or 40,000 square geographical miles, being not quite half of the British Islands, and a population of somewhat above three millions, instead of the twelve millions which were contained in Spain, yet it possessed in itself the elements of a more efficient military force than its powerful neighbour. The invaluable institution of *ordenanzas*, or local militia, had survived the usurpation of Spain; and during twenty-seven campaigns which followed the restoration of the inde-

pendence of the country in 1640, it had rendered more important services to the state than the regular army. By the Portuguese law, every person, from the age of eighteen to that of sixty years, is legally obliged to join the battalions arrayed in defence of the country. These battalions consist of two hundred and fifty men each, under the command of the chief landed proprietors of the district; and such is the native strength of a country so defended, that, with a very little aid from England, it had enabled the Portuguese for two centuries to maintain their independence. The physical peculiarities of the country rendered it singularly well adapted for the active operations of an irregular force of this description. Intersected in many directions, but especially to the north of the Tagus, by lofty sierras, terminating in sharp inaccessible cliffs, which rise, even in that favoured latitude, almost into the region of eternal snow; destitute for the most part of roads, and such as do exist perpetually crossing rivers without bridges, or ravines affording the most favourable positions for a defensive army; covered with Moorish towers or castles perched on the summits of rocks, or villages in general surrounded by defensive walls; inhabited by a bold, active, and independent peasantry, long habituated to the use of arms, and backed by impregnable mountain ridges washed by the sea, Portugal presented the most advantageous fulcrum which Europe could afford whereon to rest the military efforts of England.

35. But these advantages were all dependent on the physical situation and natural character of the inhabitants, or the consequences of the former and more glorious epochs of their history. At the period when the Peninsular war broke out, no country could be in a more debilitated state, as far as either political vigour or military efficiency is concerned. Corruption pervaded every department of the public service, to such an extent as to be apparently irremediable. The army, ill-fed, worse paid, and overrun, like that of Spain, by a swarm of titled

locusts who devoured the pay of the soldier and did nothing, was both an unpopular and inefficient service. Forty thousand men, including eight thousand cavalry, of whom the troops of the line nominally consisted, might have furnished an excellent base whereon, with the addition of the militia and ordenanzas, to construct a powerful military establishment. But such were the abuses with which the service was infested, and the ignorance of the officers in command, that hardly any reliance could be placed on its operations; and it was not till they were recast in the mould of British integrity, and led by the intrepidity of British officers, that the Portuguese arms reappeared with their ancient lustre on the theatre of Europe.

36. In the disposition of his force when the contest commenced, Napoleon had principally in view to overawe and secure the metropolis, conceiving that Madrid was like Paris or Vienna, and that there was little chance of the country holding out for any length of time against the power in command of the capital. The Imperial Guards, with the corps of Moncey and Dupont, were assembled in that city or its immediate neighbourhood; and, as this concentration of above fifty thousand men in the heart of the kingdom exposed the communication with the Pyrenees to danger, the Emperor was indefatigable in his endeavours to form a powerful corps of reserve at Burgos and Vittoria, under Marshal Bessières. With such success were his efforts attended, that by the beginning of June this able officer had twenty-three thousand men under his standards. At the same period the troops under D'Armes, in the fortresses of Barcelona and Figueras in Catalonia, numbered above fifteen thousand men, sufficient, it was hoped, to overawe the discontented in that province. Thus, after making every allowance for the detachments necessary to maintain the capital and frontier fortresses, and keep up the communications, fifty thousand men, with eighty guns, were ready in the north and centre of Spain to commence offensive

operations—a force amply sufficient, if concentrated, to crush any attempt at resistance which could have been made in the Peninsula. But the composition of these troops was very unequal; and though the Imperial Guard and some of the veteran divisions in the capital were in the finest state of discipline and efficiency, yet this was by no means the case with the whole army. All, indeed, partook of the admirable organisation of the French service, yet the ranks were for the most part filled up with raw conscripts, hardly yet instructed in the rudiments of the military art. Had it not been for the excellence of the skeletons on which they were formed, and the officers by whom they were directed, the difference between them and the insurgent peasantry would not have been very considerable. They were very different from the soldiers of Austerlitz, Jena, or Friedland: the enormous consumption of life in those bloody campaigns had almost destroyed the incomparable army which, disciplined on the heights of Boulogne, had so long chained victory to the imperial eagles; and what remained of it was still on the Oder or the Vistula, to retain the Emperor's supremacy in the north of Europe.

37. Such was the situation of the French army when the insurrection at once broke out in every part of the Peninsula. It burst forth with such force and unanimity in all the provinces, that it could not have been more simultaneous if an electric shock had at once struck the whole population. With the intelligence of the commotion and massacre at Madrid, a convulsive thrill ran through every fibre of Spain. The sense of their wrongs, the humiliation of their situation, the thirst for vengeance, broke at once upon the people, and one universal cry to arms was heard from one end of the kingdom to the other. Everywhere the peasantry met together in tumultuous crowds. From town to town, from village to village, from hamlet to hamlet, the news flew with incredible rapidity; and as the French troops, though in possession of

the capital and frontier fortresses, were by no means scattered over the country, the proceedings of the insurgents hardly anywhere met with molestation. The excitement was universal: the young and the old, the feeble and the strong, the shepherds of the mountains and the cultivators of the plains, the citizens of the towns and the peasantry of the country, all shared in the general transport. Arms were quickly sent for and obtained from the nearest depots in the district; officers and colonels of battalions elected; provisional juntas of government formed in the chief towns, to direct the affairs of the provinces; and, in the absence of all central authority, local governments soon sprang up in every part of the kingdom. Spain awoke from the slumber of centuries, and started at once to her feet with the vigour and resolution of an armed man. Passing over in disdain the degradation or insignificance of the Bourbon dynasty, the people came forth fresh for the combat, glowing with the recollections of the Cid and Pelajo, and the long struggle with the Moors, and the heroic days of the monarchy.

38. Nor was this extraordinary and unanimous burst of feeling lost in mere empty ebullition. Resolving, with a facility peculiar to themselves, into the pristine elements of the monarchy, the different provinces, with unparalleled rapidity, formed separate and independent juntas of government, which early gave a systematic direction to their efforts, and effected the formation of numerous and enthusiastic legions for their defence. It was easy to foresee how prejudicial to any combined or efficient general operations this unavoidable partition of the directing power into so many separate and independent assemblies must in the end necessarily prove. But, in the first instance, it tended strongly to promote the progress of the insurrection, by establishing in every province a centre of insulated, detached, and often ill-advised, but still vigorous operations. Before the middle of June, numerous bodies

were raised, armed, and to a certain degree disciplined in all the provinces; and a hundred and fifty thousand men were ready to support the regular army. Even the presence of the French garrisons in the capital and the frontier fortresses could not repress the general effervescence. Almost all the regular soldiers in Madrid escaped, and joined the insurgent bands of New Castile; under the very guns of their strong castles of Montjuich and St Juan de Fernando, alarming symptoms of disaffection appeared in Barcelona, and Figueras, and their Spanish garrisons almost all made their escape to the enemy. Spain proved true to her old character; the lapse of eighteen hundred years had made no alteration on the disposition of her inhabitants.

39. In the northern provinces, especially Catalonia, Asturias, Leon, and Galicia, the insurrection took place, and the provincial juntas were established, in a comparatively regular manner, without any of the usual frightful ebullitions of popular passion. But it was far otherwise in the cities of the south and east of Spain. The usual vehemence and intemperance of the unbridled populace of great towns, was there increased by the fiery intermixture of Moorish blood. Frightful atrocities were committed. At Badajoz, the governor, who endeavoured to restrain the furious multitude which surrounded his house clamouring for arms, was dragged out and murdered; numbers were massacred, on the supposition of being agents or partisans of the French, at Carthagena, Granada, Carolina, Cadiz, and other places; and at Cadiz a fearful altercation took place between the governor, Solano, who refused to commence the hostilities which were required of him against the French squadron of five ships of the line, which had lain in the harbour since the battle of Trafalgar, and the ardent populace, who clamoured for an immediate attack. Independent of a secret leaning to the French interest, he naturally hesitated, as an officer of prudence and honour, at taking the

decisive step of attacking, without any previous declaration of war or authority from the executive power, a squadron of an allied state which had taken refuge in Cadiz during the hostilities with Great Britain; and he openly expressed an apprehension that, during these dissensions, the English would break in and destroy the fleets of both contending parties. Finding that the popular effervescence was becoming too strong to be openly resisted, he endeavoured to temporise, called a council of war, and gave symptoms of submission to the public wish. But the populace, distrusting his sincerity, broke into his hotel, and chased him into the house of Mr Strange, an English merchant, where he was discovered by a set of bloodthirsty assassins, who dragged him from his place of concealment, notwithstanding the courageous efforts of Mrs Strange to save his life, and massacred him while on the road towards the gallows. He met his fate with dignity and composure, bidding his heroic supporter, Mrs Strange, farewell till eternity. Don Thomas Morla, the second in command, was next day nominated to the government of Cadiz by popular acclamation, and immediately entered on the duties of his important office.

40. At Valencia the first burst of popular indignation was accompanied by still more frightful atrocities. Three hundred French merchants or traders had long been established in that city, and when the insurrection broke out there in the end of May, they all, as a measure of precaution, took refuge in, or were sent to the citadel, where they were supposed to be safe from any violence that might arise. An ardent, resolute, and able Franciscan monk, Juan Rico, early acquired, by his powers of public speaking, the lead in the movement; but the junta elected for the government was composed, as in most other instances, of a mixture of persons of patrician and plebeian origin. The people, however, from the first conceived a jealousy of the nobles; and to such a height did that feeling arrive, that the commander of the

troops, Don Fernando Saavedra, was massacred before the eyes of the Count de Cervellon, a nobleman of the popular side, to whose palace he had fled for safety. This deed of blood was but the prelude to still greater atrocities; and the popular appetite for slaughter being once aroused, the multitude fell, as usual in such circumstances, under the direction of the most worthless and sanguinary leaders. In Valencia there appeared at this period one of those infamous characters who degrade the human race by their cruel deeds, and who is worthy of a place in history beside Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, and the other political fanatics whose atrocities have for ever stained the annals of the French Revolution. Padre Balthasar Calvo, a canon of Madrid, denounced the fugitives in the citadel to the mob, as being in correspondence with Murat for the purpose of betraying that stronghold to the French troops. As invariably ensues in such moments of excitement, strong assertions passed for proofs with the multitude, and no difficulty was experienced in finding persons to undertake the most sanguinary designs. A general massacre of the unfortunate French was resolved on, and its execution fixed for the 5th June.

41. Mingling perfidly with cruelty, Calvo, on the evening of that day, repaired to the citadel, and told the trembling inmates, who already had conceived, from vague rumours, apprehensions of their fate, that their destruction was resolved on, and that their only remaining chance of safety was to avail themselves of the means of escape which, from an impulse of Christian charity, he had prepared for them. Trusting to these perfidious assurances, the unhappy victims agreed to his proposal, and two hundred of them set forth by the wicket through the walls, which, according to his promise, was left open for them. No sooner had this flight begun, than Calvo, with a band of assassins, hastened to the spot, and spreading the cry that the French were escaping, so worked upon the passions of the popu-

lace assembled as to induce them to join his murderers, and they were all massacred without mercy. Wearied with slaughter, and yielding to the solicitations of some benevolent ecclesiastics, who earnestly besought them to desist, the assassins at length agreed to spare those who still survived in the citadel; but no sooner did Calvo hear of this returning feeling of humanity than he hastened to the spot, and conducted the remaining prisoners outside the walls to a ruined tower called the Tour de Cuarte. There he spread a false report that papers had been found upon them, proving a design to deliver up the citadel to the French; and the mob, again infuriated, fell upon their victims, and despatched them to a man.

42. Above three hundred French citizens, wholly innocent of the misdeeds of their Emperor, perished on that dreadful night. The junta were overawed; the magistrates of the city, elected by popular suffrage, proved powerless, as might have been expected, in repressing these excesses. Calvo, unopposed, drunk with blood, not only despatched his orders from the citadel during the whole massacre like a sovereign prince, but in the morning was named a member of the junta, at the very moment that Rico was concerting measures for his apprehension, and took his seat, with his clothes yet drenched with gore, at the council-board of government! It affords some consolation to the friends of virtue to know, that the triumph of this miscreant was not of long duration. Excited almost to insanity by his execrable success, he openly aspired to supreme power, and had already given orders for the apprehension of the other members of the government, when a sense of their common danger made them unite, like the Convention on the 9th Thermidor, against the tyrant. He was suddenly arrested and sent to Minorca, before the mob, who certainly would have rescued him and massacred the junta, were aware of his seizure. There he was strangled in prison, and the government having regained their authority by this vigorous

act, two hundred of his associates underwent the same fate. A severe but necessary deed of public justice, which at least rescued the nation generally from the disgrace of these atrocious deeds, and one indicating a very different standard of public morality from that which prevailed in France during its Revolution, where not only were such crimes almost invariably committed with impunity, but their perpetrators were elevated to the highest situations in the state.*

43. These deplorable disorders sufficiently demonstrated that the best of causes cannot obviate the dangers of popular insurrection, and that, unless the higher orders and holders of property early and courageously exert themselves to obtain its direction, a revolutionary movement, even when called forth by the noblest motives and in the national defence, speedily falls under the guidance of the most depraved of the people. But by adopting this prudent and patriotic course, the higher classes at Seville succeeded not only in preserving their own city from servile atrocities, but acquired an ascendancy which was attended with the greatest public benefit, and gave their junta almost the general management of the affairs of Spain. There, as elsewhere in the south, the public

* Only one prisoner escaped this hideous massacre. Chances had selected for his murderer a man whom he had frequently relieved in prison; the wretch recognised his benefactor, and though he twice raised his dagger to strike him, yet twice a sense of pity arrested his uplifted arm, and at length he suffered him to escape in the obscurity of the night among the populace. An extraordinary instance of presence of mind occurred in the daughter of the Count de Cervellon. The people, distrustful of their leaders, had insisted that the mail from Madrid should be brought to the Count, and the letters it contained publicly read; hardly was it opened when one from the *Aurdo Real* was discovered, to Murat, exculpating himself from the share he had taken in the insurrection, and demanding troops. The courageous young lady, who was present, instantly seized the letter and tore it in pieces in presence of the multitude, saying it related to her own private affairs; thereby saving the whole members of the junta from immediate death, though at the imminent hazard of her own life.—SOURREY, i. 367; and TORANO, i. 234, 235.

effervescence began with murder, and the Count d'Aguilar, one of the chief magistrates and most enlightened citizens, who became the innocent object of their suspicion, fell a victim to the ungovernable passions of the populace, who, when too late, lamented the irreparable crime they had committed. Speedily, however, the junta was elected; and happily, though all ranks were represented, a preponderance of votes, out of the twenty-three members of which it was composed, was in the hands of the nobility. The wisdom of the choice which had been made soon appeared in the measures which were adopted. Immediately they despatched couriers to Cadiz and Algeiras, to secure the assistance of the naval and military forces which were there assembled; and by the aid of CASTANOS, the commander of the latter, who was at the head of the troops before Gibraltar in the camp of St Roque, and who had already entered into communication with Sir Hugh Dalrymple, the governor of that fortress, the entire co-operation of the army was secured.

44. A violent demagogue, named Tap-y-Nunez, who had acquired a great sway over the populace, and who required that the nobility should be expelled from the junta, was arrested and sent to Cadiz; and this necessary act of vigour confirmed the authority of the provisional government. At its head was Don Francisco Saavedra, who had formerly been minister of finance, and P. Gil de Sevilla, who had both been sufferers under Godoy's administration; and the combined prudence and energy of their measures formed a striking contrast to the conceit, declamation, and imbecility which in many other quarters of the Peninsula, afterwards rendered nugatory all the enthusiasm of the people. The regular troops were immediately directed towards the Sierra Morena to secure the passes; a general levy of all persons between the years of eighteen and forty-five was ordered; subsidiary juntas were formed in all the towns of Andalusia; the great foundry of cannon at Seville, the only one in the

south of Spain, was put into full activity, and arms and clothing were manufactured. War was soon after declared in a formal manner against France, and a manifesto issued, which not only eloquently defended the national cause, but contained the most admirable instructions as to the mode of successfully combating the formidable enemy with whom they had to contend. This declaration from so great a city, containing seventy thousand inhabitants, and embracing all the

* In this proclamation, which may be considered as the national declaration of Spain against France, it was not less justly than eloquently observed—"The King, to whom we all swore allegiance with emotions of joy unprecedented in history, has been decoyed from us; the fundamental laws of our monarchy have been trampled under foot; our property, customs, religion, laws, wives and children, are threatened with destruction. And a foreign power has done this: done it, too, not by force of arms, but by deceit and treachery; by converting the very persons who call themselves the heads of our government into instruments of these atrocious acts. It therefore became indispensable to break our shackles, and to put forth that noble courage with which in all former ages the Spanish people have defended their monarch, their laws, their honour, their religion. The people of Seville have assembled, and, through the medium of all their magistrates and constituted authorities, and the most respectable individuals of every rank, formed this Supreme Council of Government. We accept the heroic trust; we swear to discharge it; and we reckon on the strength and energy of the whole nation. We have again proclaimed Ferdinand VII.; again sworn allegiance to him; sworn to die in his defence: this was the signal of our union, and it will prove the forerunner of happiness and glory to Spain.

"The abdication, extorted by such detestable artifices from Ferdinand, was void, from want of authority in him who made it. The monarchy was not his to bestow, nor is Spain composed of animals subject to the absolute control of their owners. His title to the throne was founded on his royal descent and the fundamental laws of the realm. His resignation is void from the state of compulsion in which it was made, from the want of consent in the nation to which it related, from the want of concurrence in the foreign princes, the next heirs in succession to the throne. The French Emperor summoned a few deputies, devoted to himself, to deliberate in a foreign country, and surrounded by foreign bayonets, on the most sacred concerns of the nation; while he publicly declared a respectful letter, written to him by Ferdinand VII. when Prince of Asturias, was a criminal act, injurious to the rights of the sovereign! He has resorted to every other

nobility of the south of Spain within its walls, was of the utmost consequence, and gave, both in reality and in the eyes of Europe, a degree of consistency to the insurrection which it could never otherwise have obtained.*

45. The first important blow struck at the French was delivered at Cadiz. The fleet there, consisting of five ships of the line and one frigate, the only existing remnant of that which had fought at Trafalgar, early excited the jealousy of the inhabitants, to whom

means to deceive us; he has distributed, with boundless profusion, liels to corrupt public opinion, in which, under the mask of respect for the laws and our holy religion, he covertly insults both. He assures us that the Supreme Pontiff sanctions his proceedings, while it is notorious that he has despoiled him of his dominions, and forced him to dismiss his cardinals to prevent him from conducting the government of the Church according to its fundamental constitution. Every consideration calls on us to unite and frustrate views so atrocious. No revolution exists in Spain; our sole object is to defend all we hold most sacred against the invader who would treacherously despoil us of our religion, our monarch, our laws. Let us therefore sacrifice everything in a cause so just; and if we are to lose all, let us lose it combating like brave men. Let all, therefore, unite: the wisest and ablest, in refuting the falsehoods propagated by the enemy; the church, in imploring the assistance of the God of hosts; the young and active in marching against the enemy. The Almighty will vouchsafe His protection to so just a cause; Europe will applaud our efforts, and hasten to our assistance; Italy, Germany, the North, suffering under the despotism of France, will eagerly avail themselves of the example set them by Spain to shake off the yoke, and recover their liberty, their laws, their independence, of which they have been robbed by that nation."

Special and prudent instructions were at the same time given for the conduct of the war. "All general actions are to be avoided as perfectly hopeless and highly dangerous: a war of partisans is what suits both our national character and physical circumstances. Each province should have its junta, its generals, its local government, but there should be three generals-in-chief; one for Andalusia, Murcia, and Lower Estremadura; one for Galicia, Leon, the Castiles, and Asturias; one for Valencia, Aragon, and Catalonia. France has never dominated over us, nor set foot with impunity in our territory. We have often mastered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her kings prisoners, and the nation tremble. We are the same Spaniards, and France and Europe and the world shall see we have not degenerated from our ancestors."—*Proclamation of the Junta of Seville*, June 6, 1808; *SOUTHEY*, i. 382, 393.

the French flag had become an object of perfect abhorrence; while Lord Collingwood, at the head of the English squadron which lay off the harbour, effectually prevented their departure. To withdraw as far as possible from the danger, Rosilly, the French admiral, warped his ships in the canal of Caracca to such a distance as to be beyond the reach of the fire both of the castles and the fleet; and at the same time endeavoured, by negotiating, to gain time for the arrival of the succours under Dupont, which he was aware were rapidly approaching through La Mancha and the Sierra Morena. Equally sensible, however, with his skilful opponent, of the importance of time in the operation, the Spanish general Morla insisted upon an immediate surrender, and constructed batteries in such places as to command the French ships even in their new stations. Lord Collingwood, who, with the English fleet in the bay, was an impatient spectator of these hostile preparations, offered the assistance of the British squadron to insure the reduction of the enemy; but the offer was courteously declined, from a wish, no doubt, that England might have no ground for any claim to the prizes which were expected. At length, on the 9th June, a sufficient number of guns being mounted, a heavy fire was opened upon the French ships, which, as they lay in a situation where they could not make any reply, soon produced a sensible effect, and led to a negotiation that terminated in the unconditional surrender of the whole fleet five days afterwards. Thus was the last remnant of that proud armament, which was intended to convey the invincible legions of Napoleon to the British shores, finally reft from the arms of France, and that, too, by the forces of the very allies who were then ranged by their side for the subjugation of England, but had since been alienated by his treacherous aggression.

46. In the northern provinces the insurrection spread with much fewer circumstances of atrocity, but an almost equal degree of enthusiasm. Excepting

Barcelona, Figueras, San Sebastian, and a few other places, where the presence of the French garrisons overawed the people, they everywhere rose in arms against their oppressors. A junta for the Asturias was formed before the end of May at Oviedo, the capital of that province—the first which was organised in Spain, and which thus gave to its inhabitants a second time the honour of having taken the lead in the deliverance of the Peninsula. The first step of this body was to despatch deputies to England, soliciting arms, ammunition, and money, whose arrival produced an extraordinary impression, as will immediately be shown, in the British Isles. The junta of Galicia, secure behind their almost inaccessible mountains, took the most vigorous measures to organise the insurrection; and not only arrayed all the regular soldiers at Ferrol and Corunna under its standard, but summoned the Spanish troops in Portugal, ten thousand strong, to join them without delay—a summons which was immediately obeyed by the whole body, who set out for Galicia by the route of Trass-os-Montes, and thus laid the foundation of a powerful force on the flank and rear of the invaders' communications. A junta was formed at Lerida, which assumed the general direction of the affairs of Catalonia, and soon arrayed thirty thousand hardy mountaineers under the national colours; while, nothing daunted by the proximity to France, and the alarming vicinity of powerful French corps, the Aragonese proclaimed Ferdinand VII. at Saragossa; and after choosing for their commander the young and gallant Palafox, who had attended Ferdinand to Bayonne, and escaped from that fortress, issued a proclamation, in which they declared their resolution, should the royal family be detained in captivity or destroyed by Napoleon, of exercising their right of election in favour of the Archduke Charles, as grandson of Charles III. and one of the imperial branch of the Spanish family.

47. From the outset Napoleon was

fully impressed with the importance and danger of this contest, and in an especial manner alive to the vital consequences of preserving entire the communications of the army, which had been pushed forward into the very heart of the kingdom, with the French frontier. Murat, after the catastrophe of 2d May, had been taken ill and withdrawn from Madrid, and was on his route to take possession of the throne destined for him on the shores of Naples. He had been succeeded in the general direction of the affairs at Madrid by Savary. Napoleon, on the departure of the latter from Bayonne, spoke to him in such a way as sufficiently demonstrated his growing anxiety for the issue of the contest, as well as the sagacity with which he had already discerned in what way it was most likely to be brought to a successful issue.* Reinforcements were poured into Spain with all possible expedition; Burgos, Vittoria, and all the principal towns along the great road to Madrid from Bayonne, were strongly occupied; General Dupont, with his whole corps, was moved from La Mancha towards the Sierra Morena and Andalusia, in order to overawe Seville and Cordova, and if possible disengage the French squadron at Cadiz; and Marshal Moncey detached into Valencia, with instructions to put down, at all hazards, the violent and bloodthirsty insurrection which had burst forth in that province.

48. But while making every preparation for military operations, the French Emperor, at the same time, actively

* "The essential point," said he, "at this moment, is to occupy as many places as possible, in order to have the means of affusing the principles which we wish to inculcate upon the people; but, to avoid the dangers of such a dispersion of force, you must be wise, moderate, and observe the strictest discipline. For God's sake, permit no pillage. I have heard nothing of the like which Castanos, who commands at the camp of St Roquo, will take; Murat has promised much on that head, but you know what reliance is to be placed on his assurances. Neglect nothing which can secure the rapidity and exactness of your communications—that is the cardinal point; and spare nothing which can secure you good information. Above all, take care to avoid any misfortune; its consequences would be incalculable."—SAVARY, iii. 247, 251.

pursued at Bayonne those civil changes to which, even more than the terror of his arms, he trusted for subjugating the minds of men in the Spanish peninsula. The Assembly of Notables met at that fortress on the 15th June, agreeably to the summons which they had received; and they comprised the principal nobility and a large proportion of the leading characters in Spain. Having been selected by the junta of government at Madrid, without the form even of any election by the people, they were entirely in the French interest, and the mere creatures of the Emperor's will. Their proceedings formed a singular and instructive contrast to the generous and fearless burst of indignant hostility with which the resignations at Bayonne had been received by the middle and lower orders through the whole of Spain. Even before the Assembly had formally met, such of them as had arrived at Bayonne published an address to their countrymen,† in which they indulged in the usual vein of flat-

† "An irresistible sense of duty, an object as sacred as it is important, has made us quit our homes, and led us to the invincible Emperor of the French. We admit it—the sight of his glory, of his power, was fitted to dazzle us; but we arrived here already determined to address to him our reiterated supplications for the prosperity of a monarchy of which the fate is inseparably united with our own. But judge of our surprise, when we were received by his imperial and royal Majesty with a degree of kindness and humanity not less admirable than his power. He has no other desire but that of our preservation and happiness. If he gives us a sovereign to govern us, it is his august brother Joseph, whose virtues are the admiration of his subjects. If he is engaged in modifying and correcting our institutions, it is in order that we may live in peace and happiness. If he is desirous that our finances should receive a new organisation, it is in order to render our navy and army powerful and formidable to our enemies. Spaniards! worthy of a better lot, avoid the terrible anarchy which threatens you. What benefit can you derive from the troubles fomented by malevolence or folly? Anarchy is the greatest curse which God can inflict upon mankind: during its reign unbridled license sows, destroys, burns everything: worthy citizens, men of property are invariably the first victims, and an abyss of horror follows its triumphs."—*Proclamation of the Grandees of Spain to their Countrymen, dated Bayonne, 6th June 1808*; NELLERTO, ii. 214, No. 70.

tery to the astonishing abilities and power of the august Emperor, and strongly advised them to accept his brother for their sovereign.

49. The levees of Joseph were attended by all the chief grandees of Spain; every day appeared to add to the strength of the party who were inclined to support his elevation to the throne. All the principal counsellors of Ferdinand, Cevallos, Escoiquiz, and others, not only took the oath of allegiance to the new monarch, but petitioned to be allowed to retain their honours and employments under the French dynasty.* The Spanish corps in Holstein took the oath of allegiance to Joseph, but under a reservation that his appointment was ratified by a free Cortes, convened in Spain according to the fundamental customs of the monarchy. A proclamation was issued by the new king, in which he accepted the cession of the crown of Spain, made to him by his august brother Napoleon I., and appointed Murat his lieutenant-general. It is a curious circumstance that Joseph and Murat were equally averse to the thrones thus forced upon them; for the former was most anxious to retain that of Naples, and the latter coveted nothing so much as that of Madrid. But the great powers of the Continent were already prepared for the change, and did not venture to utter even a whisper against it. The

* "The subscribers have given the strongest proofs of their fidelity to the former government; they trust it will be considered as the surest pledge of the sincerity of the oath which they now take of obedience to the new constitution of their country, and fidelity to the King of Spain, Joseph I. The generosity of your Catholic Majesty, your goodness and humanity, induce them to hope that, considering the need which these princes have of a continuation of their services in the situations which they respectively held under the old dynasty, the magnanimity of your august Majesty will induce you to continue them in the enjoyment of the estates and offices which they formerly held. Assured thus of the continuance of the posts which they have hitherto enjoyed, they will ever prove faithful subjects to your Majesty, and true Spaniards, ready to obey blindly even the smallest wish which your Majesty may express." (Signed) SAN CARLOS, JUAN ESCOQUIZ, MARQUIS AYERLE, and others, 22d June 1808.—NELLETO, i. 250, 251.

consent of Russia was already secured to all the changes in the Peninsula, by the promise of acquiescence in her conquests in Finland and Turkey; and, in order to reconcile the other courts in Europe to them, an elaborate circular note was addressed to their respective cabinets, in which it was announced that "the occupation of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, the regeneration of these fine nations, the creation of the fleets of Cadiz and the Tagus, would be a mortal stroke to the power of England, and put the finishing-hand to the triumph of the maritime system, in which all the Continental powers were so warmly interested." Finally, on the 15th June, ninety-two deputies, out of the one hundred and fifty summoned, assembled at Bayonne, and formally accepted the constitution prepared for them by the Emperor Napoleon.

50. By this constitution it was provided that the crown was to be vested in Joseph and his heirs-male; whom failing, in the Emperor and his heirs-male; and in default of both, in the other brothers of the imperial family, in their order of seniority, but under the condition that the crown of Spain was not to be united on the same head with another. The legislature was to consist of a Senate of eighty members, nominated by the king; a Cortes composed of one hundred and seventy-two members, arranged in the following proportions and order,—twenty-five archbishops and bishops, and twenty-five grandees, on the first bench; sixty-two deputies of the provinces of Spain and the Indies; thirty of the principal towns; fifteen of the merchants and manufacturers; and fifteen of the arts and sciences. The first fifty, composing the peers, were appointed by the king, but could not be displaced by him; the second class was elected by the provinces and municipalities; the third was appointed by the king out of lists presented to him by the tribunals and chambers of commerce, and the universities. The deliberations of the Cortes were not to be public; none of their proceedings were to be published,

under the penalties of high treason; the finances and expenditure were to be settled by them at one sitting for three years; the colonies were constantly to have a deputation of twenty-two persons at the seat of government to watch over their interests; all exclusive exemptions from taxation were abolished; entails permitted only to the amount of twenty thousand piastres (£2,000) yearly, and with the consent of the king; an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded with France, and a promise held out of the establishment of the liberty of the press within two years after the commencement of the new constitution.

51. Everything was conducted by the junta of Notables at Bayonne to the entire satisfaction of Napoleon. The *grandees* of Spain rivalled his own senate in graceful adulation of his achievements, in obsequious submission to his will. When the constitution was read to them, it was received with transport, and adopted by acclamation. Thunders of applause shook the hall when the new king made his appearance in his royal robes; when he retired, two medals were unanimously voted to record the memorable acts of Bayonne; and the assembly, in a body, hastened to the Emperor to lay at his feet the homage of their gratitude for the unparalleled services which he had rendered to their country. There was in the flattery of the

"Sire," said M. Azanza, the President of the Notables, "the junta of Spain has accomplished the glorious task for which your Majesty convened it in this city. It has accepted, with as much eagerness as freedom, the great charter which fixes upon a sure foundation the happiness of Spain. Happily for our country, an overruling Providence has employed your irresistible hand to snatch it from the abyss into which it was about to be precipitated. It is well that it was irresistible; for an inexplicable blindness has caused those who ought most to rejoice at this benefit to misapprehend it. But all Spain, Sire! will open its eyes. It will see that it required a total regeneration, and that from your Majesty alone it could obtain it. Public evil was at its height; the agents of a feeble government devoured the public patrimony, or extended unceasingly the limits of arbitrary power: the finances were a chaos; the public debt an abyss; the period of total dissolution was approaching. To

Spanish nobles a mixture of studied servility with Oriental grandiloquence, which was novel and agreeable to a sovereign toward whom had been exhausted all the arts of European adulation.* Two days after, the new king set out for the capital of his dominions; he was accompanied as far as the frontier by his imperial brother and a splendid cortège of a hundred carriages, and crossed the Bidassoa amidst the roar of artillery and all the pomp of more than regal magnificence. On the 20th, Napoleon himself set out from Bayonne, having first given such instructions to Savary as he deemed sufficient to bring the insurrection, which had now broken out on all sides, to a successful issue; and returned by Pau, where he visited the birthplace of Henry IV., Bordeaux, La Vendée, the mouth of the Loire, Nantes, and Tours, to St Cloud, which he reached in the middle of August. Meanwhile Ferdinand VII., resigning himself to his chains, wrote to the Emperor from Valençay, thanking him for his condescension, and requesting permission to meet him on his route to lay his homage at his feet,† which was not granted; and Charles IV., after testifying his entire satisfaction with the palace, parks, and country around Compiègne, requested permission, on account of his health, to pass the winter in a warmer climate, which was graciously accorded. In the autumn he what other power but that of your imperial and royal Majesty could it be reserved, not merely to arrest the evil, but entirely to remove it? Such are the wonders, Sire, which you have wrought in a few days, and which fill the world with astonishment."—SOUTHBY, i. 436, 437.

† "My uncle and brother have been equally charmed with myself at the announcement of the arrival of your imperial and royal Majesty at Pau, which brings us nearer your presence; and since, whatever route you choose, you must pass near this, we should regard it as a very great satisfaction if your imperial and royal Majesty would permit us to meet you, and renew in person that homage of sincere attachment and respect which we all feel, if it is not inconvenient."—FERDINAND VII. to NAPOLEON, 26th July 1808; NELLKETO, ii. 262. Napoleon, however, declined the honour, and never again saw Ferdinand or any of his family.

moved to Marseilles, where he lingered out in ease and obscurity the remainder of his inglorious life.

52. The ministry appointed by Joseph, before his departure from Bayonne, was mainly taken from the counsellors of the Prince of Asturias; and this selection, joined to their ready acceptance of their new dignities, throws a dark shade of doubt over the fidelity with which they had served that unhappy prince, during his brief but eventful possession of the throne. Don Luis de Urquijo was made secretary of state; Don Pedro Cevallos, minister for foreign affairs; Don Sebastian de Pinnela, and Don Gonzalo O'Farrel, ministers of justice and at war; Don Miguel Azanza obtained the colonies, and Mazaredo the marine. Even Escoiquiz wrote to Joseph protesting his devotion to him, and declaring that he and the rest of Ferdinand's household "were willing to obey his will blindly, down to the minutest particulars." The Duke del Infantado was appointed to the command of the Spanish, and the Prince Castel-Franco to that of the Walloon Guards. Joseph entered Spain surrounded by the highest grandees and most illustrious names of Spain. He reached Madrid on the 20th, having lingered for several days at Burgos and Vittoria, and received there the oaths of allegiance from the Council of State, the Council of the Indies, and that of the finances. But though surrounded by the nobles, his reception in the capital was melancholy in the extreme. Orders had been given that the houses of the inhabitants should be decked out to receive their new sovereign, but very few obeyed the injunction. A crowd assembled to see the brilliant cortège and splendid guards which accompanied the King, but no cheers or applauses were heard. Every countenance bore a mournful expression; hardly any ladies appeared at the windows, notwithstanding the passionate fondness of the Spanish women for such displays. The bells of all the churches rang together, but they resembled rather the dismal toll at the interment of the dead, than the

merry chime which announces a joyful event to the living.

53. To the honour of Spain and of human nature it must be stated, that, in the midst of this humiliating scene of aristocratic baseness, some sparks of an independent spirit were elicited, and some men in high station asserted the ancient honour of the Spanish character. When the Duke del Infantado, at the head of the grandees of the monarchy, delivered their address to the new sovereign, he concluded it with these words:—"The laws of Spain do not permit us to go farther at present. We await the decision of the nation, which can alone authorise us to give a freer vent to our sentiments." No words can convey an idea of the anger of Napoleon at this unexpected reservation. Instantly approaching the Duke, he said, "As you are a gentleman, you should conduct yourself as such; and instead of disputing here on the words of an oath, which you will doubtless violate as soon as you have an opportunity, you would do better to withdraw at once, put yourself at the head of your party, and combat there openly and honourably. But you may rest assured, that if you take an oath here, and afterwards fail in its performance, before eight days you shall be shot." This violent apostrophe produced the desired intimidation; the address was corrected, and delivered in the form above mentioned, by Azanza; but the Duke retained his opinions, and ere long appeared in the ranks of his country. The Council of Castile pre-faced their address by the fulsome expression,—"Your Majesty is one of the principal branches of a family destined by Heaven to reign over mankind;" but they eluded, by alleging want of authority, the simple and unqualified taking of the oath of allegiance. Jovellanos, who had been liberated by the resignation of Charles IV. and the fall of Godoy from his long captivity in the dungeons of Minorca, was offered by Joseph the portfolio of the minister of the interior. But the lengthened sufferings of that incorruptible patriot, under an oppressive

government, could not blind him to the injustice now attempted by his deliverers, and he declared his resolution to abide by the fortunes of his suffering countrymen rather than accept wealth and greatness from their oppressors.* The Bishop of Orense, when nominated as one of the junta to proceed to Bayonne by the regency of Madrid, returned an answer declining the honour, in such independent and elevated terms as must forever command the respect of the generous among mankind.†

54. Future ages will find it difficult to credit the enthusiasm and transport with which the tidings of the insurrection in Spain were received in the British Islands. The earliest accounts were brought by the Asturian deputies, who reached London in the first week of June; and their reports were speedily confirmed and extended by further accounts from Corunna, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. Never was public joy more universal. As the intelligence successively arrived of province after province having risen in indignant fury against the invader, and boldly hoisted the flag of defiance to his legions, the general rapture knew no bounds. It was evident now, even to the most ordinary capacity, that the revolutionary ambition of France had brought it into

* "I am resolved," said he, in reply to the reiterated instances of Joseph and his ministers, "to decline the place in the administration which you offer me: and I am convinced that you will strive in vain to overcome the resistance, by means of exhortations, of a people so brave and resolute to recover their liberties. Even if the cause of my country were as desperate as you suppose it, it will never cease to be that of honour and loyalty, and that which every good Spaniard should embrace at any hazard."—TORENO, i. 299.

† "Spain," said this courageous prelate, in his letter to the junta at Madrid, "now sees in the French Emperor the oppressor of its princes and its own tyrant; it feels itself enslaved, while it is told of its happiness: and these chains it owes even less to perflay, than to the presence of an army which it admitted to its strongholds when on terms of perfect amity. The nation is without a king, and knows not which way to turn. The abdication of its sovereign, and the appointment of Murat its Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, all took place in France amidst foreign armies, and under the eyes of an Emperor who conceived he was bestowing pros-

violent collision with the patriotic and religious feelings of a high-spirited and virgin people. "Never," says Southey, "since the glorious morning of the French Revolution, before one bloody cloud had risen to overcast the deceitful promise of its beauty, had the heart of England been affected by so generous and universal a joy." All classes joined in it; all degrees of intellect were swept away by the flood. The aristocratic party who had so long struggled, with almost hopeless constancy, against the over-advancing wave of revolutionary ambition, rejoiced that it had at last broke on a rugged shore; and that, in the insulence of apparently unbounded power, it had proceeded to such extremities as had roused the impassioned resistance of a gallant people.

55. The lovers of freedom hailed the Peninsular contest as the first real effort of THE PEOPLE in the war. Former contests had lain between cabinets and armies on the one side, and democratic zeal, ripened into military prowess, on the other. But now the case was changed. It was no longer a struggle for the power of kings or the privileges of nobles; the energy of the multitude was roused into action, the spirit of liberty was enlisted in the cause; the mighty lever which had shaken all the thrones of Europe had

perity on Spain by placing on her throne a prince of his own family. The supreme junta has against it a thousand rumours, besides its armed president and the troops which surround it; all which forbids its acts being regarded as those of a free assembly. The same may be said of the councils and tribunals of justice. What a chaos of confusion, of misfortunes to Spain! and will these misfortunes be avoided by an assembly held without the kingdom, convened in a situation where its deliberations can never be regarded as free? And if to the tumultuous movements which menace the interior of the kingdom, we add the pretensions of princes and powers abroad, and the probable intervention of a foreign armed force in the contest of which the Peninsula will soon be the theatre, what can be imagined more frightful, or more worthy of pity? Cannot the love and solicitude of the Emperor find some other mode of manifesting itself than by such measures as will lead to its ruin rather than its cure?"—*Answer of PEDRO, Bishop of Orense, to the Junta of Government at Madrid, which had named him as representative at Bayonne, May 29, 1808; TORENO, i. 413, 414—Pièces Just.*

now, by the imprudence of him who wielded it, fallen into the hands of the enemy; it would cast down the fabric of imperial, as it has done that of regal power. With honest zeal and fervent sympathy, the great body of the British people united heart and soul with the gallant nation which, with generous, perhaps imprudent enthusiasm, had rushed into the contest for their country's independence, and loudly called on the government to take their station by their side, and stake all upon the issue of so heart-stirring a conflict. Meanwhile the few sagacious and well-informed observers, whom the general transport permitted to take a cool survey of the probable issue of the contest, observed with satisfaction that the ambition of the French Emperor had at length offered a sea-girt and mountainous region for a battle-field, where the numerical inferiority of the British armies would expose them to less disadvantage than in any other theatre of European warfare.

56. The first notice taken of these animating events, in the British parliament, was on the 15th June, when the subject was introduced in a splendid speech by Mr Sheridan, which merely embodied, in glowing language, the feelings which then, with unprecedented unanimity, agitated the British heart. "Never before," he exclaimed, "has so happy an opportunity existed for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. Hitherto Buonaparte has run a victorious race, because he has contended with princes without dignity, ministers without wisdom, or people without patriotism; he has yet to learn what it is to combat a people who are animated with one spirit against him. Now is the time to stand up boldly and fairly for the deliverance of Europe; and if the ministry will co-operate effectually with the Spanish patriots, they shall receive from me as cordial a support as if the man whom I most loved were restored to life. Will not the animation of the Spanish mind be excited by the knowledge that their cause is espoused, not by the ministers merely, but by the parliament and the people of England?"

If there be a disposition in Spain to resent the insults and injuries, too enormous to be described by language, which they have endured from the tyrant of the earth, will not that disposition be roused to the most sublime exertion by the assurance that their efforts will be cordially aided by a great and powerful nation? Never was anything so brave, so noble, so generous, as the conduct of the Spaniards; never was there a more important crisis than that which their patriotism has thus occasioned to the state of Europe. Instead of striking at the core of the evil, the administrations of this country have hitherto gone on nibbling merely at the rind; filching sugar islands, but neglecting all that was dignified, and consonant to the real interests of the country. Now, therefore, is the moment to let the world know that we are resolved to stand up, firmly and fairly, for the salvation of Europe. Let us, then, co-operate with the Spaniards, but co-operate in an effectual and energetic way; and if we find that they are really resolved to engage heart and soul in the enterprise, advance with them in a magnanimous way and with an undaunted step for the liberation of mankind. Formerly, the contest in La Vendée afforded the fairest chance of effecting the deliverance of Europe; but that favourable chance was neglected by this country. What was then neglected was now looked up to with sanguine expectation; the only hope now was, that Spain might prove another La Vendée. Above all, let us mix no little interests with this mighty contest; let us discard or forget British objects, and conduct the war on the great principles of generous support and active co-operation."

57. These noble sentiments, worthy of the real friends of freedom and the leaders of the liberal party in its last asylum, were fully responded to by the members of administration. Mr Secretary Canning replied,—"His Majesty's ministers sit with as deep and lively an interest as my right honourable friend the noble struggle which the Spanish nation are now making to re-

sist the unexampled atrocity of Franco, and preserve the independence of their country; and there exists the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. In endeavouring to afford this aid, it will never occur to us to consider that a state of war exists between this country and Spain. Whenever any nation in Europe starts up with a determination to oppose a power which, whether professing insidious peace or declaring open war, is alike the common enemy of all other people, that nation, whatever its former relation may be, becomes, *ipso facto*, the ally of Great Britain. In furnishing the aid which may be required, government will be guided by three principles—to direct the united efforts of both countries against the common foe—to direct them in such a way as shall be most beneficial to our new ally—and to direct them to such objects as may be most conducive to British interests. But of these objects the last will never be allowed to come into competition with the other two. I mention British objects, chiefly for the purpose of disclaiming them as any material part of the considerations which influence the British government. No interest can be so purely British as Spanish success; no conquest so advantageous to England as conquering from France the complete integrity of Spanish dominions in every quarter of the globe."

58. This debate marks in more ways than one an important era in the war, and indicates a remarkable change in the sentiments with which it was regarded by a large portion of the liberal party in the British dominions. There were no longer any apologies for Napoleon, or the principles of the Revolution; no deprecation of any attempt to resist the power of France, as in the earlier periods of the war. The eloquent declamations of Mr Fox and Mr Erskine in favour of the great republic—their sophistical excuses for the grasping ambition in which its fervour had terminated—had expired. Experience and suffering, danger and difficulty, had in a great degree subdued even political

passion—the strongest feeling, save religious, which can agitate mankind. Mr Sheridan and Mr Wyndham from the *Opposition* benches, earnestly called on the government to engage deeply in the war; they loudly and justly condemned the selfish policy and Lilliputian expeditions of the aristocratic government in its earlier years, and demanded, in the name of public freedom, that England should at last take her appropriate place in the van of the conflict, and, disregarding all selfish or exclusively national objects, stand forth with all her might for the deliverance of mankind.

59. In such sentiments from such men, none but the vulgar and superficial could see any inconsistency with their former opinions. Whatever others might do, it was not to be supposed that the highest intellects and most generous hearts in the empire were to gaze all day at the East in hopes of still seeing the sun rise there. Resistance to French despotism and invasion was not only not inconsistent with, but necessarily flowed from, the real principles of the ardent philanthropists who had formerly opposed the overshadowing what they then deemed the brilliant dawn of the French Revolution. But it had the appearance of change to the numerous class who judge by words instead of things, and are attached, not to abstract principles, but to actual parties; and, therefore, the enunciation of such sentiments by any of the Whig leaders not only was an honourable instance of moral courage, but evinced a remarkable change in the general feeling of their party. Not less clearly was the disclaiming of interested views or British objects by the ministerial chiefs an indication of the arrival of that period in the contest, when the generous passions were at length aroused, and the fervent warmth of popular feeling had melted or overcome that frigid attention to interested views, which, not less than their tenacity and perseverance, is the uniform characteristic of aristocratic governments among mankind.

60. Animated by such powerful support, from the quarter where it was

least expected, to enter vigorously into the contest, the English government made the most liberal provision for its prosecution. The supplies voted for the war-charges amounted to the enormous sum of £48,300,000; to meet which, ways and means to the value of £48,400,000 were voted by parliament; and the total income of the year 1808, including the ordinary and permanent revenue, was estimated at £86,780,000, and the expenditure at £84,797,000. The loan was £10,102,000 for England, and £2,000,000 for Ireland, and the new taxes imposed only £300,000; the Chancellor of the Exchequer having adhered, in a great measure, to the system approved of by both sides of the House in the finance debates of the preceding year, of providing for the increased charges of the year and the interest of the loans, in part at least, by an impignoration, in time of peace, of the war taxes. A subsidy of £1,100,000 was provided for the King of Sweden. But these sums, great as they are, convey no adequate idea of the expenditure of this eventful year; the budget was arranged in April, before the Spanish contest had arisen; and for the vast expenses with which it was attended, and which, not having been foreseen, had not been provided for, there was no resource but a liberal issue of Exchequer bills, which fell as an oppressive burden upon future years.*

61. The supplies of all sorts sent out during this year to the Spanish patriots, though in great part misapplied or wasted, were on a princely scale of liberality, and worthy of the exalted station which, by consent of all parties, England now took at the head of the alliance. In every province of the Peninsula juntas were established, and to all British envoys were sent, who made as minute inquiries into the wants and capabilities of the district as the circumstances would admit, and received ample powers from government to afford such aid, either in money, arms, clothing, or warlike stores, as they deemed it expedient to demand. Military supplies of every

description were, in consequence of these requisitions, sent to Corunna, Santander, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Valencia, Malaga, and other places, with a profusion which astonished the inhabitants, and gave them at least ample means to fit themselves out for the contest in which they were engaged.† It may readily be conceived, that from the enthusiasm and animation of the insurgent provinces, and the universal transport with which the British envoys were received, abundance of room was afforded for misrepresentation or delusion; that the accounts transmitted to government must, in many cases, have been inaccurate; and that, amidst the extraordinary profusion with which supplies of all sorts were poured into the country, there were many opportunities afforded to

† The following is a statement of the sums of money and warlike stores sent by Great Britain to the Peninsula, from the beginning of the contest in June 1808, to the commencement of 1809:—

Subsidies in money, £3,100,000.

Pieces of cannon,	98
Cannon-balls,	31,000
Mortars,	38
Mortar charges,	7,200
Carronades,	80
Muskets,	200,177
Casibines,	220
Sabres,	61,300
Pikes,	79,000
Cartridges,	23,477,000
Lead balls,	6,000,000
Barrels of powder,	15,400
Haversacks,	34,000
Canteens,	50,000
Infantry accoutrements,	39,000
Tents,	40,000
Field equipages,	10,000
Ells of linen,	113,000
Yards of cloth,	125,000
— of cotton,	82,000
Cloaks,	50,000
Coats and trousers,	92,000
Shirts,	85,000
Cotton, pieces,	22,000
Pairs of shoes,	96,000
Soles of shoes,	15,000
Hats and bonnets,	16,000
Cartridge-boxes,	240,000

* *Parl. Pap.* July 16, 1808; and *HARD. x.* 492—*Pièces Just.*

In addition to these immense national supplies, private subscriptions were entered into in the chief towns of the empire, and large sums collected and remitted from the British Islands to the Spanish patriots.—*Annual Register*, 1808, 195

* See Appendix, Note G.

the native authorities of fraud or embezzlement, of which, amidst the general confusion, they were not slow to avail themselves. In truth, lamentable experience afterwards demonstrated that a large proportion of these magnificent supplies was misapplied or neglected. The money was in great part embezzled or squandered, the stores sold or wasted, the arms piled and forgotten in magazines, when the patriots in the field were in want of the most necessary part of military equipment.

62. Still, with all these evils, inseparable probably from the condition of a country thus driven into a dreadful contest in the absence of any regular government, and unavoidably thrown under the direction of local and recently-elected authorities, alike destitute of the knowledge, unacquainted with the arrangements, and relieved from the responsibility requisite for the faithful discharge of official duty, the prodigal bounty of England was attended with the most important effects upon the progress of the strife. It removed at once the imputation of cautious and prudential policy, which the incessant declamations of the French writers during the former periods of the war, joined to the feeble temporising measures of preceding cabinets, had so strongly affixed to the British name. It demonstrated the sincerity and energy of a government which thus, with unprecedented profusion, spread abroad in every quarter the means of resistance; and inspired boundless confidence in the resources of a power which, great at all times, seemed capable of gigantic expansion at the decisive moment, and appeared rather to have increased than diminished from a contest of fifteen years' duration.

63. Nor were these great efforts on the part of the British government either unnecessary or uncalled-for; for the forces, both military and naval, which Napoleon had now arrayed for their subjugation were immense. If the contest were not fixed in the Peninsula, it was plain that it would ere long approach the English shores. All his preparations in every quarter

were intended to procure the accumulation of a force which might, by sea and land, overmatch the British empire. The moment his troops entered Spain, his orders were directed to this object. He sent funds from Paris for the construction of two sail of the line at Carthagena; Spain was to furnish two magnificent three-deckers, the Santa Anna and San Carlos: these, with the five French ships at Cadiz and six Spanish, and other ships afloat in the Spanish harbours, would produce a force of eighteen ships of the line ready for sea. The Carthagena fleet, which had taken refuge at Port Mahon, consisting of six line-of-battle ships, was directed forthwith to put to sea and join the Toulon squadron, already consisting of twelve in very good condition. Junot received the most pressing orders to equip immediately two line-of-battle ships left at Lisbon when the royal family embarked. "Consider it your first glory," wrote Napoleon to Murat, "during your short administration, to have reanimated the Spanish marine. It is the best way to attach the Spaniards to us, and to justify our occupation of their territory."

64. These preparations in the Peninsula were but a part of the vast designs which the French Emperor had formed and matured at this period for the overthrow of the British empire, and which the Spanish war alone prevented being carried into execution. The nine Russian ships of the line under Admiral Siniavin at Lisbon were to be reinforced by three Portuguese, seized in the dockyards of Lisbon. Four ships of the line were ready for sea at Rochefort; four were at L'Orient; and at Brest, seven line-of-battle ships, in good order, remained of its once formidable squadron. Eight splendid new vessels, constructed at Antwerp, lay in the basin of Flushing; twelve were in the course of construction in the Scheldt. At the Texel, Louis Napoleon had eight ships of the line in excellent condition ready for sea, and the Russians had twelve in the Adriatic; while the flotilla at Boulogne was still capable of transport-

ing 80,000 men, with all their guns and equipments, across the Channel. In addition to these considerable naval forces, orders were given for the construction, with the utmost possible expedition, of thirty-five more in the various harbours from the Sound to the Texel. In this way he hoped to have a hundred and thirty-one ships of the line ready for sea before the end of the year, which were to be increased annually by twenty-five or thirty more, till they acquired a decided preponderance over the British navy. Three hundred thousand land troops were to be stationed in the neighbourhood of the principal harbours from Copenhagen to Venice,

ready to embark at a moment's warning on board their various squadrons, and either by a concentrated effort menace at once the independence of Great Britain, or distract its fleets by threatening its numerous colonial dependencies. Such were the designs of Napoleon, and such the means at his disposal, when the Peninsular war arose, and England, under the guidance of Wellington, began on the fields of Spain to contend hand to hand with the conqueror of continental Europe, and the descendants of those who conquered at Hastings met the sons of those who triumphed at Cressy and Azincour!

CHAPTER LIV.

NAPOLEON'S FIRST DISASTERS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1. No sooner was Napoleon made aware, by the general progress and formidable character of the insurrection, that a serious contest awaited him, than he set about, with all his usual caution and ability, preparing the means of overcoming its difficulties. Bessières received orders to put Burgos into a state of defence, to detach Lefebvre-Desnouettes, with five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, against Saragossa, and to move his main body so as to overawe the insurgents in Biscay, Asturias, and Old Castile. A reinforcement of nine thousand men was prepared for Duhesme in Catalonia, which it was hoped would enable him to make head against the enemy in that quarter. A reserve was organised, under General Drouot, on the Pyrenean frontier of Navarre, which, besides affording Bessières continual additions of force, placed five thousand men in the openings of the valleys towards the castle of Jaca, which was in possession of the enemy; another reserve was

established in Perpignan, and detachments were stationed in the eastern passes of the mountains. The communications and rear being thus adequately provided for, Marshal Moncey was directed, with part of his corps, to move upon Cuença, so as to prevent any communication between the patriots of Valencia and Saragossa, and subsequently threaten the former city; while Dupont, with two divisions of his corps, ten thousand strong, received orders to proceed across the Sierra Morena towards Cordova and Seville. The remainder of his corps and of that of Moncey was stationed in reserve in La Mancha, to keep up the communications of the divisions pushed forward, and be in readiness, if necessary, to support either which might require assistance. With so much foresight and caution did the great commander distribute his forces, even against an insurgent peasantry, and an enemy at that period deemed wholly unable to withstand the shock of his veteran legions.

2. The first military operations of any importance were those of Marshal Bessières in Biscay and Old Castile. That able officer was at Burgos with twelve thousand men, when the insurrection broke out with great violence in all directions around him. At the same moment he received advices that a body of five thousand armed men had got possession of the important depot of artillery at Segovia, and another assemblage of equal force was arming itself from the royal manufactory of arms at Palencia; while General Cuesta, the captain-general of the province, with a few regiments of regular troops and a strong body of undisciplined peasantry, had taken post at Cabeçon on the Pisuegra. These positions appeared to Savary, who was now the chief in command at Madrid, so alarming, as threatening the communications of the French with the capital and all the southern provinces, that he detached General Frère with his division, forming part of Dupont's corps, in all haste to Segovia, where he routed the peasantry, and made himself master of all the artillery they had taken from the arsenal, amounting to thirty pieces. Meanwhile Bessières divided his disposable force into several movable columns, which, issuing from Burgos as a centre, traversed the country in all directions, everywhere defeating and disarming the insurgents, and reinstating the French authorities whom they had dispossessed. One of these divisions, under Verdier, routed the enemy at Logrono, and with inhuman and unjustifiable cruelty, put all their leaders to death; another, under Lasalle, broke the armed peasantry at Torquemada, burned the town, pursued them with merciless severity, and entered Palencia on the day following; while a third, under Merle, uniting with Lasalle, made straight for Cuesta at Cabeçon, who accepted battle, but was speedily overthrown, and his whole new levies dispersed, with the loss of all their artillery and several thousand muskets, which were thrown away in the pursuit.

3. By these successes the whole level

country in the upper part of the valley of the Douro was overawed and reduced to submission. Segovia, Valladolid, Palencia, and all the principal towns which had revolted, were compelled to send deputies to take the oath of allegiance to Joseph; and the terrible French dragoons, dispersing through the smaller towns and villages, diffused such universal consternation, that all the flat country in this quarter submitted to King Joseph and the French. Requisitions and taxes were levied without difficulty throughout the whole remainder of the campaign. General Merle, continuing his success, marched northward against the province of Santander in Asturias, forced the rugged passes of Lantuerio and Venta d'Escudo, and descending the northern side of the ridge of Santander, in concert with a portion of the reserve which the Emperor despatched to his assistance, made himself master of that town, and forced the intrepid bishop, with his warlike followers, to take refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the neighbouring mountains.

4. While Leon and Castile were the theatres of these early and important successes, the province of Aragon, though almost entirely destitute of regular forces, was successful, after sustaining several bloody reverses, in maintaining a more prolonged resistance to the enemy. By indefatigable exertions, Palafox and the energetic junta of Saragossa had succeeded in arming and communicating the rudiments of discipline to a tumultuary assembly of ten thousand infantry and two hundred horse, with which, and eight pieces of artillery, his brother, the Marquis Lazan, ventured to march out of the city and await Lefebvre-Desnouettes in a favourable position behind the Huecha. But though the French were not more than half the number of the enemy, they were, from the want of discipline in their opponents, and their own great superiority in cavalry, much more than a match for them. The peasants withstood, without flinching, several attacks in front; but a vigorous assault in flank threw them into disorder, and a gallant

charge by the Polish lancers completed their rout. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Aragonese who had escaped, having received reinforcements, again stood firm, on the following day at Gallur, still nearer Saragossa, and were again overthrown. Upon this, Palafox himself marched out of the capital, at the head of five thousand undisciplined burghers and peasants, and moved to reinforce the wreck of the former army at Alagon—an advantageous position, four leagues from the capital of the province, on the banks of the Xalon, near its confluence with the Ebro, where the whole took post. But the undisciplined crowd, discouraged by the preceding defeats, was now in no condition to make head against the French legions. The burghers, at the first sight of the enemy, broke and fled; and though Palafox, with a few pieces of artillery, and three companies of regular troops, contrived for long to defend the entrance of the town, they too were at last compelled to yield, and retire in disorder into SARAGOSSA; and the French troops appeared before the heroic city.

5. Saragossa, which has now, like Numantia and Saguntum, become immortal in the rolls of fame, is situated on the right bank of the Ebro, in the midst of a fertile plain abounding in olive groves, vineyards, gardens, and all the marks of long-continued civilisation. It contained at that period fifty thousand inhabitants, though the sword and pestilence consequent on the two memorable sieges which it underwent, have since considerably reduced its numbers. The immediate vicinity is flat, and in some places marshy; on the southern or right bank of the river it is bounded by the little course of the Huerba, the bed of which has been converted into a canal; while on the northern, the clearer stream of the Gallego, descending from the Pyrenean summits, falls at right angles into the Ebro. On the southern side, and at the distance of a quarter of a league, rises Monte Torrero, on the side of which is conducted the canal of Aragon—a noble work, commenced by the Emperor Charles V., forming a

water communication without a single lock from Tudela to Saragossa. This hill commands all the plain on the right bank, and overlooks the town. Several warehouses and edifices constructed for the commerce of the canal, were intrenched and occupied by twelve hundred men. The city itself, surrounded by a low brick wall, not above ten or twelve feet in height, and three in thickness, interrupted in many places by houses and convents which were built in its line, and pierced by eight gates, with no outworks, could scarcely be said to be fortified. Very few guns were on the ramparts in a state for service; but the houses were strongly built, partly of stone, partly of brick, and in general two storeys in height, with each flat vaulted in the roof, so as to render them nearly proof against fire; while the massy piles of the convents, rising like castles in many quarters, afforded strong positions, if the walls were forced, to a desperate and inflamed population. Few regular generals would have thought of making a stand in such a city; but Florus has recorded that Numantia had neither walls nor towers when it resisted so long and heroically the Roman legions; and Colmenar had said, nearly a century before, with a prophetic spirit, "Saragossa is without defences; but the valour of its inhabitants supplies the want of ramparts."

6. The resolution to defend Saragossa cannot with justice be ascribed to any single individual, as the glory belongs to the whole population, all of whom, in the first movements of confusion and excitement, had a share in the generous resolution. When Palafox retired after his repeated defeats into the town, he either despaired of being able to defend it, or deemed it necessary to collect reinforcements for a prolonged resistance from other quarters; and accordingly set out with a small body of regular troops for the northern bank of the river, leaving the armed population nearly unsupported to defend the walls. This measure was well adapted to increase the ultimate means of resistance which might be brought to bear upon the

invader, if the town, when left to its own resources, could make head against the enemy; but it exposed it to imminent hazard of being taken, if, in the first moments of alarm consequent on the removal of the captain-general and regular forces, the besiegers should vigorously prosecute their operations. On the day after his arrival before the city, Lefebvre-Desnouettes presented himself in force before the gates, and commenced an immediate assault. But the people, though without leaders, with surprising energy prepared to repulse it. In the first moment of assault, indeed, a column of the enemy penetrated to the street Santa Engracia; the citizens, though violently excited, were without leaders or concert, and a few additional battalions would have made the enemy masters of Saragossa. But at this critical moment a desultory fire from some peasants and disbanded soldiers arrested the advance of the French, and the inhabitants, regaining hope from the hesitation of the assailants, exerted themselves with such vigour that the enemy again retired beyond the gates. Instantly the whole population were in activity: men, women, and children flew to the ramparts; cannons were dragged to the gates; loopholes struck out in the walls; fascines and gabions constructed with astonishing celerity, and in less than twenty-four hours the city was secure from a *coup-de-main*.

7. The loss sustained by Lefebvre-Desnouettes in this unsuccessful assault was very severe, and sufficient to convince him that operations in form would be requisite before the town could be reduced. He withdrew to a little distance, therefore, from the walls, and sent for heavy artillery from Pampeluna and Bayonne, with a view to the commencement of a regular siege. Meanwhile Palafox, who had issued into the plain on the left bank of the Ebro, moved to Pina, where he crossed the river and advanced to Belchite, and there joined the Baron Versage, who had assembled four thousand new levies. Uniting everywhere the volunteers whom he found in the

villages, he at length gained, by a circuitous route, the river Xalon, in the rear of the French army, with seven thousand infantry, a hundred horse, and four pieces of cannon. Some of his officers, seeing so respectable a force collected together, deemed it imprudent to hazard it by attempting the relief of Saragossa, and proposed that they should retire to Valencia. Palafox assembled the troops the moment that he heard of this proposal, and, after describing in energetic colours the glorious task which awaited them of delivering their country, offered to give passports to all those who wished to leave the army. Such was the ascendancy of his intrepid spirit that not one person left the ranks.* Taking advantage of the enthusiasm excited by this unanimous determination, the Spanish general led them against the enemy, but before they could reach him night had fallen.† They took up their quarters accordingly at Epila, where they were unexpectedly assailed, after dark, by Lefebvre-Desnouettes with five thousand men. The Spanish levies, surprised and unable to form their ranks during the confusion of a nocturnal combat, were easily dispersed: although a few fought with such obstinacy that they only retired

*Colonel Napier, who is seldom favourable to aristocratic leaders, says that "Palafox, ignorant of war, and probably avowed by Tio Jorge (an urban chief of humble origin), expressed his determination to fight," but he "did not display that firmness in danger which his speech promised, as he must have fled early and reached Calatayud in the night, though many of the troops arrived there unbroken next morning." Neither the words in italics, nor any corresponding words, are to be found in Cavallero, whom he refers to as his authority, nor in any Spanish historian with whom I am acquainted. Toreno, though an avowed liberal, after recounting Palafox's speech on this occasion, says, "Such is the power which the inflexible resolution of a chief exercises in critical circumstances." There is not the least reason to suspect the distinguished English author of intentional misrepresentation, but the insinuations here made are fatal to the character of Palafox; and as there is no ground for them, at least in the author quoted by him, it is desirable that the authorities on which they are made should be given in the next edition of that able work.—CAVALLERO, *Siege de Saragossa*, 49; TORENO, *il.* 11; and NAPIER, *i.* 67.

to Calatayud the following morning. Despairing, from the issue of this conflict, of being able to keep the field, Palafox became sensible that Saragossa must be defended within its own walls, and, making a long circuit, he at length re-entered the city on the 2d July.

8. Meanwhile the besieging force, having received heavy artillery and stores from Bayonne and Pampeluna, were vigorously prosecuting their operations, which were in the first instance chiefly directed against Monte Torrero, on the right bank of the river. Destitute at this critical moment of any noble leaders, the people of Saragossa did not sink under their difficulties. Calvo de Rozas, to whom the command had been devolved in his absence by Palafox, was a man whose calm resolution was equal to the emergency; and he was energetically supported by a plebeian chief, Tio Martin, to whom, with Tio Jorge, of similar rank, the real glory of resolving on defence, in circumstances all but desperate, is due. Encouraged by the intrepid conduct of their chiefs, the people assembled in the public square, and with the magistrates, officers, and troops of the garrison, voluntarily took an oath "to shed the last drop of their blood for the defence of their religion, their king, and their hearths." They had need of all their resolution, for the means of attack against them were multiplying in a fearful degree. Verdier, whose talents had been fatally felt by the Prussians and Russians in the Polish campaign, was appointed to the command of the siege; the troops under his command were strongly reinforced, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes was detached to act under the orders of Bessières against the insurgents in Leon. At the end of June, the besieging force being augmented to twelve thousand men, and the battering-train having arrived, an attack was made on the convent of St Joseph, situated outside of the walls, which at first failed, though the besieged had no other defence than loopholes struck out in the rampart. But being resumed with greater force, the defences were carried, and the brave

garrison, after obstinately contesting the possession of the church refectory, and cells, set fire to the edifice, and retreated to the city. Monte Torrero was the next object of attack, while a tremendous fire, kept up with uncommon vigour on other parts of the town, diverted the attention of the besieged from the quarter where the real assault was to be made. The commander, despairing of success, with the undisciplined crowd under his command, and not aware of the difference between fighting with such troops behind walls and in the open field, evacuated that important post; for which, though it was perhaps inevitable, he was remitted to a council of war, condemned and executed.

9. Having gained this vantage-ground, Verdier commenced a vigorous bombardment of the city, and battered its feeble walls furiously from the advantageous position which had so unexpectedly fallen into his power. Amidst the terror and confusion thus excited, repeated attacks were made on the gates of El Carmen and Portillo; but such was the ardour and tenacity of the defence, and the severity of the fire kept up from the windows, walls, and roofs of the houses, that he was on every occasion, after desperate struggles, repulsed with severe loss. These repeated failures convinced Verdier of the necessity of making approaches in form, and completing the investment of the city, which still received constant supplies of men and provisions from the surrounding country. With this view he threw a bridge of boats over the Ebro, and having thus opened a communication with the left bank, the communication of the besieged with the country, though not entirely cut off, was, after hard fighting, for many days restrained within very narrow limits. Before this could be effected, however, the patriots received a reinforcement from the regiment of Estremadura, eight hundred strong, with the aid of which they made a desperate sally with two thousand men to retake the Monte Torrero. But though the assailants fought with the utmost vehemence,

they were unable to prevail against the disciplined valour of the French, and were repulsed with very heavy loss, including that of the commander. After this disaster they were necessarily confined to their walls; and the French approaches having been at length completed, the breaching batteries opened against the quarters of Santa Engracia and Alfafria, and a terrible bombardment having at the same time been kept up, a powder-magazine blew up with fearful devastation in the public walk of the Cosso. The slender wall being soon laid in ruins, the town was summoned to surrender; but Palafox having rejected the offer, preparations were made for an assault.

10. The storm took place on the 4th August. Palafox at an early hour stationed himself on the breach, and even when the forlorn hope was approaching, refused all terms of capitulation. The combat at the ruined rampart was long and bloody; but after a violent struggle, the French penetrated into the town, and made themselves masters of the street of Santa Engracia. Deeming themselves now in possession of Saragossa, their numerous battalions poured through the deserted breach, overspread the ramparts on either side, while a close column pushed on, with fixed bayonets and loud cheers, from Santa Engracia to the Cosso. But a desperate resistance there awaited them. Despite all the efforts of the citizens, they penetrated into the centre of the street, planted the tricolor flag on the church of the Cross near its middle, and pierced into the convent of St Francisco on its left, and the lunatic asylum on its right, whence the insane inmates, taking advantage of the confusion, issued forth, and mingled, with frightful cries, shouts, and grimaces, among the combatants. To add to the consternation, another powder-magazine blew up in the thickest of the fight, and the burning fragments, falling in all directions, set the city on fire in many different quarters. But notwithstanding all these horrors, the Spaniards maintained the conflict. An incessant fire issued from the win-

dows and roofs of the houses; several detached bodies of the enemy, which penetrated into the adjoining streets, were repulsed; a column got entangled in a long crooked street, the Arco de Cineja, and was driven back into the Cosso with great slaughter; Palafox, Calvo, Tio Jorge, and Tio Martin, vied with each other in heroism; and when night separated the combatants, the French were in possession of one side of the Cosso and the citizens of the other.

11. The successful resistance thus made to the enemy after they had penetrated into the city, and the defences of the place, in a military point of view, had been overcome, showed the Saragossans with what prospects they might maintain the conflict even from house to house. But their gallant leader was not without apprehensions that their ammunition might fail, or the defenders be ruinously reduced during so prolonged a struggle; and therefore, no sooner had the first triumph of the enemy been arrested, than he hastened out of the town to accelerate the arrival of the reinforcements which he knew were approaching, and exerted himself with so much vigour during the succeeding days, that on the morning of the 8th he succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the besiegers, and re-entered the city at the head of three thousand men, and a large convoy of ammunition and provisions. It may easily be imagined with what transports they were received, for, in the interim, the citizens had had a desperate conflict to maintain, from which they never enjoyed one moment's respite. From street to street, from house to house, from room to room, the fight was kept up with incredible obstinacy on both sides. Every post became the theatre of bloody strife, to which company after company, column after column, regiment after regiment, were successively brought up; while the fire of musketry, the roar of artillery, the flight of bombs, the glare of conflagration, and the cries of the combatants, continued without intermission night and day.

12. But all the efforts of the be-

siegers were in vain. Animated almost to frenzy by the long duration and heart-stirring interest of the conflict, all classes of the besieged stood with each other in heroic constancy. The priests were to be seen at the posts of danger, encouraging the soldiers, and administering consolation to the wounded and the dying; the women and children carried water incessantly to the quarters on fire, attended the wounded, interred the dead. Many even forgot the timidity of their sex, and took the places of their slain husbands or brothers at the cannon's side. The citizen's relieved each other night and day in the mortal and perpetual struggle with the enemy. Such was the vigour of the resistance, that, from the 4th to the 14th August, the besiegers made themselves masters only of four houses; one in front of the Treasury was only won after an incessant combat of six days' duration. After the arrival of the reinforcements under Palafox, the conflict was no longer equal. Symptoms of discouragement were manifest in the enemy; sinister rumours circulated on both sides, of a great disaster in the south; and the French were gradually losing ground, even in those quarters of which they had obtained possession during the first burst of the assault. Still the fire of artillery continued, and was particularly violent during the night of the 14th August; but at daybreak on the following morning it suddenly ceased, and the besieged, when the sun rose, beheld with astonishment the enemy at some distance, in full retreat, traversing the plain towards Pampeluna. The victory was complete: the heavy cannon and siege stores were all abandoned or thrown into the canal: and the inhabitants, with enthusiastic shouts of transport, concluded, amidst cries of "Long live Our Lady of the Pillar!" the ceremony of the *fête Dieu*, which had been interrupted by the commencement of the siege on the 16th June.

13. In truth, while this sanguinary conflict was raging in Saragossa, disasters of the most serious nature had been experienced by the French in the

south and east of Spain. Moncey, who had set out from Madrid early in June, with eight thousand men, to suppress the insurrection in Valencia and cut off the communication between that city and Saragossa, reached Cuenca on the 11th, where he remained inactive for several days. Resuming at length his march on the 16th, he advanced by Pesquera towards Valencia; but as he penetrated farther into the country, the universal desertion of the towns and villages, and evident traces of armed men on his line of march, gave gloomy presages of an approaching storm. In the first instance, however, these indications proved fallacious. Some Swiss companies, with a body of armed peasants and four pieces of cannon, had, indeed, taken post to defend the strong and important pass of the bridge of Pajazo, on the river Cabriel; but the new levies dispersed on the first appearance of the enemy, and the greater part of the Swiss troops joined the invaders; so that the bridge was gained without any difficulty. Encouraged by this success, Moncey wrote to General Chabran, who was ordered to co-operate with him from the side of Catalonia, appointing a rendezvous on the 28th, under the walls of Valencia; and, advancing forward, approached the rocky ridge of calcareous mountains called the Cabrillas, which forms the western boundary of the kingdom of Valencia, and the original sea-wall, built by nature, of the lofty plateau of Castile against the waves of the Mediterranean Sea. A single road traversed, by a rapid and laborious ascent, this rugged barrier; and as the adjoining heights were impassable for cavalry, a more advantageous position for resisting the enemy could not have been desired. The summits of the rocks which bordered the defile on either side were covered with armed peasants, to the number of six thousand; and four pieces of artillery, supported by a regiment of regular troops, and a troop of horse, guarded the main road. All these obstacles, however, were speedily overcome. While the cavalry and artillery engaged the attention of the enemy in front, General

Harispe turned their flank, and by a rapid attack over almost inaccessible rocks, threw them into confusion, dispersed the new levies, and captured all the ammunition, baggage, and artillery. Nothing now remained to retard the advance of the invaders; the summit of the ridge was soon gained, from which the French soldiers, wearied with the arid mountains and waterless plains of Castile, beheld, with the delight of the Israelites of old, the green plains and irrigated meadows and level richness of the promised land, and three days afterwards they appeared before the walls of Valencia.

14. Situated on the right of the Guadalaviar or Turia, and in the vicinity of the sea, Valencia is one of the most delightful cities which is to be found in Europe. It contains eighty thousand inhabitants; but of that number more than one-half inhabit the enchanting suburban villas which lie without the walls. These walls consist of an old rampart of unhewn stones, rudely put together, including within their circuit a decayed citadel. In a military point of view, therefore, it could hardly be regarded as a place of defence; but the spirit and circumstances of the inhabitants rendered the slightest rampart a tower of strength. The enthusiasm of the people ran high; their hatred of the invaders was inextinguishable; and the crimes they had committed were too serious to give them any rational hope of safety but in the most determined resistance. It is a melancholy but certain fact, that in revolutionary movements, as in all others where passion is the prime mover, the most enduring and often successful efforts result from the consciousness of such enormities as leave no hope but in obstinate hostility—"una spes victis, nullam sperare salutem." The junta had ably and energetically directed the public activity; engineers had marked out intrenchments and planted batteries to protect the principal gates of the city; a fortified camp had been constructed at a league from the walls; and the inhabitants, without distinction of age, rank, or sex, had laboured

night and day, for several weeks past, to complete the works on which their common safety depended. Within the gates, preparations had been made for the most vigorous resistance; trenches had been cut, and barriers constructed across the principal streets; chariots and carts overturned, so as to impede the advance of the assailants; the windows were filled with mattresses, and the doors barricaded; while a plentiful array of firearms, stones, and boiling oil, was prepared on the flat tops of the houses to rain down death on the enemy.

15. The wreck of the troops and armed peasants who had combated at the Cabrillas, took refuge in the intrenched camp at Cuarte without the walls, where they occupied in force the sides of the canal which unites the waters of the Guadalaviar to those of the Fera. In that position they were attacked early on the morning of the 27th, and, after three hours' firing, driven back to the batteries and intrenchments in front of the gates. There, however, a more determined stand was made: and Moncey, desirous of bringing up his whole forces and artillery, deferred the attack on the city itself till the following day. Hardly an eye was closed in Valencia during the succeeding night. All ranks, and both sexes, laboured incessantly to complete the preparations for defence; and so great was the universal activity, that when the rays of the morning sun appeared above the blue expanse of the Mediterranean, it was hardly possible for the assailants to hope for success except from the pusillanimity of the defenders. Moncey disposed his field-pieces in the most favourable situations to reply to the heavy artillery on the ramparts and outworks, and, having driven the enemy through the suburbs, commenced the assault. Such, however, was the vigour of the defence, that very little advantage was gained. The light artillery of the French was soon overpowered by the heavy cannon on the walls; a murderous fire of grape was kept up from the top of the rampart and the intrenchments round the en-

trance of the city; while the new levies, wholly unable to withstand the shock of their veteran opponents in the open field, contended on terms of comparative equality in the houses and behind the walls or enclosures adjoining the gates. The enthusiasm within increased as the fire approached their dwellings: the priests traversed the streets with the cross in their hands, exhorting the people to continue the contest; the women brought up ammunition to the combatants; and when the grapeshot began to fail, the ladies of rank instantly furnished an ample supply of missiles to charge the guns. A city so defended was beyond the reach of a *coup-de-main*: the French troops rapidly melted away under the dropping fire with which they were assailed from many different quarters; and in the evening Monecy drew off to Cuarte, having lost two thousand men in this fruitless attack.

16. The spirit of the Valencians was roused to the very highest pitch by this glorious result; and in the first burst of their triumph they confidently expected that the Conde Cervellon, who commanded a corps six thousand strong, consisting chiefly of armed peasants, on the banks of the Xucar, would fall upon the enemy in his retreat, and complete his destruction. But it is a very different thing for insurgents to repulse an assailant from behind walls, and to defeat him in the open field. While these flattering illusions were filling the city with transport, Cervellon himself narrowly escaped destruction. Attacked by Monecy in his retreat, he was surprised with one-half of his corps on one side of the river; and the remainder on the other. The part first assailed made a feeble resistance: in the confusion of the rout, the French made themselves masters of a bridge, and, rapidly passing over, soon completed the defeat of the portion on the other side. Two days after, three thousand, who had escaped from the first disaster, were attacked and dispersed with the loss of all their artillery, near Almanza, the celebrated theatre of the victory of the French over the allies in the War of

the Succession. But these advantages, though considerable, gained by a retreating army in the course of its flight, were no counterpoise to the disaster experienced before Valencia. The whole province was up in arms at the glorious tidings; the communication both with Catalonia and Madrid was cut off; Cuenga was besieged by a body of seven thousand peasants, who overpowered the detachment left in that town; and though the victors were themselves assailed two days after, and dispersed with great slaughter, by Caulaincourt, whom Savary despatched from Madrid with a powerful body of horse to restore the communication with Monecy in that quarter, yet the object of the advance towards Valencia was totally lost. The French general, finding that Frère, with his division, on whose aid he had calculated in a renewed attack which he was preparing against that city, had been recalled to Madrid by orders of Savary, who was alarmed at the advance of Cuesta and Blake towards the Guadarrama pass, gave up the expedition in despair, and returned by Ocana to the capital.

17. The ultimate failure of the expedition of Monecy towards Valencia was occasioned by the terror excited in the capital by the threatening advance of Cuesta and Blake, with their united forces, upon the French line of communication between Madrid and the Bayanne frontier. There, it was evident, was the vital point of the contest; there a disaster would instantly be attended with fatal consequences. Secured in that quarter, the failure of less considerable expeditions emanating from the capital was of comparatively little importance. Napoleon, who was strongly impressed with these views, had used the utmost efforts to reinforce Bessières, to whom the defence of the line through Old Castile was intrusted; and after providing for the occupation of the various points in which he had so early and successfully suppressed the insurrection, he could concentrate twenty thousand men to act against the enemy, who were approaching from the Galician

mountains. But meantime the enemy had not been idle. Filanghieri, captain-general of Galicia, had, with the aid of the bountiful supplies of England, succeeded in organising twenty-five thousand men—including the soldiers who had come to Corunna from Oporto, originally part of Junot's expedition, and the garrisons of that place and Ferrol—and, with a considerable train of artillery, had taken post in the mountains ten miles in the rear of Astorga. The situation of this corps, threatening the line of communication between Bayonne and Madrid, was such as to excite the utmost disquietude in the breast of Napoleon; and he sedulously impressed upon Savary that it was there that the decisive blow was to be struck.*

18. That general, however, was not so well aware as his imperial master where the vital point was to be found; and, instead of reinforcing Bessières with all his disposable forces, he despatched Frère with his division on the track of Moncey, to endeavour to reopen the communication with that marshal, which the intervening insurrection had entirely cut off; and sent on Vedel and Gobert, with their respective divisions, to reinforce Dupont, who had by this time crossed the Sierra Morena, and was far advanced in his progress through Andalusia. Impressed, in a short time afterwards, with the increasing danger to his communications which arose from the junction of the Galician army near Astorga with that which still kept its ground in Leon under Cuesta, he hastily countermanded these orders; recalled Frère to Madrid; ordered Vedel, Gobert, and even Dupont himself, to re-

* "A stroke delivered, by Bessières," said he, "would paralyse all Spain. What signifies now Valencia and Andalusia? The only way really to strengthen Dupont is to reinforce Bessières. There is not a citizen of Madrid, not a peasant in the remotest valleys of Spain, who does not feel that the fate of the campaign is exclusively in the hands of Marshal Bessières. What a misfortune, then, that in so important an affair we should lose a chance, how inconsiderable soever, of success."—*NAPOLEON TO SAVARY*, July 12, 1808; *For*, iv. 45, 46; and *NAPIER*, i. *Appendix*, No. 1.

VOL. VII.

measure their steps, and held himself in readiness to march from the capital with all the disposable troops he could collect to reinforce Bessières on the line of the great northern communication. These dispositions, as usual with alterations made in general designs on the spur of the moment, and in presence of the enemy, were essentially erroneous. The decisive point should have been looked to at first; the subsequent vacillation was too late to strengthen Bessières, but was calculated essentially to weaken Dupont, whom it went to deprive, in circumstances of imminent danger, of one of his best divisions. As such, they excited the greatest displeasure in Napoleon, who gave vent to it in an able and acrimonious despatch (which throws great light on the state of the campaign at this period), and never afterwards in military transactions intrusted Savary with any important command.† But meanwhile the danger

† "The French affairs in Spain," said Napoleon, "would be in an excellent state if Gobert's division had marched upon Valladolid to support Bessières, and Frère's division had occupied San Clemente, alike ready to reinforce Moncey or Dupont, as circumstances might require. Instead of this, Gobert having been directed upon Dupont, and Frère being with Moncey, harassed and weakened by marches and counter-marches, our situation has been sensibly injured. It is a great mistake not to have occupied the citadel of Segovia; of all positions in that quarter it is the most dangerous to the French army, as, situated between two roads, it intercepts both communications. If Dupont should experience a check, it is of no consequence; the only effect of it would be to leave him to repossess the mountains; but a stroke delivered to Marshal Bessières would tell on the heart of the army, would give it a locked jaw, and speedily be felt in all its extremities. It is on this account that it is so unfortunate that the prescribed orders have not been specifically obeyed. The army of Bessières should have had at least eight thousand men more than it has, in order to remove all chance of a disaster in that quarter. The affair of Valencia was a matter of no importance; Moncey alone was adequate to it, it was absurd to think of reinforcing him. If he could not take that town with the forces he had, he could not have done so with twenty thousand more; in that case it would become an affair of artillery. You cannot take by a single stroke a town with eighty thousand or a hundred thousand inhabitants, who have barricaded the streets

had blown over in the north. Bessières, though unsupported, had not only made head against Cuesta and Blake, but defeated them; and a great victory in the plains of Leon had opened to Joseph the gates of Madrid.

19. Blake, with the Army of Galicia, having effected a junction with the remains of Cuesta's troops, which had escaped the rout of Palencia, their united forces left a division at Benavente to protect their stores, and advanced into the plains of Leon to give battle to Bessières. This plan could not but appear rash, considering the veteran character of the French troops, their superiority in cavalry, and the undisciplined crowd of which a large part of the Spanish levies was composed. It was undertaken solely on the responsibility of Cuesta, who had assumed the chief command, and against the strongest remonstrances of Blake, who urged that, by falling back to the frontiers of Galicia, where the French general could never pretend to follow them, they would gain time to discipline and equip their troops, and would soon be enabled to advance again at the head of forty thousand effective men. This sage counsel was rejected. Cuesta, who was a brave but inexperienced veteran, equally headstrong and obstinate, insisted upon an immediate

and fortified the houses. Erère, therefore, could have added nothing to the means of Money against Valencia, whilst the abstraction of his division seriously weakened Dupont. Moreover, if the latter general was to be succoured, it would have been better to have sent him a single regiment direct, than three by so circuitous a route as that by which Erère was ordered to march. In civil wars it is the important points which must be defended, and no attempt should be made to go everywhere. The grand object of all the armies should be to preserve Madrid; it is there that everything is to be lost or won. Madrid cannot be seriously menaced except by the army of Galicia; but it may be so there; for Bessières has not adequate forces to insure its defeat. It may be threatened by the army of Andalusia, but hardly endangered; for in proportion as Dupont falls back, he is reinforced, and with his twenty thousand men he and Vedel should at least be able to keep the enemy in check in that quarter. — *See address to SAVAN on the affairs of Spain by NATHAN, 18th July 1808; taken at the battle of Victoria in José Jourdan's Portfolio; Paris. L'opinion, No. 1.*

action; and finding that Blake still declined to obey, he addressed himself to the junta of Galicia, who, yielding to popular clamour, seconded his orders, and directed Blake forthwith to advance and give battle. Having now no alternative but submission, Blake did the utmost in his power, during the short interval which remained, to put his troops into good condition; and on the 13th July, Cuesta moved forward with the united forces, amounting to twenty-five thousand infantry, four hundred cavalry, and thirty pieces of cannon, to RIO-SECO. Bessières' force was much less numerous, amounting only to fifteen thousand men, and twenty-five guns: but of these nearly two thousand were admirable horsemen, and the composition of the whole was such as more than to counterbalance the inferiority in point of numbers.

20. The dispositions of Cuesta for the battle were as faulty as the resolution to hazard it was ill advised. Contrary alike to the rules of the military art, and the dictates of common sense on the subject, he drew up his troops in two lines at the distance of a mile and a half from each other. The first, ten thousand strong, under Blake, with fifteen pieces of cannon, but in great part composed of raw levies, was stationed on a plateau in advance, of rugged and difficult access; the second, fifteen hundred toises (nine thousand feet) in the rear, led by Cuesta in person, consisted of fifteen thousand men, almost all regular soldiers, and fifteen guns. The few cavalry they had were with the first line. Bessières, perceiving at once the advantage which this extraordinary disposition offered to an enterprising attack, prepared to avail himself to the utmost of it, by throwing the bulk of his forces into the wide chasm between the two lines, so as to overwhelm the first before the second could come up to its assistance. Penetrating rapidly into the open space between the two parts of the army, he attacked Blake both in flank and rear with such vigour, that in an instant his lines were broken, his artillery taken, his men dispersed. As soon

as he saw the rout of his first line, Cuesta moved forward with the second to the attack, and succeeded in reaching the enemy before the disorder consequent on their rapid success and pursuit had been repaired. The consequences had well-nigh proved fatal to the victors. Cuesta's right wing, advancing swiftly and steadily forward in good order, overthrew several French battalions which had not fully recovered their ranks, and captured four guns.

21. This disaster, like that experienced by Zach's grenadiers at Marengo, might, with a less skilful commander or less steady troops, have turned the fortune of the day; for the example of disorder is contagious, and the confusion was already spreading into the French centre, when Bessières, with the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, twelve hundred strong, charged Cuesta's right, which had become exposed by the rapidity of its advance, in flank, with great vigour; and Merle's division, returning from the pursuit of Blake, renewed the combat in front. A short but sanguinary struggle ensued. The Spanish infantry fought bravely, and for a few minutes the fate of the battle was undecided; but at length they were broken, and the loud shouts of victory, which had been raised in the Castilian ranks, passed to the French side. After this it was no longer a battle, but a massacre and rout; the Spaniards broke and dispersed on all sides, leaving eighteen guns, and their whole ammunition, besides two thousand prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Three thousand had fallen on the field, while the loss of the victors did not exceed twelve hundred men. The town of Rio-Secco, taken in the pursuit, was sacked and plundered with merciless severity, and all the nuns in the convents were subjected to the brutal violence of the soldiery. Few days have been more disastrous to Spain; for, worse than the loss of artillery and prisoners, it destroyed all confidence in the ability of their troops to withstand the enemy in the field; while to Napoleon it was the source of unbated, and, as it turned out, pre-

mature exultation. "It is Villa Viciosa," he exclaimed, when the joyful intelligence arrived at Bayonne; "Bessières has placed Joseph on the throne of Spain." * Deeming the war over, he left that fortress, and pursued his journey by Bordeaux for the French capital: while Joseph, relieved now of all anxiety in regard to his communications, pursued his journey to Madrid, where he arrived, as already mentioned, on the 21st July.

22. Napoleon was premature in this judgment: Rio-Secco placed Joseph on the throne of Madrid; but it neither finished the war nor maintained him there. The emperor did not, however, suspend his military preparations: nine thousand Poles, who had entered the service of France, were directed, with four regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, from the Grand Army in Germany towards the Pyrenees. All the princes of the Rhenish Confederacy received orders to send a regiment each in the same direction: the Guards of Joseph followed him to Spain from Naples. Tuscany and the kingdom of Italy were commanded to send their contingents to reinforce Dubasme in Catalonia. Reinforcements to the amount of forty thousand men were thus provided, which all arrived in Spain during the three following months, but too late to arrest the progress of misfortune. While both the French Emperor and his royal brother were indulging in the sanguine hope that all was terminated, a dreadful disaster had occurred in Andalusia, and a blow been struck on the banks of the Guadalquivir which resounded from one end of Europe to the other.

* In allusion to the battle at Villa Viciosa, where Philip V. and the Duke de Vendôme gained a complete victory over the Allies; which decided the Succession War in favour of the house of Bourbon. But the comparison was the reverse of the truth; for at Villa Viciosa, Philip and the Spaniards united for Spain against foreign armies; and the affair was decisive, for the whole military force of both sides was collected in one field; whereas at Rio-Secco the general of an intruder king sought to beat down the native troops of Castile, and a desperate only of the military strength of either side was engaged. —For, iv. 47.

23. Dupont, who was at Toledo when the insurrection broke out in all parts of Spain, received, on the 24th May, an order from Murat, then lieutenant-general of Spain, to move upon Cadiz; by the route of the Sierra Morena, Cordova, and Seville. He was to be joined in Andalusia by four thousand men and ten guns drawn from the army of Portugal. Having immediately set out, he experienced no resistance while traversing the open plains of La Mancha; and in the Sierra Morena found the villages indeed deserted, but no enemy to dispute his progress. At Andujar, however, where he arrived on the 2d June, he received information of the real state of matters in that province—that Seville, Cadiz, and all the principal towns were ruled by juntas, which had declared war against France; that the army at St. Roque had joined the patriot cause, and that the peasants by thousands were flocking into the burghs to enrol themselves under the national banners. Alarmed by this intelligence, Dupont wrote to Madrid for reinforcements; and, after establishing an hospital at Andujar and taking measures of precaution to secure his rear, set out four days afterwards, and continued his march towards Cordova, still following the left bank of the Guadalquivir. This road, however, after running eight-and-twenty leagues on that bank of the river, crosses it at Alcolea by a long bridge of nineteen arches, strongly constructed of black marble. It was at its extremity that the Spaniards awaited the enemy.

24. The end of the bridge on the left bank was fortified by a *tête-de-pont*; twelve guns were mounted on the right bank to enfilade the approach to it, and three thousand regular troops, supported by ten thousand armed peasants, waited in Alcolea to dispute the passage; while the heights on the left bank, in the rear of the French, were occupied by a cloud of insurgents ready to fall on their rear as soon as they were actively engaged with the more regular force in the front. The French general, seeing such preparations ready for his reception, delayed his attack till the following morning, and mean-

while made his dispositions against the numerous enemies by whom he was surrounded. This was no difficult matter: a very small part only of the Spanish force was adequate to the encounter of regular soldiers. At day-break on the following morning, General Fresia, with a battalion of infantry and a large body of cavalry, attacked the peasants on the left bank, and by a few charges dispersed them: at the same time a column with ease broke into the *tête-de-pont*, the works of which were not yet finished, and rapidly charging across the bridge, of which the arches had not been cut, routed the Spanish troops at Alcolea, on the opposite side with such loss that all their artillery was taken. Echevaria, the commander, despairing of defending Cordova, fled with such precipitance, that before night he reached Ecija, twelve leagues from the field of battle.

25. Abandoned to their own resources, and destitute of any leaders for their guidance, the magistrates having all fled on the first alarm, the inhabitants of Cordova, before which the French presented themselves the same day, were in no condition to resist the invaders. The gates nevertheless were shut, and the old towers which flanked their approaches filled with armed men, by whom, as the cannon of the enemy approached, a feeble fire was kept up. A parleying for surrender, however, took place, and the conferences were going on, when, under pretence of a few random shots from some windows, the guns were discharged at the gates, which were instantly burst open; the troops rushed into the town, where hardly any resistance was made, but which notwithstanding underwent all the horrors of a place carried by assault. A scene of indescribable horror ensued, fraught with acute but passing suffering to the Spaniards, with lasting disgrace to the French. A universal pillage took place. Every public establishment was sacked, every private house plundered. Armed and unarmed men were slaughtered indiscriminately; women ravished; the churches plundered; even the venerable cathedral,

originally the much-loved mosque of the Omniade Caliphs, which had survived the devastations of the first Christian conquest, six hundred years before, was stripped of its riches and ornaments, and defiled by the vilest debauchery. Nor was this merely the unbridled license of subaltern insubordination, too common on such occasions with the best disciplined forces. The general-in-chief and superior officers themselves set the first example of a rapacity as pernicious as it was disgraceful; and from the plunder of the Treasury and Office of Consolidation, Dupont contrived to realise above 10,000,000 reals, or £100,000 sterling. Not content with this hideous devastation, the French general, when the sack had ceased, overwhelmed the city by an enormous contribution. It is some consolation, amidst so frightful a display of military license and unbridled cupidity, that a righteous retribution speedily overtook its perpetrators; that it was the load of their public and private plunder which shortly after retarded their retreat along the banks of the Guadalquivir; and that it was anxiety to preserve their ill-gotten spoil which paralysed their arms in the field, and brought an unheard-of disgrace on the French standards.*

26. Dupont remained several days at Cordova; but learning that the insurrection had spread, and was gathering strength in all directions, and find-

* Colonel Napier says, (l. 114, 1st edit.) "As the inhabitants took no part in the contest, and received the French without any signs of aversion, the town was protected from pillage; and Dupont fixed his headquarters there." It would be well if he would specify the authority on which this assertion is made, as it is directly contrary to the united testimony of even the most liberal French and Spanish historians. Foy says, with his usual candour, "To some musket-shots, discharged almost by accident from the windows, the French answered by a continued discharge, and speedily burst open the gates. Men without arms, without the means of resistance, were slaughtered in the streets; the houses, the churches, even the celebrated mosque, which the Christians had converted into a cathedral, were alike sacked. The ancient capital of the Omniade Caliphs, the greatest kings which Spain ever beheld, saw scenes of horror renewed such as it had not witnessed since the city was taken in 1236 by Ferdinand King of Castile. These

ing his communications with Madrid intercepted by the patriot hands in his rear, he deemed it imprudent to make any further advance in the direction of Seville. Meanwhile the insurgents closed around and hemmed him in on every side. The armed peasants of Jaen and its vicinity crossed the Guadalquivir, and overwhelmed the detachment left at Andujar in charge of the sick there, and with savage cruelty, in revenge for the sack of Cordova, put them all to death; the smugglers of the Sierra Morena, relinquishing their illicit traffic for a more heart-stirring conflict, issued from their gloomy retreats, and beset all the passes of their inaccessible mountains. "Even the peasants of La Mancha had caught the flame. The magazines of Mudela had fallen into their power; the sick at Manzanares had been barbarously put to the sword; the roads were so beset that even considerable detachments in the rear were captured or defeated; General Rolze, with a body of four hundred convalescents, was overthrown in the open plains of La Mancha; and after having joined five hundred light horse under General Ligier Belair, the united array was deemed inadequate to forcing the passes of the Sierra Morena, and fell back towards Toledo. These accumulating disasters, which were greatly magnified by popular rumour, and the impossibility of getting any correct detail of the facts

terrible scenes had no excuse in the losses sustained by the conqueror; for the attack of the town had not cost them ten men, and the total success of the day had only weakened them by thirty killed and eighty wounded." "Torreño, though a decided liberal Spanish historian, observes—"Rushing into the town, the French proceeded, killing or wounding all those whom they met on their road: they sacked the houses, the temples, even the humblest dwellings of the poor. The ancient and celebrated cathedral became the prey of the insatiable and destructive rapacity of the stranger. The massacre was great, the quantity of precious spoil collected immense. From the single depots of the Treasury and the Consolidation, Dupont obtained ten million reals, besides the sums extracted from public and private places of deposit. It was thus that a population was delivered up to plunder which had neither made nor attempted the slightest resistance."—Foy, *iii.* 226, 231; and Torreño, *l.* 322.

from the general interruption of the communications, produced such an impression on Dupont that he deemed it hopeless to attempt any farther advance into Andalusia—a resolution which proved the salvation of that province, and, in the end, of Spain; for such was the state of anarchy and irresolution which prevailed among the troops intrusted with its defence, that, had he advanced boldly forward and followed up his successes at Alcolea and Cordova with the requisite vigour, Seville would at once have fallen into his power, and the insurrection in that quarter might have been entirely crushed.

27. Castanos, indeed, was at the head of eight thousand regular troops, drawn from the camp at St Roque, and an enthusiastic but undisciplined body of thirty thousand armed peasants assembled at Utrera. But the latter part of this force was incapable of any efficient operations in the field; and such was the consternation occasioned, in the first instance, by the success of the French irruption, that the general-in-chief was desirous of retiring to Cadiz, and making its impregnable fortifications the citadel of an intrenched camp, where the new levies might acquire some degree of consistency, and the support of ten or twelve thousand British troops might, in case of necessity, be obtained. The authority of Castanos was merely nominal; Morla, governor of Cadiz, was his enemy; and the junta of Seville issued orders independent of either: so that the former general, despairing of success, had actually, under pretence of providing for the security of Cadiz, embarked his heavy artillery for that fortress. From this disgrace, however, the Spaniards were relieved by the apprehensions of the enemy. A pause in an invading army is dangerous at all times, but especially so when an insurrection is to be put down by the moral influence of its advance. The hesitation of Dupont at Cordova proved his ruin. He remained ten days inactive there, during which the whole effect of his victory was lost. Confidence returned to the enemy from the hourly increase of

their force, and the evident alarm of the French general: and at length some intercepted despatches to Savary were found to contain so dismal an account of his situation, that not only were all thoughts of retiring farther laid aside, but it was resolved immediately to advance, and surround the enemy in the city which he had conquered.

28. The fears of Dupont, however, prevented Cordova from a second time becoming the theatre of military license. Detachments of peasants had occupied all the passes in the Sierra Morena: troops, including some regulars, were accumulating in the direction of Granada, with the design of seizing Carulina and intercepting his retreat to La Mancha. Fame had magnified the amount of the forces descending into the plains of Leon, under Cuesta and Blake; and rumours had got abroad that Savary was fortifying himself in the Retiro. Unable to withstand the sinister presentiments consequent on such an accumulation of adverse incidents, the French general resolved to fall back; and accordingly broke up from Cordova on the 16th June, and three days afterwards reached Andujar, without having experienced any molestation. A strong detachment was immediately sent off to Jaen, which defeated the insurgents, and took a severe but not undeserved vengeance on the inhabitants for their barbarity to the sick at Andujar, by sacking and burning the town. The supplies, however, which Dupont expected from this excursion were not obtained; for every article of provisions which the town contained was consumed in the conflagration. Both sides after this continued inactive for above three weeks, during which the sick in the French hospital, as usual

—That severity, however deplorable, was perhaps rendered necessary, and therefore justified, by the massacre of the sick at Andujar: but, in the prosecution of their cruelties, the French soldiers proceeded to excesses as wanton as they were savage; massacring old men, and infants at the breast, and executing the last acts of cruelty on some sick friars of St Domingo and St Augustine, who could not escape from the town.—TOWNS, l. 323.

with a retreating army, rapidly augmented; while the Spanish forces, under Castanos, which now approached, increased so much, by reinforcements from all quarters, that that general could now muster above twenty thousand regular infantry and two thousand horse, besides a motley crowd of thirty thousand armed peasants under his command. During the same period, however, powerful reinforcements reached the French general; for Gobert, with his division, whose absence from Leon Napoleon had so bitterly lamented, joined Vedel at BAYLEN on the 15th July, and a brigade was pushed on under Ligier Belair to open up the communication with the main body at Andujar. But the Spanish generals, now deeming the escape of the French impossible, were taking measures for enveloping the whole, and forcing them to surrender.

20. In truth the long delay afforded by the inactivity of Dupont had been turned to the best account by the Spanish general. In the interim he contrived to give a certain degree of consistence to his numerous but tumultuous array of peasants: while the disembarkation of General Spencer with five thousand English troops chiefly from Gibraltar, at Port St Mary's, near Cadiz, inspired general confidence by securing a rallying point in case of disaster. At length the regular troops from Granada, St Roque, Cadiz, and other quarters having all assembled, to the number of eight-and-twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, a combined plan of attack was agreed on. The army was arranged in three divisions; the first, under Reding, a Swiss general of distinction, brother to the intrepid Patriot of the same name, received orders to cross the Guadalquivir at Mengibar, and move to Baylen, in the rear of Andujar, where Dupont still was, and between that town and the Sierra Morena; the second, under Compiigny, was to pass the same river at Villa Nueva and support Reding; while Castanos, with the third and the reserve, was to press the enemy in front, and a body of irregular troops, under Don Juan

de la Cruz, passing by the bridge of Marmolejo, to harass his right flank. A glance at the map will at once shew that the effect of these dispositions, which were ably combined, was to throw a preponderating force in the rear of Dupont directly on his line of communications, and either separate the division under his immediate command from those of Gobert and Vedel, or interpose between them all and the road to Madrid. They were promptly and vigorously carried into execution. Castanos, with the troops under his immediate command, approached to within a league of Andujar, and so alarmed Dupont that he sent to Vedel for assistance, who came with his whole division, except thirteen hundred men left to guard the ford of Mengibar. This small body was there attacked, two days after, by Reding with eight thousand men, defeated, and the passage of the river forced; Gobert, advancing from Baylen to support the broken detachment, received a ball in the forehead and fell dead on the spot. The French in dismay retreated to Baylen; and the Spaniards, under Reding, seeing themselves interposed in this manner between Gobert and Vedel, with forces little superior to either, taken singly, also retired in the night by the ford to the other bank of the river. But this bold irruption into the middle of their line of march, and the death of Gobert, spread consternation through the army. A loud cannonade, heard the whole day from the side of Andujar, where Castanos was engaging the attention of Dupont, induced the belief that they were beset on all sides; and the accounts which reached both armies in the evening of the disaster experienced before Valencia, increased the confidence of the Spaniards as much as it depressed the feelings of the French soldiers.*

* A singular coincidence occurred in relation to the place and day of the action in which General Gobert lost his life. On the same day (16th July 1812) nearly six hundred years before (16th July 1212) there had been gained at the same place the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, by Alphonse IX. over the Mussulman host of Spain and Africa, two hundred thousand strong. Gobert fell on

30. In the whole French army there was not a general of division who bore a higher character than Dupont; and when he set out for Andalusia, in command of so considerable a force, it was universally believed that he would win his marshal's baton at Cadix. In 1801, he had distinguished himself, under Brune, in the winter campaign with the Austrians on the Italian plains: in 1805, his gallant conduct had eminently contributed to the glorious triumph at Ulm: in 1807, he had been not less conspicuous in the Polish war at Eylau and Friedland. His courage was unquestionable: his talents of no ordinary kind. But it is one thing to possess the spirit and intrepidity which makes a good general of division or colonel of grenadiers: it is another and a very different thing to be endowed with the moral resolution which is requisite to withstand disaster, and act with the decision and energy indispensable in a general-in-chief. In the situation in which he was now placed, there was but one course to adopt, and that was, to mass all his forces together, and bear down in a single column upon the enemy, so as to re-open his communications, and secure, at all hazards, his retreat: and twenty thousand French soldiers assembled together were adequate to bursting through at a single point all the troops of Spain.

31. Instead of this, he divided his force, and thereby exposed it to destruction. Vedel received orders to lead back to Baylen his own division, while the general-in-chief himself continued fronting Castanos at Andujar. But meanwhile Generals Dufour and Ligier Belair, who had been left at Baylen, were so much disquieted by the forces under Reding and Coupigny, which had now united together, and threatened them with an attack, that they retired towards Carolina, on the road to the Sierra Morena; and Vedel, finding, on his arrival at Baylen, that

the field still called the *field of massacre*, from the carnage made of the Moors on this memorable occasion—the greatest victory, after that of Tours, ever gained by the Christians over the soldiers of the Crescent.—
TOMAS, I. 363.

it was entirely evacuated by the French troops, followed them to the same place, with the design of securing the passes of the mountains in their rear. By this fatal movement the two divisions of the French army were irrevocably separated; and Reding and Coupigny, finding no enemy to oppose them, entered in great force into Baylen, and established themselves there. Thus the two hostile armies became interlaced in the most extraordinary manner: Castanos having Dupont between him and Reding, and Reding being interposed between the French general and his lieutenant Vedel.

32. In such a situation a decisive advantage to one or other party is at hand; and it generally falls to the commander who boldly takes the initiative, and brings his combined forces to bear on the isolated corps of his opponent. Dupont, sensible of his danger, broke up from Andujar late on the evening of the 18th, and marched towards Baylen, on his direct line of retreat; while Reding and Coupigny, finding themselves relieved of all fears from Vedel and Dufour, who had moved to Carolina, at the entrance of the mountains, turned their faces to the southward, and early on the following morning marched towards Andujar, with the design of co-operating with Castanos in the attack upon Dupont. Hearing, soon after starting, of his approach towards them, they took post in a strong position, intersected with ravines and covered by olive woods, in front of Baylen; and soon the French outposts appeared in sight. Their forces, widely scattered, and coming up in disorder, resembled rather a detachment guarding an immense convoy than a corps equipped for field operations; so heavily were they encumbered with five hundred baggage-waggons, which conveyed along the artillery and ammunition stores, and the ill-gotten plunder of Cordova.

33. Great was the dismay of the French troops when, in the obscurity of the morning, an hour before sunrise, they suddenly came upon the Spanish army right in their front,

occupying this advantageous position. There was no time, however, for the liberation; for Castanos, having heard of their departure from Andujar, had shortly after entered that town, and, passing through it with the bulk of his forces, was already threatening their rear. Dupont immediately made his dispositions for forcing his way, sword in hand, through the barrier of steel which opposed his progress; and had his troops been concentrated, there can be little doubt that he would have succeeded in doing so, and either thrown Reding back towards Vedel, or opened up his own communication with that general. But at this decisive moment the sack of Cordova proved their ruin. The troops were scattered along a line of march of three leagues in length, encumbered with innumerable waggons; the best were in rear to guard the precious convoy from the assaults of Castanos. Hastily assembling such troops as he could collect in front, Dupont, with three thousand men, commenced an attack when the day broke, at four in the morning; but his troops, fatigued by a long night-march, and discouraged by the unexpected and dangerous enemy which obstructed their advance, could make no impression on the Swiss regiments and Walloon guards, the flower of the Spanish army, which there awaited their approach. After a gallant struggle, in which they sustained severe loss, they were driven back, and lost not only some guns which in the commencement of the action they had taken from the enemy, but even their own.

34. As brigade after brigade successively came up to the front, they were brought forward to the attack, but with no better success. The French troops, wearied by a night-march, choked with dust, disordered by the encumbrance of baggage-waggons, overwhelmed by the burning sun of Andalusia in the dog-days, were no match for the steady Swiss and Walloon guards, who had rested all night coolly under the shade, in a strong position, or even for the new levies, to whom Reding had imparted

his own fearless spirit. Their guns, which came up one by one in haste and confusion, and never equalled those which the enemy had in battery, were speedily dismounted by the superior force and aim of the Spanish artillery. Two thousand men had already fallen on the side of the invaders, while scarce a tenth of the number were disabled on that of their enemies. Heat and thirst overwhelmed even the bravest soldiers; and that fatal dejection which is the forerunner of disaster, was rapidly spreading among the young conscripts, when two Swiss regiments, which had hitherto bravely maintained the combat on the right, came to a parley with their brethren in the Spanish lines, and passed over to the side of Reding. At the same time a loud cannonade was heard in the rear, and disordered fugitives, breathless from running, and almost melting with heat, burst through the ranks, and announced that a large body of the Spaniards under La Pena, the advanced guard of Castanos, was already menacing the rear. Despairing now of extricating himself from his difficulties, ignorant of the situation of Vedel and Dufour, and deeming a capitulation the only way of preserving the army from destruction, Dupont sent to Reding to propose a suspension of arms, which was at once agreed to.

35. While Dupont, with the corps under his immediate command, not ten thousand strong, was thus maintaining a painful and hopeless struggle with the concentrated masses of the Spaniards, more than double the amount of his troops, the remainder of his army, of equal force, under Vedel and Dufour, was occupied to no purpose at a distance from the scene of action. The whole of the 18th was spent by these generals at Carolina in allowing the soldiers to repose, and repairing the losses of the artillery. But as the enemy, whom they expected to find at the entrance of the passes, had disappeared, and a loud cannonade was heard the following morning on the side of Baylen, they rightly judged that it was there

that the decisive point was to be found, and set out in that direction. The distance from Carolina to Baylen was only eighteen miles; that from Andújar to the same place was sixteen; by a little activity, therefore, Vedel might have reached the rear of Reding as soon as Castanos could that of Dupont, and then the fate which the Spanish generals designed for the French troops must have overtaken themselves. When he arrived at Guadroman, however, about half-way, the troops were so much exhausted by the heat that Vedel, though he heard the cannonade, now only six miles distant, hourly increasing, had the weakness to allow them some hours of repose. This halt proved decisive: while it continued, Dupont's troops, whom he might with ease have reached in two hours, were seduced to desperation. At noon the firing suddenly ceased, and the soldiers flattered themselves that the danger had passed: it was the suspension of arms, which was about to bring unheard-of disgrace upon them all. When they resumed their march, at two in the afternoon, they soon came upon the rear of Reding, and, discrediting the statement of an armistice, which was immediately made known to them, commenced an attack, made prisoners a battalion of Irish in the service of Spain, captured some guns, and dispersed the new levies which defended them. They were within a league of their comrades in distress, when an officer from Dupont arrived with the mournful intelligence that a suspension of arms had been agreed to, and that they had no alternative but submission. It was all over; the halt of a few hours at Guadroman had ruined the expedition: twenty thousand men were about to lay down their arms; Europe was to be astonished the empire of Napoleon shaken to its foundation. Such is the importance of time in war.

86. Dupont in the outset proposed a capitulation, in virtue of which the whole French troops were to be allowed to retire, with their artillery and baggage, out of Andalusia; and

Castanos was at first inclined to have acceded to the proposal, deeming it an immense advantage to clear that province of the enemy, and gain time in this way for completing his preparations. But at this critical moment the despatches were intercepted and brought to headquarters, which announced the approach of Cuesta to the capital, and recalled Dupont to aid in its defence. A convention would no longer be listened to: an absolute surrender of arms was required, under condition only of the troops being sent to France by sea. After many fruitless efforts to avoid so hard a fate, this was agreed to by Dupont but he insinuated to Vedel that he might endeavour to extricate himself from the toils. That general accordingly retired to Carolina; but the Spaniards threatened to put Dupont and his whole division to the sword if this movement was not stopped, and Vedel included in the capitulation. Intimidated by these menaces, orders to this effect were despatched by Dupont: and so completely was the spirit of the French officers broken, that, out of twenty-four whom Vedel assembled to deliberate on the course they should pursue at this crisis, only four, including that general himself, voted for disregarding the capitulation, and continuing their retreat, which was now open, to La Mancha. Nay, to such an extent did the panic extend, that a Spanish detachment crossed the mountains, and made prisoners, upon the strength of the capitulation of Baylen, all the French depots and insulated bodies as far as Toledo, which, with those who laid down their arms on the field, swelled the captives to twenty-one thousand. Two thousand had fallen in the battle—a thousand in the previous operations, or from the effect of sickness: twenty-four thousand men were lost to France!

87. Language can convey to future ages no adequate idea of the impression which this extraordinary event produced in Europe. Hardly anything since the opening of the Revolutionary war had at all approached to it in importance. Hitherto the career of the

French armies had been one of almost unbroken success; and even though the talents of the Archduke Charles and the firmness of the Russians had for a time arrested the torrent, yet it had been suspended only to break out shortly after with accumulated force, and sweep away every obstacle which courage, combination, or genius could oppose to its progress. Even at their lowest point of depression, disgrace had never sullied the Republican ranks; victorious or vanquished, they had ever commanded the respect of their enemies; no large bodies had laid down their arms; their retreat had ever been that of brave and honourable men. Now, however, a disaster such as France had rarely experienced since the battle of Pavia had overtaken their standards: twenty thousand men had surrendered; the imperial eagles had found in Andalusia the Caudine Forks. Fame and incorrect information gave greater importance to this triumph than even its intrinsic magnitude deserved. It was unknown or overlooked that it was by a skilful series of military movements on the one side, and an extraordinary combination of errors on the other, that Dupont had been brought to such hazardous straits; by the firmness of the Swiss and Walloon guards, the precision in fire of the Spanish artillery, and the inexperience of his own troops, that he had been compelled to surrender. It was generally imagined that the French veterans had laid down their arms to the Spanish peasants; it was unknown or forgotten that the victory was really gained by experienced soldiers; and the imaginations of men, both in the Peninsula and over all Europe, were fired by the belief that a new era had dawned upon mankind; that the superiority of disciplined troops and regular armies was at an end; and that popular enthusiasm and general zeal were all that were necessary to secure the victory, even over the greatest and most formidable veteran armies.

38. How widely this belief spread, how generally it was acted upon, and what oceans of blood it caused to be spilt in vain in Spain itself, will amply

appear in the sequel of this history; and probably, by inspiring the people of that country with an overweening idea of their own strength, and of the capability of raw levies to contend with regular forces, it contributed, in no small degree, to that almost unbroken train of disasters in the field which their armies, when unsupported by the British, subsequently experienced during the remainder of the war. But in the first instance it produced a prodigious and most important burst of exultation and enthusiasm. It determined the conduct of many of the grandees and nobles of Spain, who had at Bayonne adhered to the usurper, but now, with the Dukes del Infantado and del Parque, Cevallos and Penella, rejoined the ranks of their countrymen; and by throwing the capital and chief towns of the kingdom, with the exception of the frontier fortresses, into the hands of the insurgents, gave the struggle, in the eyes of all Europe, as well as of the people themselves, the character of a national contest. Nor was the effect less momentous over the whole Continent, by affording a convincing proof that the French were not invincible, and opening the eyes of all governments to the immense addition which the military force, on which they had hitherto exclusively relied, might receive from the ardour and enthusiasm of the people.

39. Napoleon was at Bordeaux when the account of the capitulation reached him. Never, since the disaster at Trafalgar, had he been so completely overwhelmed: for a time he could not speak; the excess of his depression excited the alarm of his ministers. "Is your Majesty unwell?" said the minister for foreign affairs, Maret. "No."—"Has Austria declared war?" "Would to God that were all!"—"What, then, has happened?" The Emperor recounted the humiliating details of the capitulation, and added, "That an army should be beaten is nothing—it is the daily fate of war, and is easily repaired; but that an army should submit to a dishonourable capitulation is a stain on the glory of our arms which

can never be effaced. Wounds inflicted on honour are incurable. The moral effect of this catastrophe will be terrible. What! they have had the infamy to consent that the haversacks of our soldiers should be searched like those of robbers! Could I have ever expected that of General Dupont, a man whom I loved, and was rearing up to become a marshal! They say he had no other way to prevent the destruction of the army, to save the lives of the soldiers! Better, far better, to have perished with arms in their hands—that no one should have escaped! Their death would have been glorious: we should have avenged them. You can always supply the place of soldiers: honour alone, when once lost, can never be regained. It is in vain to tell me the soldiers were conscripts, unused to arms. Were they inferior to those I commanded in Italy! It is always the general who makes the army. Better a lion in command of a troop of deer, than a deer at the head of a troop of lions. Oh! wretched caprice of human affairs! A whole lifetime lost by a surprise of the senses, a shake of the nerves! But the fate of empires must not be subjected to such chances. The safety of the state demands an inexorable example. In war, a great disaster always designates an enormous fault! What a sentence on Napoleon's own conduct in 1812!

40. If the capitulation itself was dishonourable to the French arms, the subsequent violation of it by the Spaniards was still more disgraceful to the victors, and remains a dark stain on the Castilian good faith. From the moment that the long file of prisoners began their march towards Cadix as the place of their embarkation, it was found to be extremely difficult to restrain the indignation of the people, who loudly complained that so large a body of men, for the most part stained by robbery or murder committed in Spain, should be forwarded to France, apparently for no other purpose but that they might be again let loose in the Peninsula to commit similar devastations. Alarmed at the increase

and serious character of the excitement, the junta of Seville consulted Castanos and Morla, the governor of Cadix, on the course which they should adopt. The first, with the honour and good faith of a gallant soldier, in opposition to the public clamour, insisted that the capitulation should be religiously observed;—the latter, setting aside every other consideration in the desire to gain a temporary popularity with the multitude, contended that no treaty could be binding with men who had committed such enormities on the Spanish soil as the French prisoners; that to let them return to France, loaded with the spoil of Cordova, torn from the wretched inhabitants in open violation of the laws of war, would be a palpable act of insanity; and that, having once got them in their power, the only sensible course was to detain them till the war was over. These specious but sophistical arguments, apworthy of a Spanish officer, found a responsive echo in the breasts of the infuriated multitude; the public effervescence increased as they advanced in their march. In consequence of the discovery of precious spoils in the knapsacks of some of the soldiers at Lebriza, a tumult ensued between the peasantry and the prisoners, which cost many lives to the latter; the sacred vases of Cordova and Jaen were loudly demanded; and at Port St Mary's, the accidental circumstance of one of these holy caps falling from the haversack of a soldier gave rise to such a tumult that a general search of the baggage could no longer be prevented.

41. These disorders were, perhaps, unavoidable in the circumstances in which the Spanish Government of the province was situated, and the unexampled treachery with which they had been assailed by the French; but for the subsequent violation of the capitulation no apology can be found. Desirous of maintaining their popularity, the junta of Seville heeded to the opinion of Morla, in which they in vain endeavoured to get Lord Collingwood and Sir Hew Dalrymple to concur. Instead of being sent by sea to France,

the soldiers and regimental officers were crowded together into the hulks of Cadiz, where, such were the privations and misery to which they were subjected, very few remained at the conclusion of the war.* Dupont, the officers of his staff, and all the generals, were permitted to return to France; but the remainder, nearly eighteen thousand in number, were kept in lingering suffering in their dismal captivity, and, with the exception of a few who accepted service under the Spanish government, and took the first opportunity to desert to their beloved eagles, and those confined in one hulk, who overpowered their guards during the night and contrived to float her across to the lines of their countrymen three years afterwards, during the siege of Cadiz, hardly any ever revisited their native country.† This frightful act of injustice was as impolitic as it was disgraceful.* It gave the French, in their turn, too fair a ground for inveighing against the perfidy of their enemies, exasperated the feelings of their armies, who had at first entered into this contest with lukewarm dispositions or undis-

guised aversion, and repeatedly afterwards stimulated them to desperate and sanguinary resistance, under circumstances when, with a more trustworthy enemy, they would have entered into terms of accommodation.

42. The fatal news of the capitulation of Baylen arrived at Madrid on the 20th July, and diffused universal consternation among the adherents of Joseph. A council of war was immediately summoned by Savary, and opinions were much divided on the course which should be pursued. Moncey proposed that Bessières' division should be recalled, and that with their united forces they should take up a position in front of the capital, and defend it to the last extremity. But Savary, to whom the situation which he held as lieutenant-general of the King, as well as the known confidence which he enjoyed with the Emperor, gave a preponderating voice in the deliberations, strongly urged the necessity of retiring to the northward, and taking counsel from circumstances, as to the point to which the retreat should be prolonged. On the 30th July the intrusive King commenced

* Sir Hew Dalrymple's answer to the junta of Seville, when his opinion was asked on this subject, is worthy of a place in history:—"It is quite clear that the capitulation is binding on the contracting parties, so far as they have the means of carrying it into execution. The laws of honour, not considerations of expediency, should ever govern soldiers in solemn stipulations of this kind; the surrender of General Vedel could only be supposed to have arisen from the confidence which he placed in the honour which characterised the Spanish nation. The reputation of a government, especially one newly formed, is public property, which ought not to be lightly squandered. The matter, therefore, is clear on considerations of honour and justice: even viewed in the light of expedience, it is far from being beyond dispute." Lord Collingwood, when applied to, answered, that if the Spanish government had not seemed enough to man transport vessels for conveying the troops, he would order British seamen to fit out their merchant vessels for that purpose; that the capitulation must be observed so far as possible; if the conditions were impossible, they annulled themselves. — *Sourcery*, i. 502, 504; *Collingwood's Memoirs*, ii. 127, 128.

† The fate of the generals and officers who were returned to France from Cadiz, was hardly less deplorable than that of their com-

rades who lingered in prolonged torments on board the Spanish hulks. Dupont and all the generals were immediately arrested and sent to prison, where they lingered, without either trial or investigation, for many years afterwards. General Marescot, who, though in a subaltern rank, had taken a certain part in the negotiation, loudly, but in vain, demanded to be brought to a court-martial. Neither he nor Dupont, nor any of the superior officers connected with the capitulation of Baylen were ever more heard of till after the fall of Napoleon in 1814. In 1812, a court of inquiry sat on the generals, and condemned them all: but public opinion was far from supporting their decision. Shortly after (1st May 1813), an Imperial decree forbade, on pain of death, any capitulation in the field which should amount to a laying down of arms. Such was Napoleon's irritation with regard to everything connected with this convention, that when he afterwards saw General Legrand, who, as chief of the staff to Dupont, had officially affixed his signature to the treaty, he was seized with a trembling from head to foot, and his indignation found vent in these words:—"How, General! did your hand not wither when you signed that infamous capitulation?" He never afterwards heard Baylen named to without evincing such indignation as showed how deeply it had wounded his mind. — *For.* iv. 116, 118.

his retreat: the hospitals had previously been evacuated for Bayonne; the heavy artillery, which could not be brought away, amounting to eighty pieces, was spiked; but the retiring monarch and his military satellites carried off with them all the jewels and precious articles from the palaces they had so recently occupied. They retired by the great road to Burgos, where headquarters were established on the 9th August; the rear-guard collecting as it went along all the garrisons of the towns and castles which had been occupied by the French troops to the south of the Ebro. They experienced no molestation from the Spaniards during their retreat; notwithstanding which all the villages and hamlets through which they passed were given up to pillage, and a great number burned to the ground. Soon after Joseph reached Burgos, Bessières arrived with his corps, and Verdier came up with the force which had been engaged in the siege of Saragossa; so that, including Moncey's corps and the troops brought up from Madrid, above fifty thousand veteran troops could, notwithstanding all the losses of the campaign, be collected for the defence of the Ebro*.

While this decisive stroke was struck in the south of Spain, the contest had already assumed elsewhere a sanguinary character; the success had been more checkered in the Catalonian mountains; and the British army,

under the guidance of WELLINGTON, had chased the French eagles from the flock of Lisbon.

43. Napoleon, who was by no means aware of the almost insurmountable obstacles which the tenacious spirit and rugged mountains of Catalonia were to oppose to his arms, had directed Duhamme to co-operate with Lefebvre-Desnouettes in the siege of Saragossa. In order to accomplish this object, that general, early in June, fitted out two corps: the first, four thousand five hundred strong, under the orders of General Chabran, was despatched towards the south, with instructions to make itself master of Tarragona, and Tortosa, and then proceed on and co-operate with Marshal Moncey in the attack on Valencia; while the second, under General Schwartz, consisting of three thousand eight hundred men, after punishing Madres, destroying the powder-mills there, and levying a heavy contribution on its inhabitants, was to push on to Lerida, and, after securing that important fortress, give its aid to Lefebvre-Desnouettes before the walls of Saragossa. These columns quitted Barcelona early in June, and directed their march to their respective points of destination; but both experienced defeat. The tocsin was ringing on all the hills; the villages were deserted; the woods and higher parts of the mountains, the rugged passes and inaccessible thickets, formed

* Savary was blamed by Napoleon for this retreat to the Ebro, and he alleged that the line of the Douro might have been maintained, and the operations against Saragossa in consequence not interrupted. In justice to the French general, however, it must be observed, that his situation in the capital, after the surrender of Dupont, had become extremely critical; and that the losses which the troops at the capital had undergone, were such as to preclude the hope of a successful stand being made against the united Spanish armies which might advance from the south. Shortly after his arrival at Madrid he had written in these terms, and in explicit terms to the Emperor, in a despatch which throws great light on the state of the contest at that period:—"It is no longer a mere affair in which, by punishing the leaders, a revolt may be suppressed. If the arrival of the King does not modify the country, we shall have a regular war on our hands

with the troops of the line, and one of extermination with the peasantry. The system of sending movable columns over the provinces is likely to induce partial checks, which will lead to the spreading of the insurrection. It is indispensable that your Majesty should consider seriously the means of carrying on the war. We lose four hundred men a month in the hospitals alone; our army can in no respect be compared to that which conquers Germany. Everything has been calculated according to the turn which it was expected affairs would assume, not that which they have actually taken. Many battalions have not four officers; the whole cavalry is fit for the hospital together. The crowd of young and presumptuous men who crowd the army, contribute rather to embarrassment than anything else. There is an insurmountable difference between such commanders and a steady veteran sergeant or officer."—SAVARY to NAPOLEON; *FOR*, iv. 34, 35.

so many rallying points to the courageous Somatenes.

44. Schwartz, indeed, in his march towards Saragossa, forced the celebrated pass of Bruch, though beset with armed men; but, advancing a little farther, he encountered a disaster at Casa Mansana. The villagers assailed the invaders with showers of stones, balls, and even boiling water, from the roofs of the houses; the peasants, who had fled in disorder a few minutes before through the streets, returned to the charge. Threatened on all sides, Schwartz resolved to retreat, which he effected at first in good order; but his advanced guard having attempted, during the night, to force the passage of the town of Esparraguera, which lay on his road, was repulsed with loss, and his troops, thrown into disorder by that nocturnal check, were never able to gain their proper array till they found refuge, two days after, under the cannon of Barcelona. Chabran, whose route lay through a less mountainous district, reached Tarragona in safety on the 7th, and got possession of that important town without opposition: but Duhesme was so much alarmed by the repulse of Schwartz, that he hastily recalled him to Barcelona. So dangerous is it to make a retrograde movement while engaged with an insurrection, that a very severe resistance was experienced in the retreat, at places where not a shot had been fired during the advance. Irritated by this opposition and the sanguinary excesses of the peasants, the French set fire to Villafranca as they retired; and Duhesme having sent Count Theodore Lecchi with the Italian division and Schwartz's troops to his assistance, the united columns again approached the pass of Bruch; but finding the Somatenes posted on its rugged cliffs in even greater strength than before, they fell back after a bloody skirmish, and regained the shelter of Barcelona, pursued

up to the very gates by the dropping fire and taunting scoffs of their gallant though rustic opponents.†

45. These defeats produced the greater sensation, both among the French and Spaniards, that they were gained, not by regular troops, but by a tumultuary array of peasants, wholly undisciplined, and most of whom had then for the first time been engaged either in military service or exercise. They occasioned in consequence a universal insurrection in Catalonia; the cities equally as the mountains caught the flame. The burghers of Lerida, Tortosa, Tarragona, Gerona, and all the towns in the province not garrisoned by French troops, closed their gates, manned their ramparts, and elected juntas to direct measures of defence; while the mountain districts, which embraced four-fifths of the province, obeyed the affirming call of the Somaten, and, under the guidance of their parish priests, organised a desperate Vendean warfare. Forty regiments, of a thousand men each, were ordered to be raised for active operations among these formidable mountaineers. Regular officers were, for the most part, obtained to direct their organisation; the ranks were in a short time complete, and, for the service of light troops, were of a very efficient description. An equal force was directed to be prepared as a reserve, in case their mountain fastnesses should be threatened by the enemy. The peculiar nature of these extensive and thickly-peopled hill-districts, as well as the character and resolution of their inhabitants; their rugged precipices, wood-clad steepes, and terraced slopes; their villages, perched like eyries on the summit of cliffs, and numerous forts and castles, each susceptible of a separate defence; their bold and energetic inhabitants, consisting of lawless smugglers or hardy peasants, long habituated to the enjoyment of almost unbounded practical freedom—rendered

† The Somatenes are the *levée en masse*, which, by an ancient law of Catalonia, are bound to turn out and defend their parishes whenever the *Sonador*, or alarm-bell, is heard from the churches. — See TOMELO, l. 809.

† The inhabitants of Bruch, to commemorate their victory, erected a stone in the pass, with this pompous though laconic inscription: — “*Victoria Marengo, Austriaca, et Jena, hic victi fuerunt diebus vi. et xiv. Junii, anno 1808.*” — *For*, iv. 151.

this warfare of a peculiarly hazardous and laborious description.*

46. Aware of the necessity of striking a decisive blow in the present critical state of affairs in the province, Duhesme conceived that a sudden *coup-de-main* against GERONA, which lies on the direct road to France, would both re-establish his communications, which the insurrections in all directions had totally intercepted, and strike a general terror into the enemy. Accordingly, two days after the return of the former ill-fated expedition, he set out in the direction of that town, with six thousand of his best troops, taking the coast-road to avoid the fortress of Hostalrich, which was in the hands of the enemy. After cutting his way with great slaughter through a large body of Somatenes who endeavoured to obstruct his progress, he appeared on the 20th before GERONA. Little preparation had been made to repel an assault; but the gates were closed, and the inhabitants, in great numbers, were on the walls prepared to defend their hearths. Having at length got his scaling-ladders ready, and diverted the attention of the besieged by a skirmish with the Somatenes on the plains at a distance from the ramparts, the assaulting columns suddenly approached the walls at five in the afternoon. Though they got very near without

being perceived, and a few brave men reached the summit, they were repulsed in two successive attacks with great slaughter; and Duhesme, having in vain tried the effect of a negotiation to induce a surrender, returned by forced marches to Barcelona, harassed at every step by the Somatenes, who, descending in great strength from the hills, inflicted a severe loss on his retreating columns.

47. After this defeat, the whole plain round Barcelona, called the Llobregat, was filled with the enemy's troops; and General Duhesme, enraged at finding himself thus beset in the capital of the province, marched out against them, a week afterwards, and defeated a large body of the peasantry at the bridge of Molinos del Rey, capturing all their artillery. Rallying, however, at their old fastnesses of Bruch and Igualado, they again, when the French retired, returned to the Llobregat, and not only shut up the enemy within the ramparts of Barcelona, but established a communication with the insurgents in the interior, along the sea-coast, from the Pyrenean frontier to the mouth of the Ebro, the whole of which district became the theatre of insurrection. Napoleon, to whom the prolongation of the war in so many different quarters of Spain had become a subject of great uneasiness, no sooner received intelligence of these untoward events than he directed Duhesme to issue from Barcelona, relieve Figueras, where four hundred French were closely blockaded by the insurgent peasantry, and afterwards carry by assault both Roses and Gerona. General Reille, whom he sent forward with a large convoy guarded by five thousand men, defeated the Somatenes before Figueras, and raised the blockade of that fortress; but when, encouraged by this success, he attempted a *coup-de-main* against Roses, he sustained a repulse; and finding himself daily more closely straitened by the insurgents, was obliged to retire with considerable loss towards Gerona. About the same time the Spanish affairs in the whole province acquired a degree of consistency to which they

* Though locally situated in an unlimited monarchy, the province of Catalonia, like those of Navarre and Biscay, has long enjoyed such extensive civil privileges as savour rather of democratic equality than despotic authority. Its social state differs altogether from that of Aragon, though they were so long united under the same sceptre. Nowhere, except in this mountain republic, is there so ardent a thirst after political freedom, or so large an enjoyment, at least in the mountainous districts, of its practical blessings. The inhabitants cherish the most profound hatred of the French, whom they accuse of having excited their fathers to revolt against the government of Madrid, and abandoned them, when the contest was no longer conducive to their interests. In the long and opulent district which runs along the sea-shore, and contains the flourishing seaports of Tarragona, Roses, and Barcelona, commercial interests prevail; and the alliance and consequent trade with England were as much the object of desire as the withering union with France had been a subject of aversion.—Foy, iv. 137, 138.

had never previously attained, by the conclusion of a treaty between Lord Collingwood and the Marquis Palacios, governor of the Balearic Isles, in virtue of which the whole disposable force in those islands was conveyed to the Catalonian shores, and thirteen hundred good troops were directed towards Gerona. At the same time, Palacios himself, with four thousand five hundred men, and thirty-seven pieces of cannon, landed at Tarragona, where their presence excited a most extraordinary degree of enthusiasm.

48. Meanwhile Duhesme, with the main body of his forces, six thousand strong, a considerable train of heavy artillery, and everything requisite for a siege, set out from Barcelona and took the road for Gerona. He was long delayed, however, on the road, which runs close to the sea-shore, on the one side by the fire of an English frigate, under the command of LORD COCHRANE, which sent a shower of balls among his columns whenever they came within range, and by the desultory but incessant attacks of the Somatenes on the other. At length, after encountering great difficulties and experiencing a heavy loss, he succeeded in forcing his way, by the hill-road, to Hostalrich, which he summoned in vain to surrender; and, leaving a few troops only to observe its garrison, he, by infinite skill and no small good fortune, avoided the guns of that fortress, and proceeded on to Gerona, under the walls of which he effected a junction with Reille's troops, who had come up from Rosas. Their united strength being now, notwithstanding all their losses, above nine thousand men, operations in form were commenced against the place. Before this could be done, however, the succours from Majorca had been thrown into the town; and as the besiegers were themselves cut off from all communication, both with their reserve magazines at Barcelona and with the frontier of France, by the incessant activity of the peasantry, who lay in wait for and frequently intercepted the convoys, the works advanced very

slowly. On the 15th August, however, the breach of Fort Montjuich was declared practicable, and an assault was about to commence, when the besiegers were themselves assailed by a confused but formidable body, ten thousand strong, which appeared in their rear.

49. This consisted, one-half of regular troops, which the Count Caldagues had brought up from Tarragona, the other of Somatenes and Miquelets, with which he had augmented his force during its march along the coast of Catalonia. Count Theodore Lecchi, who was left in charge of Barcelona, was in no condition to oppose their passage almost within range of the guns of the fortress; for the troops he commanded, hardly four thousand strong, were barely adequate to guard its extensive works, and the Miquelets stationed on the heights which overhang the city, had carried their audacity to such a pitch, as not only to keep up a constant fire on the French sentinels, but even to make signals to the disturbed multitude in the streets to revolt. When this powerful force approached Gerona, the besieged made a general sally on the French lines, and with such vigour that they penetrated into the batteries through the embrasures of the guns, spiked the heavy cannon, and set fire to the works; while Duhesme, with the great body of the besiegers' force, was sufficiently engaged in observing the enemy which threatened them from the outside. Finding it totally impossible to continue the siege, Duhesme broke up in the night, and, dividing his force into two columns, took the road for Barcelona. But here fresh difficulties awaited him: two English frigates, under the able direction of Lord Cochrane, cannonaded and raked the road by the sea-coast; overhanging cliffs prevented them from getting out of the destructive range; while the route by the mountains in the interior, besides being closed by the canon of Hostalrich, was in many places steep and intersected by ravines, and beset by armed peasants, who from the rocks

and woods above, kept up a destructive fire upon the troops beneath. In these circumstances the French general did not hesitate to sacrifice his artillery and stores; and thus lightened, he succeeded in fighting his way back, by mountain-paths on the summit of the cliffs which overhang the sea, amidst a constant fire, to Barceloná. In this disastrous expedition above two thousand men and thirty pieces of artillery, besides extensive stores, were lost; and at its conclusion the French possessed nothing in Catalonia but the town of Barcelona and the citadel of Figueras.

50. Unbounded was the joy which these extraordinary successes in every part of Spain excited among its inhabitants. The variety of quarters in which they had arisen augmented their moral effect; it was supposed that popular energy was irresistible, when it had triumphed over its enemies at once in Andalusia and Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia. Abandoning themselves to a pleasing and allowable, though short-lived illusion, the Spaniards generally believed that the war was at an end; that the Castilian soil was finally delivered from its invaders; and that, relieved of all disquietude as to the defence of their own country, the only question was, when they should unite their victorious arms to those of the English, and carry the torrent of invasion across the Pyrenees into the French plains. These enthusiastic feelings rose to a perfect climax when the Spanish army from Andalusia entered the capital, in great pomp, with Castanos at their head, under a majestic triumphal arch, erected by the citizens to do honour to their arrival; and the whole of Spain, now delivered from the enemy, with the exception of the small portion occupied by the French army in Navarre and on the Ebro, joined in one universal chorus of national exultation and hatred of the invaders.

51. The press joined its influence to increase the excitement. Newspapers, warmly advocating the patriotic cause, were established at Madrid, Seville, Cadiz, and the other chief towns of

Spain; and by their vehement declamation added to the general enthusiasm, as much as, by their extravagant boasting, they weakened the sense of the necessity of present exertion, and thus diminished the chance of bringing the contest in the end to a successful issue. But in the midst of the universal exultation, it was observed with regret that few vigorous or efficient measures were adopted by the many separate and independent juntas to prosecute the war against the enemy; a feeling increased by the calamitous issue of the revolt of Bilbao, which had taken up arms upon receipt of the glorious news from Andalusia. The inhabitants, in the first instance, had succeeded in expelling the French garrison; but being unsupported by any aid from Asturias or Galicia, the place was quickly recaptured, with great slaughter, by the French division of Merle. This was done by the express commands of Joseph Buonaparte, to whom this dangerous movement, in a town of such importance, so near his line of communication with France, had been the subject of no small disquietude; and who boasted in his despatches, that "the fire of the insurrection at Bilbao had been extinguished in the blood of twelve hundred men."

52. Meanwhile events of a still more glorious and decisive character had liberated the kingdom of Portugal from its oppressors. In every phase of modern history it has been observed that Portugal has, sooner or later, followed the course of changes which public feeling had established in Spain; and it was hardly to be expected that so great and heart-stirring an event as the resurrection of Castilian independence was not to find a responsive echo in a kingdom so closely neighbouring, and equally suffering under the evils of Gallic oppression. At a very early period, accordingly, symptoms of an alarming effervescence had manifested themselves in Portugal; and Napoleon, appreciating more justly than Junot the probable course of events in that kingdom, strongly enjoined him

to abandon the pompous proclamations in which he was endeavouring to win the affections of the people, and in good earnest to prepare for military operations.* Not anticipating, however, any immediate hostilities, he ordered him to detach four thousand men to support Bessières in Leon, and three thousand to co-operate with Dupont in Andalusia. But these detachments were rendered impossible by the pressure of events in Portugal itself. No sooner did the intelligence of the massacre at Madrid and the insurrection in Galicia reach Oporto, than the Spanish troops there, ten thousand strong, dispossessed the French authorities and marched off in a body towards Galicia, from whence, as already mentioned, they were forwarded to Leon in time to share in the disaster of Rio-Secco. The inhabitants, in the first moment of enthusiasm, installed insurrectionary authorities in room of the French ones who had been dispossessed. But after the departure of the Spanish troops, they became alarmed at their own boldness, and hastened to reinstate the tricolor flag, and to renew their protestations of fidelity to the French general at Lisbon. The moment, however, that he was apprised of the events at Oporto, Junot made preparations to effect the disarming of the Spanish troops in the capital; and with such secrecy and decision were his measures taken, that before they were well aware of the

* "What is the use," said he, "of promising to the Portuguese what you will never have the means of fulfilling? Nothing is more praiseworthy, without doubt, than to gain the affections of the people; but it should never be forgotten, that the primary object of a general should be the safety of his soldiers. Instantly disarm the Portuguese; watch over the soldiers who have been sent to their homes in order that their chiefs may not form so many centres of insurrection in the interior. Keep your eye on the Spanish troops; secure the important fortresses of Almeida and Evras. Lisbon is too large and populous a city; its population is necessarily hostile. Withdraw your troops from it; place them in barracks on the sea-coast. Keep them in breath—well disciplined, manned, and instructed, in order to be in a condition to combat the English army, which sooner or later will disembark on the coasts of Portugal."—*Maratton* to Junot, May 24, 1808; *ibid.* iv. 198, 199.

danger impending over them, they were all surrounded by greatly superior masses of French troops, and compelled to surrender. By this able stroke nearly five thousand Spanish troops were made prisoners, who might have been highly prejudicial to the French cause, if they had succeeded in withdrawing and forming the nucleus of an insurrection in the interior of the country.

53. The flame, however, excited by the glorious intelligence of popular successes, which daily came pouring in from all parts of Spain, could not so easily be suppressed. The students at Coimbra were among the first to take up arms; the mountaineers of Trás-os-Montes speedily followed the example; the tocsins were heard in their lovely hills, arms and torches gleamed in their vine-clad vales; Algarves was speedily in open revolt; the Alentejo was known to be ripe for insurrection, and, at the summons of Colonel Lopez de Souza, soon after took up arms. Encouraged by this revolt in the south, the inhabitants of Oporto a second time hoisted the standard of independence. A junta was speedily formed in that opulent city, which shared the supreme direction of affairs with the bishop, who early signalled himself by his zeal in the patriot cause. The insurrection in the province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho appeared so formidable, that Junot directed General Loison with a strong division to proceed against it from Almeida. But though he at first obtained some success, yet, as he advanced into the mountains, his communications were so completely cut off, and the insurrection appeared so formidable on all sides, that he was obliged to return to Lisbon by Celorica and Guarda, at which places he routed the peasantry with great slaughter.† In the south, the patriots gained considerable successes against the French detachments which endeavoured to penetrate into the Alentejo; Abrantes

† "In this expedition," says Thibault, "we lost sixty men killed and one hundred and forty wounded; of the insurgents at least four thousand were killed or wounded on the different fields of battle."—*Thibault*, 155.

was threatened by the insurgents of the valley of the Tezera; the revolt at Bija was only extinguished by a bloody nocturnal assault of the town,* after a rapid march, by a French brigade. Surrounded in this manner with embarrassments, Junot, after holding a council of war, the invariable sign of experienced difficulty, again despatched Loison with four thousand men to Abrantes. In his progress he had several severe actions with the Portuguese peasants, who were dispersed with great slaughter, but who evinced, by their courage in disaster, what materials were to be found among them for a formidable resistance in future times. He returned to Lisbon, having irritated the insurrection more by his cruelty than he had overawed it by his success.

54. His recall to the capital was rendered necessary by the progress of the insurrection elsewhere in the Alentejo, which had elected a junta, and established a sort of provisional government at Evora. Resolved to strike a decisive blow in that quarter, where the proximity of English succours from Gibraltar rendered the revolt peculiarly formidable, Junot fitted out a more powerful expedition, consisting of seven thousand infantry and twelve hundred horse, with eight guns, which was sent forth under the command of the sanguinary Loison. After dispersing several armed assemblages which strove in vain to obstruct his progress, this general came up with the main body of the insurgents posted in front of Evora. Ten thousand Portuguese pea-

sants, and four thousand Spanish troops, who had advanced to support them from Badajoz, were there assembled, with twelve pieces of cannon. They were wholly unable, however, to withstand the shock of the French legions; at the first onset, the undisciplined peasantry fled from the terrible charge of their dragoons. The Spanish auxiliaries, seeing themselves left alone with the whole weight of the action on their hands, retired in haste, and were speedily thrown into disorder; and in the general confusion, the victorious troops entered the town, where a feeble resistance only was attempted, but an indiscriminate massacre immediately commenced. Neither age nor sex was spared: armed and unarmed were inhumanly put to the sword. It is the boast of the French historians, that while "they lost only two hundred and ninety, eight thousand were slain or wounded on the part of the insurgents." Never, while Portuguese blood flows in the human veins, will the remembrance of that dreadful day be forgotten; never will the French be any other than an object of execration to the descendants of those who perished in that inhuman massacre. But the cup of human suffering was full; the hour of retribution was fast approaching; and Loison was awakened from his fancied dream of security, and the further prosecution of his blood-stained progress towards Elvas, by intelligence that a BRITISH ARMY HAD APPEARED OFF THE COAST OF PORTUGAL.

55. Ever since the insurrection in the Peninsula had assumed a serious aspect, the English government had resolved upon sending out powerful military succours to its assistance, and at length bringing the strength of the two nations to a fair trial with land forces. Fortunately a body of about ten thousand men was already assembled at Cork, having been collected there by the preceding administration, for the purpose of an expedition against South America—a proposed diversion of force, at a time when every sabre and bayonet was required in European warfare, which appears almost incon-

* The French general, Tisbault, boasts of this as a great exploit. "Twelve hundred Portuguese were put to death in the conflict: no quarter was shown to any one with arms in his hands." The town was afterwards set on fire and plundered; and the worst military excesses were perpetrated against the wretched inhabitants. Kellermann shortly afterwards said, in a proclamation to the people of Alentejo—"Bija had revolted; Bija is no more. Its guilty inhabitants have been put to the sword; its houses delivered up to pillage and the flames. Thus shall all those be treated who listen to the counsel of a perfidious rebellion, and with a senseless hatred turn up arms against us."—*Times*, vol. 185, 189; *Southey*, l. 105.

ceivable ; unless, as Colonel Napier sarcastically observes, it was projected in imitation of the Romans, who sent troops to Spain when Hannibal was at their gates. The command of the expedition was given to SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY, whose great capacity had been evinced in the glorious fields of Indian warfare, and more recently* in the easier conquest of the Danish militia. At the same time, General Miranda, the able adventurer, who had so long been concerned in projects for the separation of the Spanish colonies from the mother country, was given to understand that no countenance could now be shown by the British government to any such designs. Two smaller divisions were soon afterwards prepared, and set sail from Ramsgate and Margate; and orders were sent to Sir John Moore, who, with twelve thousand men, had been sent to Goteborg to aid the King of Sweden in his heroic defence of his kingdom against Russia—an offer which that gallant monarch declined to accept*—to return forthwith to England, to form a further reinforcement of the armies in the Peninsula.

56. Though the direction of the Cork expedition, however, was intrusted to Sir Arthur, yet a senior officer, Sir Harry Burrard, was appointed to supersede him in the command shortly after he landed in Portugal; who again was to retain the supreme direction only until Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived from Gibraltar. Thus, in the most momentous period of the campaign, that in which the British troops were first to be engaged with the enemy, and when they were exposed to all the difficulty incident to a first landing on a hostile shore, they were to be intrusted successively to the command of three different generals—an arrangement as characteristic of the utter ignorance of military affairs which at that period prevailed in the British government, as the cheerful acquiescence of their first commander in the appointment of

* The particulars of this expedition, and the causes of the disagreement with the Swedish monarch, will be found subsequently, chap. xix. which treats of the war between Sweden and Russia.

any officer, how unknown soever to fame, over his head, was of the single-hearted feeling and patriotic devotion which, in every age, have been found to be the accompaniments of real greatness.†

57. The expedition, under the command of Sir Arthur, sailed from Cork on the 12th July, but the general himself preceded them in a fast-sailing frigate, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th. He immediately entered into communication with the junta of Galicia, from whom he received the distressing intelligence of the defeat at Rio-Seco; and was also made acquainted with the desire of the Spaniards in that quarter to receive no succours,

† When Sir A. Wellesley received the command of the expedition at Cork, government gave him no reason to believe that he was to be superseded in the supreme direction of it. The first intimation he received of that intention was by a letter from Lord Castlereagh, dated 15th July 1808, which reached him when at sea, off Mondego Bay. Many officers, who had held the situations and achieved the victories which he had in India, would have at once resigned the command in which he was now reduced to so subordinate a station; but Sir Arthur acted otherwise. In answer to Lord Castlereagh, he said—"Foe and Burghersh have apprised me of the arrangements for the future command of the army. All that I can say on the subject is, that whether I am to command the army, or not, or am to quit it, I shall do my best to insure its success; and you may depend on it that I shall not hurry the operations, or commence them one moment sooner, than they ought to be commenced, in order that I may acquire the credit of the success. The government will determine for me in what way they will employ me hereafter, either here or elsewhere." When asked by an intimate friend, after his return, how he, who had commanded armies of 40,000 men, received the Order of the Bath and the thanks of parliament, could thus submit to be reduced to the rank of a brigadier of infantry, he replied—"For this reason—I was *nimukwallah*, as we say in the East; I have ate of the king's salt; and therefore I consider it my duty to serve with zeal and promptitude when or wherever the king or his government may think proper to employ me." Nor was this disinterested and high-minded patriotism and sense of duty without its final reward. Inferior men would probably have thrown up the command, and rested on the laurels of Seringapatam and Assaye; but Wellington pursued the path of duty under every slight, and he lived to strike down Napoleon on the field of Waterloo.—Gurwood's *Despatches*, August 1, 1808, vol. iv. 43; and *Blackwood's Magazine*, xii. 714.

except in arms, stores, and money, from England—a resolution of which it is hard to say, after such a disaster, whether it savoured more of magnificent resolution or presumptuous confidence.* He found the opinion of all classes so unanimous in hatred of the French, “that no one dared to show that he was a friend to them.” Having supplied the junta, therefore, with two hundred thousand pounds in money, and assured them of the speedy arrival of extensive military stores, which in a great measure elevated their spirits after their late misfortunes, he proceeded to the southward to secure the main objects of the expedition—which were, in the first instance, an attack upon the Tagus; and afterwards, the detachment of such a force to the southward as might effectually secure Cadiz from any attack by the French under Dupont. As the whole force of the expedition, when joined by the reinforcements from England, the corps of Sir John Moore, and that under General Spencer, which was off Cadiz, was estimated by government at thirty thousand men, it was thought that ample means existed to achieve both these objects. And as the primary condition of all successful military efforts by transmarine power, is the securing strong seaports as a base for the army, and a point of refuge in case of disaster, it is evident that the attainment of one or both of these objects was an indispensable preliminary to future operations. It was fortunate, however, that subsequent events rendered the dispersion of the English force, and the formation of a double base of operations, unnecessary. The British army was thereby concentrated in Portugal, where it had a strong

* “Notwithstanding the recent defeat of the Galician army, the junta here have not expressed any wish to receive the assistance of British troops; and they again repeated, this morning, that they could put any number of men into the field if they were provided with arms and money; and I think this disinclination to receive the assistance of British troops, is founded in a great degree on the objection to give the command of their troops to British officers.”—WELLS, *Journal*, to Lord Castlereagh, Corunna, July 21, 1807; Gurnwood, iv. 27.

country to defend, a docile population to work upon, and a central position on the flank of the French armies in Spain to maintain.

38. Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived at Oporto on the 26th, and proceeded on with the expedition to Mondego Bay, where he arrived on the 30th July. Having there received intelligence of the surrender of Dupont, he deemed all operations in Andalusia unnecessary; and having sent orders to General Spencer to come round from the Bay of Cadiz and join him, he determined upon an immediate landing—a bold and decisive resolution, considering that his own force did not exceed ten thousand men,† and Junot had fifteen thousand at Lisbon. He accordingly issued a proclamation to the people of Portugal, eminently descriptive of the principles of that glorious struggle which was now about to commence,‡ and which his own talents and constancy, and the resolution of the three nations, now banded together, ultimately brought to so glorious a termination. At first Sir Arthur thought of landing on the small peninsula of Peniche, about seventy miles to the north of the Rock of Lisbon; but though the anchorage was safe and practicable, it was commanded

† The exact number was 9280 sabres and bayonets—about 10,000 men, including subalterns and officers. Spencer’s corps was 4793 strong—about 5000 men.—Gurnwood, iv. 20a.

‡ “The English soldiers who land upon your shores do so with every sentiment of friendship, faith, and honour. The glorious struggle in which you are engaged is for all that is dear to man—the protection of your wives and children, the restoration of your lawful prince, the independence, nay, the existence of your kingdom, the preservation of your holy religion. Objects like these can only be attained by distinguished examples of fortitude and constancy. The noble struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France will be jointly maintained by Portugal, Spain, and England; and, in contributing to the success of a cause so just and glorious, the views of his Britannic Majesty are the same as those by which you yourselves are animated.”—A. WELLESLEY’S LETTER. It is seldom that a proclamation in the outset of a struggle so faithfully represents the real objects at issue in it; still sadder that it so prophetically and truly describes its ultimate result after many and long-continued disasters.—Gurnwood, iv. 46.

by the guns of the fort at its extremity, which was still in the hands of the enemy. He therefore, by the advice of Sir Charles Cotton, selected in preference Mondago Bay, where the whole fleet was assembled on the 31st July.

59. On the following morning the disembarkation commenced, and notwithstanding the obstacles arising from a strong west wind and heavy surf, which occasioned the swamping of several boats, and the loss of many lives, it was completed by the 5th, at which time General Spencer with his division came up, and was immediately put on shore. He had not received Sir Arthur's orders to join; but with great presence of mind, and the true military spirit, the moment he heard of Dupont's surrender he made sail for the Tagus, from whence he was sent forward by Sir Charles Cotton to the general point of disembarkation. On the evening of the 8th the united forces, thirteen thousand strong, bivouacked on the beach, and on the following morning the advanced guard moved forward, and commenced that memorable march which, though often interrupted, was destined to be never finally arrested till the British cavalry passed in triumph from Bayonne to Calais.

60. The troops took the field in the highest spirits, and the most perfect state of discipline and equipment, confident in their leader, and not less confident in themselves; for even at this early period of the war, it was the habit of the British soldiers, the habit bequeathed by centuries of glory, to admit of no doubt as to the issue of a combat. The Portuguese generals, who had six thousand men, were at first most extravagant in their demands, and would only consent to join the English upon condition that their troops should all be maintained from the British commissariat: a proposition so utterly unreasonable, when made by the natives of the country to their allies, just landed from their ships, that it thus early evinced, what the future progress of the war so clearly demonstrated, that jealousy of foreign co-operation, and aversion to foreign

command, were nearly as strongly imprinted on their minds as hatred of the invaders. At length they consented to let General Freyre, with one brigade of infantry, fourteen hundred strong, and two hundred and fifty horse, remain with Sir Arthur, but the main body was positively prohibited to advance beyond Leyria on the road to Lisbon. The truth was, that they entertained a secret dread of the French troops, and, deeming the English totally inadequate to contend with them, they were unwilling to commit themselves by their side in a decisive affair. This defection of the native troops threw a chill over the British army, not from any doubt as to its ability to contend, single-handed, with the forces of Junot, but from the apprehensions which it inspired regarding the sincerity of their allies' professions of zeal against the common enemy. Sir Arthur, notwithstanding, continued his advance, and was received everywhere by the common people with rapturous enthusiasm. His route lay by Alcobasa and Caldas, which latter place he reached on the evening of the 15th; Laborde, who commanded a division of five thousand French, which Junot, on the first alarm, had sent down to the coast, retreating as he advanced. A trifling skirmish occurred on the same day at Obidos, in which a few men were killed and wounded on both sides—memorable as the scene where British blood first flowed in the Peninsular war.

61. Meanwhile, Junot despatched orders in all directions to call in his detached columns, and concentrate all his forces for the protection of Lisbon; and Laborde, to give him time to complete his arrangements, resolved to stand firm at ROLICA—a little village situated at the southern extremity of a large oblong valley, running nearly north and south in the bosom of the Monte Junta, in the centre of which the village and Moorish tower of Obidos are situated. His force, five thousand strong, including five hundred horse and five guns, was stationed on a small elevated plateau in front of

Roliça, at the upper end of the valley; and the hills on either side which shut it in were occupied by detachments, who, from amidst the rocky thickets and close underwood of myrtles and gum-cistus with which they were covered, threatened to keep up a heavy fire on the assailants. Sir Arthur divided his force into three columns: the right, consisting of the Portuguese infantry, and fifty horse under Colonel Trant, was directed to turn the mountains in the rear; while the centre, under Sir Arthur in person, attacked the plateau in front; and the left, under General Ferguson, was ordered to ascend the hills abreast of Obidos, and menace the French right by turning it in the mountains. As the centre advanced, preceded by nine guns, the corps on the right and left moved simultaneously forward in the hills, and the aspect of the body in the plain, nine thousand strong, moving majestically forward at a slow pace, in the finest order, opening and constantly closing again, when the array was broken by trees or houses in the line of its advance, strongly impressed the French soldiers, most of whom, like the British, were that day to make their first essay in real warfare against an antagonist worthy of their arms.

62. No sooner, however, was Laborde made aware of the risk he ran, if he remained in his present situation, of being outflanked on either side, than he fell swiftly back, in admirable order, and took up a second position much stronger than the former, in a little plain projecting into the valley higher up in the gorge of the pass, and shut in by close rocky thickets on either side. Thither he was rapidly pursued by the British—the right, centre, and left still moving in the same order. Seldom, in the whole progress of the Peninsular campaigns, did war appear in a more picturesque and animating form than in the first engagement of the British soldiers. The loud shouts of the advancing columns, re-echoed by the surrounding hills, and answered by as confident cheers from the enemy; the sharp rattle of the musketry among the woods, which

marked the advance of the light troops as they drove before them the French *tirailleurs*; the curling wreaths of smoke which rose above the foliage, and were wafted by the morning air up the sides of the mountains, amidst the rays of a resplendent sun, formed a scene which resembled rather the mimic warfare of the opera stage, than the opening of the most desperate and sanguinary strife recorded in modern times. Such was the impetuosity of the attack, that the leading troops of the centre column, particularly the 29th regiment, forced their way through the gorge of the pass, and alone sustained the brunt of the enemy's fire before any of their comrades could come up to their assistance. But the severity of the concentric discharges, not merely from the line in front, but from the woods on either flank, was so great, that this gallant regiment, on first emerging into the little plain, wavered and broke, and their noble colonel, Lake,* as he waved his hat to lead them back to the charge, was killed.

63. At that critical moment, however, the 5th and 9th came up, the 29th rallied, and the whole rushed forward with irresistible impetuosity upon the enemy. The French were obliged to give ground; the position was carried before it was menaced by the flank columns getting into its rear. Even then the enemy retired slowly and in compact order, keeping up a continued fire from the rear-guard, and exhibiting, equally with the advance of the assailants, the finest specimen of discipline and steadiness amidst all the confusion incident to a retreat over broken ground and through entangled thickets. In this brilliant affair the British lost five hundred men killed and wounded; the French six hundred, and three pieces of cannon: and as the former, though nearly triple the enemy upon the whole, were necessarily, from the narrow and rugged character of the ground, inferior, in the first instance at least, at the point of attack, it was hard to say to which of these two gallant nations the palm

* Son of Lord Lake, the hero of Indian war.

of courage and skill in this their first encounter in the Peninsula was to be awarded.* "*Cædes prope par utrinque fuit. . . . Hoc principium simul omenque belli, ut summae rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitiasque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.*"†

64. On the following morning orders were, in the first instance, issued for the continuance of the pursuit; and it was universally believed in the army that the enemy would be pursued, at the point of the bayonet, to the rock of Lisbon. But at noon accounts arrived at headquarters of the arrival of Generals Anstruther and Ackland, with their respective brigades from England, off the coast; and, at the same time, that Junot had marched with all his disposable force out of Lisbon to bring matters to the issue of a decisive battle. Orders were, therefore, given to suspend the pursuit, and the line of march was directed by Lourinha to VIMEIRA, where headquarters were established on the 19th, in order to be near the sea-coast to

* In this, as in all the other actions of the war, the estimate of the numbers engaged is taken from a medium of the accounts on both sides; keeping in view the credit due to the different narratives, and the maxim *testimonia ponderanda sunt potius quam numeranda*. In this affair Sir Arthur estimates the French at 6000 men, Thiebault at 1800, Foy at 2500, Turenne at 5000, Thibaudon at 3500.—*THIER. 179; GUER. iv. 81; FOY, iv. 314; TOR. ii. 46; THIB. vi. 464.* With the utmost wish to maintain an impartial view, and the greatest anxiety to avoid the influence of undue national partiality, it is impossible to study the French accounts of the actions in the Peninsular war, and particularly the numbers engaged and lost on the opposite sides, without feeling as great distrust of the fidelity of their facts, as admiration for the brilliancy of their descriptions and the talent of their observations; and arriving at the conclusion, that the two rival races of modern Europe have here, as elsewhere, preserved their never-failing characteristics; and that, if the palm for the eagle glance and the scientific reflection is frequently to be awarded to the writers of the Celtic, the credit to honest and trustworthy narrative is in general due to the historians of the Gothic race.

† "The loss was nearly equal on both sides. This first and portentous engagement in the war presaged ultimate success, but was not less ominous of the desperate and sanguinary strife by which it was to be attained."—*LIVR. book xxi. c. 29.*

take advantage of the reinforcements which were at hand. On the other hand, Junot, having by great exertion collected all his disposable force, and formed a junction at Torres Vedras with the retreating division of Laborde, found himself at the head of only fourteen thousand men—including, however, twelve hundred horse and six-and-twenty pieces of cannon: so heavily had the necessity of occupying many different points in a hostile country weighed upon and divided the twenty-five thousand which still remained at his disposal. On the 19th, General Anstruther's brigade was landed, and on the 20th General Ackland's; and these reinforcements raised the English army to sixteen thousand fighting men, besides Trant's Portuguese and two regiments which were with Sir Charles Cotton off the Tagus. It had, however, only eighteen guns, a hundred and eighty British, and two hundred Portuguese horse; so that the superiority of infantry was nearly counterbalanced by the advantage of the enemy in the other arms of war.

65. Accurately informed of the nature of the country through which he was to advance, Sir Arthur proposed, on the 21st, to turn the strong position of Torres Vedras and gain Mafra with a powerful advanced guard; while the main body was to move forward and seize the adjoining heights, so as to intercept the French line of retreat by Montachique to Lisbon. But Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur's superior in command, who had now arrived off the coast, forbade any such hazardous operation, as endangering unnecessarily part of the army, when the force already in hand, and still more the powerful reinforcement approaching under Sir John Moore, rendered ultimate success a matter of certainty without incurring any such risk. The troops, therefore, were concentrated at Vimeira, and every arrangement made for a decisive battle on the morrow; while Junot, having mustered every man he could collect at Torres Vedras, set out soon after nightfall, and advanced, through tedious and difficult defiles, to within a league and a half of the British out-

posts, where he arrived by seven o'clock on the following morning.*

66. The ground occupied by the British in front of Vimieira, though not clearly defined as a military position, was yet of considerable strength. The village of that name stands in a beautiful valley, running in a westerly direction from the interior towards the Atlantic, with the clear stream of the Maceira glittering over a pebbly bottom in its bosom, at the distance of about three miles from the sea. Hills rise on either side, especially on the northern, where a range of abrupt heights overhang the little plain. Over the summit of these runs the great road from Lisbon, through the hamlets of Fontaniel and Ventosa to Lourinha; while on the south-east is a kind of high table-land, covered in the ravines with myrtle, in the open part bare, over which the approach from Torres Vedras passes. A still loftier mass of heights overlooks these in the rear, and lies between them and the sea. On this rugged ground the British army lay in bivouac on the night of the 20th, the village of Vimieira being occupied by a strong detachment, and a few pickets stationed on the heights towards Torres Vedras, to give warning of the arrival of the enemy.

67. The first information of their

* The road by which Sir Arthur proposed to have advanced from Vimieira to Oporto was near the sea-coast; that by which Junot actually came up from Torres Vedras to Vimieira was farther in the interior, but nearly parallel to the former. If therefore, the design of the English general had been followed out, it would have brought the two armies into a position similar to that of the French and Prussians at Jena; they would have mutually turned and crossed each other in their march, and when they came to blows, Junot would have fought with his back to Oporto and his face to Lisbon, and Wellington with his back to Lisbon and his face to Oporto. But there would have been this essential distinction between the situation of the two armies, after having thus mutually passed each other—that Junot, cut off from all his reserves and supplies at Lisbon, would have been driven, in case of disaster, to a ruinous retreat through the insurgent and hostile mountains of the north of Portugal; whereas Wellington, backed by the sea, and having his fleet, containing powerful reinforcements, to fall back upon, would have fought in a comparatively advantageous position. There can be little doubt that, in

approach was obtained at midnight, when a horseman in haste rode up to Sir Arthur with the account that Junot's whole army, said to be twenty thousand strong, was approaching. Shortly before sunrise, a cloud of dust was seen to arise in the direction of the road leading from Torres Vedras to Lourinha.—columns after columns were soon after discerned, through the morning dawn, to cross the skyline of the opposite eminences, and it was evident that the French were bearing down in great force on the British left. After they descended from the heights on the opposite side, however, the direction of their march could no longer be distinctly traced, and the advanced guards were upon the English videttes almost as soon as they were perceived. But Sir Arthur, concluding from the line of the road on which they were moving, that the left was the principal object of attack, had meanwhile ordered four brigades successively to cross the valley from the heights on the south to those on the north of the stream, and before the action began that part of the line was secure. Observing the rapid concentration of troops on the English left, the French accumulated their forces on their own right. General Laborde commanded a column, six thousand

these circumstances, defeat to Junot would have been attended with decisive consequences, and that Wellington was pursuing the plan of an able commander in throwing himself in this manner upon his enemy's line of communication without compromising his own: the great object and most decisive stroke which can be dealt out in war. At the same time it is not surprising that Sir Harry Burrard, who came in on the broadside of the affair, and could not be supposed to appreciate so clearly as the commander actually engaged, the vital importance of not delaying an hour the proposed night-march between the sea and the hills, should have declined to plunge at once into so perilous an operation. His real error consisted in interfering at all with an important and delicate military operation, at a time when it was on the eve of execution by an able and experienced general, and the chief fault lay with the government in subjecting the army, at such a critical time, to the speculative command of three different generals, who could not be supposed properly to enter into, or thoroughly understand, the operations in the course of execution at the time when they successively assumed the direction.

strong, which advanced against the centre; while Brennier, with his division of five thousand, moved against the left of the British; and the reserve under Kellermann, with the cavalry led by Margaron, in all about three thousand men, was ready to support any point where their aid might be required. Generals Ferguson, Nightingale, and Bowes commanded the English left. Ackland united the left to the centre, which, strongly grouped together in the valley in front of Vimiera, was formed of the brigades of Anstruther and Fane; while, on the right, Hill's brigade, in a massy column, rested on the summit of the heights which formed the southern boundary of the valley.

68. The action began with the head of Laborde's column, which, advancing with the utmost impetuosity against the British centre, first came in contact with the 50th regiment. Its light troops were driven in with great vigour, and the French mounted the hill to the south-east of Vimiera with loud cries and all the confidence of victory. But when they reached the summit, they were shattered by a well-directed fire from the artillery, disposed along the front of the English line on the edge of the steep; and their troops were arrested by the effect of the shrapnel-shells, then first used against them, which, after striking down by a point-blank discharge whole files of soldiers in front, exploded with all the devas-

tation of bombs in the rear. While yet breathless with their ascent, they received a discharge within pistol-shot from the 50th; and were immediately charged with the bayonet with such vigour, that ere the rush took place they broke and fled.* At the same time Fane's brigade repulsed, with equal success, an attack on the village of Vimiera in the valley, and, after a desperate contest, seven pieces of cannon were taken in that quarter; while the few horsemen with the army who were there stationed broke forth among the retreating lines with great execution. But pursuing their advantage too far, they were assailed, when in disorder, by the superior troops of the French cavalry, and almost cut to pieces. Kellermann's reserve of grenadiers now advanced to the attack, but these choice troops, though at first successful, were, after a desperate struggle, repulsed in disorder by the 43d.

69. While these successes were achieved in the centre, a most severe conflict was going on in the hills to the left, where the road to Lourinha traverses the steep heights to the north of Vimiera. Brennier and Solignac commanded in that quarter; and as Junot perceived that their attack did not at once prove successful, they were supported in the end by the whole reserve of infantry under Kellermann. The French, under Solignac, preceded by a cloud of light troops, came on with the utmost impetuosity, and first encountered Fer-

* Colonel Walker, of the 50th regiment, finding his battalion, which had only 700 bayonets in the field, unable, by a direct resistance in front, to withstand the assault of above 2000 men in column, whom Laborde led on, most skillfully drew it up obliquely to their advance, with the left, against which they were directed, thrown back. The effect of this was to expose the flank as well as front of the French column to the British fire, almost every shot of which told on their crowded ranks, while a small number only could return the discharge, and the numerous ranks in rear were perfectly useless. When the command to charge was given, the British regiment in line came down in compact order on the French column, partly on its front and partly on the flank, and in the attempt to deploy and form line to withstand the leveled steel, they almost unavailably broke and fled. This method of resisting the French attack in column was very frequently after-

wards employed by Wellington, and always with the same success. It can hardly fail of proving successful, if the part of the line menaced by the head of the column can be relied on to withstand the shock till the fire of the other parts on the flank of the column has produced the desired effect; but unless this is the case, the column will break the line, and, deploying against the oblique line, now itself taken in flank, soon drive it off the field. Of all the European troops, the British are the only ones by whom this hazardous, but, if successful, decisive mode of resisting the attack in column was habitually practised. General Boisson, who witnessed this able movement, desired, after the Convention of Cintra, to be introduced to Colonel Walker, and, with true military frankness, congratulated him on the steadiness and talent with which he had, with a battalion line, withstood the formidable attack of the French column.—*Scott's Napoleon*, vi. 235.

guson's brigade on the summit of the ridge. Several terrible discharges of musketry were exchanged between these dauntless antagonists with extraordinary execution on both sides, as the firearms, almost within pistol-shot, told with murderous effect on the dense array of either line. At length, however, the three English regiments which had hitherto singly maintained the combat, (the 40th, 36th, and 71st), being supported by three others, levelled their bayonets, and, rushing forward with irresistible impetuosity, drove the French line headlong down the steep, with the loss of all its artillery. So dreadful was the execution by the bayonet on this occasion, that the whole front line of one of the French regiments went down like grass before the scythe, and three hundred men lay dead as they had stood in their ranks.

70. Brennier's brigade, however, still remained—and with these troops Junot made a gallant attempt to regain the day. Forming his men under cover of the rocks and woods which concealed them from the enemy, Brennier, with his columns in admirable order, came suddenly upon the victorious British as they were lying on the ground in loose array in the valley, reposing after their success, and, suddenly charging, drove them back, and retook the guns. But his triumph was only momentary. The surprised troops rallied upon the heights in their rear, to which they had been driven, and facing about, poured in a destructive volley upon their pursuers; and immediately charging back again with a loud shout, not only again captured the artillery, but made Brennier himself prisoner, and drove the enemy a second time in utter confusion down the hill. So complete was the rout, that Solignac's brigade was driven off the ground in a different direction from Brennier's; the former general was desperately wounded, and his troops would all have been made prisoners had not an unexpected order from Sir Harry Burrard obliged Ferguson to halt in the midst of his success. The broken French upon this rallied and

reunited, and the whole fell back to the heights on the opposite side of the valley, considerably to the north of the ground from which they had commenced their attack in the morning—leaving in the hands of the victors thirteen pieces of cannon, a large quantity of ammunition, and four hundred prisoners, besides two thousand who had fallen on the field. The English had to lament the loss of nearly eight hundred men in killed and wounded.

71. Like the allied sovereigns at Austerlitz, Junot had made his attack by a flank-march directed in echelon athwart the front, against the left of the British in position; and his disaster, like theirs, was in a great measure owing to that cause, which brought his different columns not simultaneously, but at successive periods into action. Sir Arthur Wellesley had as decisive success in his power as Napoleon at the close of the day; for not only had the three brigades under Hill on the right, and the Portuguese, never fired a shot, but two other brigades had suffered very little. The entire army was in excellent order and the most enthusiastic spirits; the shouts of victory, the triumphant clang of trumpets, was heard along their whole line; and from the direction which the broken French had taken after their defeat, they were entirely cut off from the retreat to Lisbon. On the other hand, the British, who had repulsed their oblique attack, and driven them off in a north-easterly direction, were masters of the great road by Torres Vedras to the capital. This situation of things promised the greatest results to immediate activity. Sir Arthur was fully aware of the vast advantages thus placed within his grasp, and prepared, by immediate and decisive operations, instantly to turn them to the best account. He proposed with the five brigades on the left, about nine thousand men, and the Portuguese, five thousand more, to follow up his success against the retreating columns of the enemy, now blended together in great confusion on the opposite heights,

and drive them as far as possible back in a north-easterly direction over the Sierra da Baragueda, away from the capital; while the brigades of Hill, Anstruther, and Fane, six thousand strong, should make straight for the defile of Torres Vedras, which lay open to the south, and thence push on to Montachique, and cut off all retreat on the part of the French to Lisbon. Considering that Junot had lost two-thirds of his artillery, and great part of his reserve park of ammunition, there can be no doubt that this operation would have proved successful, and that not only would Lisbon have fallen an easy prey to the victors, but Junot himself, driven to an eccentric and disastrous retreat through an insurgent and mountainous country, almost destitute of roads, would have been too happy to find shelter under the cannon of Almeida with half his forces.

72. Orders to this effect were already given, and the army was preparing to execute them, when the assumption of the command by Sir Harry Burrard at once arrested the career of victory. That officer, who had arrived on the field with his staff early in the day, had with generous forbearance declined to take the command from Sir Arthur during the battle; but after it was over, considering the responsibility of ulterior operations as resting on himself, he gave orders to halt at all points, and remain in position at Vimeira till the expected reinforcements under Sir John Moore joined the army. Sir Arthur, in the strongest terms, and with military frankness, represented to his superior general, on the field of battle, the inestimable importance of instantly following up the beaten enemy, driving him still farther to the north-east, and interposing between his disordered columns and the strong defiles of Torres Vedras, the real gates of the capital. But all was in vain. Sir Harry Burrard, though a respectable veteran, had done of the vigour or daring requisite for decisive success; he belonged to the old school, by whom one battle was considered sufficient work for one week, and deem-

ed it imprudent, when the artillery-horses were fatigued, and the cavalry destroyed, to hazard anything by a further advance, the more especially as ultimate success without any risk was certainly to be looked for upon the arrival of Sir John Moore's division. He persisted, accordingly, in his resolution not to move from his ground: the precious moments were lost, never to be regained; the disordered French, seeing with astonishment that they were not pursued, re-formed their ranks. Junot, that very night, by a forced and circuitous march, regained the defiles of Torres Vedras, and secured his retreat to the capital; while Sir Arthur, seeing the opportunity was lost, and concealing the bitterness of his disappointment under an affected gaiety, said to the officers of his staff, "Gentlemen, nothing now remains to us but to go and shoot red-legged partridges."

73. Sir Harry Burrard's tenure of the supreme direction of affairs was of short duration. Early on the morning of the 22d, Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived from Gibraltar, and immediately landed and assumed the command; so that within thirty hours a pitched battle had been fought, a decisive operation rejected, and three successive commanders called to the direction of the army. After consulting with Sir Arthur and Sir Harry, and getting the best information he could, he resolved to advance on the 23d against Junot, now in position at Torres Vedras; and orders to that effect had already been issued, when information was brought that a French flag of truce had reached the outposts. It proved to be General Kellermann, with a proposal from Junot for a sus-

* Lord Burghersh, in his evidence before the court of inquiry, declared,—"I recollect, that on the evening of 21st August, Sir Arthur Wellesley urged Sir H. Burrard to advance, giving as a reason that his right was some miles nearer to Torres Vedras than the enemy; that he had four brigades that had not been engaged; that Torres Vedras was the pass by which the enemy must retire to Lisbon, and that in his opinion, by that movement no part of the French army could reach Lisbon."—*Evidence, Court of Inquiry*: Gunwood, iv. 314.

pension of arms, with a view to the evacuation of Portugal.

74. In truth, the situation of Junot since the battle of Vimeira had been such, that he had no longer any alternative to adopt. Early on the morning of the 22d, a council of war was held at Torres Vedras; and the proverb almost invariably holds good, that such a council never fights. The French generals were aware that a powerful reinforcement, under Sir John Moore, was on the eve of landing; that a city containing three hundred thousand agitated and hostile citizens was in the rear; that the forts and points of defence which it contained were hardly tenable against an army of thirty thousand English troops; and that to attempt a retreat through Portugal, intersected, as it was by mountain torrents and almost inaccessible ridges, in the face of an insurgent population, and pursued by a victorious army, could not fail to be attended with the greatest disasters. In these circumstances, it was unanimously agreed that enough had been done for the honour of the imperial arms, and that to endeavour to obtain by negotiation a convention which might restore the army to the French soil, and ultimately to renewed operations in the north of Spain, was the most prudent course which could be adopted. General Kellermann was selected for this delicate mission, and it could not have been entrusted to more skilful hands. Enjoying a European reputation, not less from the glory of his father, the hero of Valmy, than from his own invaluable achievements on the field of Marengo, he was at the same time possessed of all the tact and finesse in which the French diplomatists excel all those of Europe, with the exception of those of Russia.

75. Perceiving from some hints dropped in conversation by the English general, Sir Hew Dalrymple, and his brother officers, who were not aware that he understood their language, that they were far from possessing the confidence of Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the results to be expected from immediate and decisive

operations, he began by representing, in the most favourable colours, the strength of the French army and the magnitude of its resources, especially from the aid of the sailors and artillery of the Russian fleet, as well as the resolution of its commander, whom he described as determined to bury himself under the ruins of Lisbon rather than submit to any conditions derogatory to the honour of the imperial arms. Having thus effected his object of producing an impression as to the protracted and doubtful nature of the contest which awaited them, if hostilities were persisted in, he gradually opened the real object of his mission, which was the conclusion of an armistice preparatory to a convention for the evacuation of Portugal. The terms proposed were, that the French army should not be considered as prisoners of war, but be sent back to France by sea, with their artillery, arms, and baggage; that their partisans in the country should not be disquieted on account of their political opinions, but, so far as they desired it, be permitted to withdraw with their effects; and that the Russian fleet should remain in Lisbon as in a neutral harbour. The two first conditions were acceded to without any difficulty by all the English generals; but Sir Arthur Wellesley strenuously opposed the last, and it was at last agreed to refer it to the decision of Sir Charles Cotton, who positively refused to agree to it. Foiled in this attempt to extricate the Russian fleet from their awkward situation, the French general was obliged to leave them to their fate,* and a separate convention was some days afterwards concluded with Admiral Sinow, the Russian commander, in virtue of which the whole fleet was to be conducted to England and retained in deposit till the conclusion of a general peace, and the officers and crews to be transported to Russia at the expense of the British government, without any restriction as to their future service.

* The Convention of Chastel excited such a clamour at the time, both in the British and Peninsular nations, that a short summary

76. Posterity will scarcely be able to credit the universal burst of indignation with which the intelligence of this convention was received, both in the Peninsular nations and the British Islands. Totally incapable of appreciating the real importance of the acquisition of Portugal at one blow on the future progress of the war, the inhabitants of all these countries united in condemning a treaty which was thought to step between them and the glory which they had earned, or the vengeance which was their due. The Portuguese, though they had been in no hurry to confront the invader in the field, and were strangers to the glories of Rolica and Vimaira, were yet loud in their complaints of the capitulation which had been granted; and bitterly inveighed against the clauses which, under the specious veil of protecting private property, in effect gave the public robbers the means of securely carrying off the stores of private and ecclesiastical plunder which they had amassed. The Spaniards re-echoed the same sentiments; and, with some appearance of reason, con-

of its leading provisions is indispensable. It was provided that the French should evacuate the forts of Lisbon and whole kingdom of Portugal, and be conveyed to France, with their artillery and sixty rounds of ammunition to each gun, and with liberty to serve again; all other artillery, arms, and ammunition, to be delivered up to the British army and navy; the French army to carry with them all their equipments, the cavalry their horses, and the individuals their property; the sick and wounded to be intrusted to the care of the British government, and returned to France when convalescent: the fortresses of Elvas, Almeida, Peniche, and Palmela to be delivered up as soon as British detachments could be sent forward to take possession of them; all subjects of France to be protected who are domiciliated in Portugal; all their property of every description to be guaranteed to the French citizens in Portugal; no inhabitants of that country to be disquieted on account of their political conduct or opinions; the Spanish troops in the custody of the French armies to be liberated. By the supplementary convention in regard to the Russian fleet, it was stipulated that it should be conveyed to Great Britain, to remain in deposit with all its stores till six months after the conclusion of a general peace; and the officers and men meanwhile to be returned to Russia, without any restriction as to their future service.—Grove, iv. 113, 117.

trusted the surrender of Dupont's corps at Baylen with the unhappy convention, which tended only to remove the French army from a situation where it was detached from the remainder of the imperial forces, and ran the most imminent hazard of being made prisoners of war, to one where it might be more advantageously and securely employed in forming the right wing of the army with which the invasion of the Peninsula was again to be attempted. Roused to the very highest pitch of enthusiasm by the early and decisive successes which had attended their arms—panting for their full share of the glories which had been won—and nothing doubting that an unconditional surrender would immediately follow, and that they should soon see a marshal of France and twenty thousand men arrive as prisoners of war at Spithead, the British people abandoned themselves to unbounded vexation when the capitulation was announced which was to convey them, without that last disgrace being incurred, to swell the invader's ranks at Rochefort and L'Orient.

77. In vain were the Park and Tower guns fired on this as on other triumphs of our arms; the public voice refused to join in the acclamations; the press, both in the metropolis and the provinces, loudly condemned the convention as more disgraceful than even those of the Helder and Closter-seven, where the British troops had been constrained to sue for terms of accommodation. Many of the public journals refused to stain their pages by the obnoxious articles, and others appeared with their columns in mourning, as in a season of national calamity; public meetings were held in most parts of England, to express the general indignation, and call for the punishment of the guilty parties; and to such a length did the outcry proceed, that it was deemed indispensable by government to consent to a court of inquiry. Such a court was accordingly appointed, consisting of highly respectable, though somewhat antiquated officers, who, after a full investigation, arrived

at the conclusion that, considering the extraordinary manner in which three successive commanders had been invested with the direction of the army after the battle of Vimeira, it was not surprising that that victory had not been more vigorously followed up; that unquestionable zeal and firmness had been exhibited by all the three generals; and that, in the whole circumstances of the case, no further proceedings were necessary. The general odium attached to Sir Hew Dalrymple, as the senior officer in command at the time the convention was signed; though it was evident that the chief fault in the case, if there was fault at all, lay with Sir Harry Burrard, as the commander-in-chief when the decisive march to Torres Vedras was declined. Such was the universal discontent, that neither of these two generals, notwithstanding the acquittal of the court-martial, were again employed in any considerable command in the British army; and it required all the family influence and early celebrity of the hero of Assaye and Vimeira to save the future conqueror of Napoleon from being cut short on the threshold of his career, for no fault whatever of his own, by the every people upon whom he had conferred an inestimable benefit.*

78. The English people in general arrive in the end at more sober and rational opinions on political subjects than any other of whom history has preserved a record. But they are prone, in the first instance, in a most extraordinary degree, to delusions or frenzies, which almost amount to national insanity. The cruel injustice with which they persecuted Sir Robert Calder for having gained a victory, perhaps the most momentous in its ultimate consequences, and most vital to the safety of the country of any recorded in the British annals, is an instance

* At the meeting of parliament, the public thanks of both Houses were voted to Sir Arthur Wellesley for the battle of Vimeira. But he narrowly escaped, notwithstanding all his glory and the influence of his brother, Marquis Wellesley, the obloquy consequent on the Convention of Cintra.—GURWOOD, IV. 229, 241.

of such delusion; the universal and senseless clamour raised about the Convention of Cintra, an example of such frenzy. There cannot be a doubt, not only of its expedience at the juncture when it was concluded, but of its having been the means of acquiring the basis on which the whole future successes of the British arms were rested. Having missed, perhaps through an excess of caution, the opportunity of following up, according to Sir Arthur Wellesley's advice, the brilliant success of Vimeira on the evening of the battle, nothing remained but to close with the highly advantageous offer, which at once liberated Portugal from its oppressors, and secured the best possible base for future operations. The sea, sterile and unproductive if in the rear of the forces of any other power, is the source of strength and vigour to the British armies; to them every tide is fraught with plenty, every wind wafts the sinews of war on its gales. Thenceforward Lisbon became the great *place d'armes* to the English army, the stronghold of defence in periods of disaster, the reservoir from whence all the muniments of war were drawn in prosperous times. To have missed the opportunity of at once, and in the outset of the campaign, acquiring such a position, for the vain glory of possibly compelling a French corps and marshal, after a bloody siege of several months' duration, to lay down their arms in Lisbon, Elvas, or Almeida, would have been sacrificing the solid advantages of war for its empty honours. The restoration of twenty thousand defeated and dispirited soldiers to the standards of the enemy, was a matter of little consequence to a sovereign who had seven hundred thousand disciplined men at his command; the loss of a whole kingdom, of a chain of strong fortresses, of an admirable harbour, of ten sail of the line to his ally, of the *prestige* of victory to himself, was a calamity of a very different description. •

79. Napoleon showed clearly in what light he viewed the acquisition of such advantages to the French arms, when,

in the outset of his career, he stipulated only, in return for his glorious successes in the Maritime Alps, the cession of the Piedmontese fortresses from the cabinet of Turin; and when, after the triumph of Marengo, he at once allowed the Austrian army, cut off from the Hereditary States and thrown back on Genoa, to retire unmolested to the Mincio, provided only they ceded Alessandria, Tortona, and the other strongholds in the west of Lombardy, as the reward of victory. On the present occasion he felt quite as strongly the vast importance of the fortified basis for future operations, so advantageously situated on the edge of the sea, and on the flank of the Peninsular plains, which had thus, in the very outset of their career, been wrested from him by the British arms: had the advantage been gained by himself, he would have made Europe ring from side to side with the triumph which had been achieved. As it was, he manifested the utmost displeasure at the generals who were engaged in the Convention of Cintra; and Junot, in particular, never afterwards regained his confidence or esteem. "I was about," said he, "to send Junot to a council of war; but happily the English got the start of me by sending their generals to one, and thus saved me from the pain of punishing an old friend."*

80. Many causes conspired to make

* "He," says the Duchess of Abrantes, "to whom the whole life of Junot was devoted, alone viewed in a false light the Convention of Cintra. Everything which was not a triumph he regarded as a defeat; and, like Augustus, he never ceased to demand his legions from all those who had not succeeded in conducting his young conscripts, hardly emerged from boyhood, to victory."—D'ABRANTES, *xii.* 64, 102.

The Duke of Wellington's opinion on the expedience of the Convention of Cintra was equally clearly expressed. "If we had not negotiated," said he, "we could not have advanced before the 30th, as Sir John Moore's corps was not ready till that day. The French would by that time have fortified their positions near Lisbon, which, it is probable, we could not have been in a situation to attack till the end of the first week in September. Then, taking the chance of the bad weather depriving us of the communication with the fleet of transports and victuallers, and delaying and rendering more

the execution of the Convention of Cintra a matter of great difficulty to all the contracting parties. The French troops, from the time it was concluded, were constantly kept together in masses, encamped on the heights and forts, with cannon directed down the principal streets which led to their bivouacs. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, and the proximity of the British forces, who, early in September, approached close to Lisbon, it was found to be impossible to prevent the indignation of the populace from finding vent in detached acts of aggression. Crowds of infuriated peasants incessantly thronged into the city, decorated with ribbons, vociferating shouts of triumph, and bearing on their hats the favourite motto, "Death to the French!" At night the discharge of firearms or explosion of petards was heard on all sides, occasioned by skirmishes between the enraged populace and the French advanced posts. Loison, whose unnecessary cruelty had rendered him in an especial manner the object of universal hatred, was menaced by a serious attack; while other generals, especially Travot, who had executed their orders with humanity, were not only unmolested, but traversed the streets alone in perfect safety: a fact, as Colonel Napier justly observes, extremely honourable to the Portuguese, and conclusive as

difficult and precarious our land operations, which after all could not have been effectual to cut off the retreat of the French across the Tagus into Alentejo, I was clearly of opinion, that the best thing to do was to consent to a convention, and allow them to evacuate Portugal. The details of the Convention, and the agreement to suspend hostilities, is a different matter; to both of them I have very serious objections. I do not know what Sir Hew Dalrymple proposes to do, or is instructed to do; but if I were in his situation I would be in Madrid with 20,000 men in less than a month from this time."—SIR A. WELLESLEY to CHARLES STUART, Esq., 1st September 1808; *Glenwood*, *iv.* 121. Here is the clearest evidence of the advantageous results of obtaining so early in the campaign the great fortified base of Portugal for the British operations. Sir Arthur in a month proposed to have had twenty thousand men in Madrid! He is a bold man, who, on such a subject, dissents from the concurring opinions of Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington.

to the misconduct of the obnoxious officers.

81. But these difficulties, great as they were, soon sank into insignificance when compared with those which arose from the discoveries made in the course of the preparations for the embarkation, of the extent to which public and private plunder had been carried by the French army. Sir John Hope, who had been appointed governor of Lisbon, took possession of the castle of Belem on the 10th September, and by his firm and vigorous conduct soon reduced the unruly multitude to some degree of order. But the complaints which daily arose as to the enormous quantity of plunder which the French were about to carry off, under pretence of its being their private property, continually increased, and became the occasion of much more serious embarrassment. The museum, the treasury, the public libraries, the church plate, the arsenals of the state, equally with the houses of individuals, had been indiscriminately ransacked; most of the valuable articles left in the royal palace by the flying Regent were packed up and ready for embarkation. All the money in the public offices was laid hold of; even the sums lying in the *Deposito Publico*, a bank where they were placed to await the decision of the courts of law on matters of litigation, were appropriated by these insatiable hands. Junot went so far as to demand five vessels to take away his personal effects. Matters at length rose to such a height that the British commanders felt themselves called upon to interfere; and the commissioners to whom the execution of the convention had been intrusted, with much difficulty, and after the most violent altercation, succeeded in putting a stop to the disgraceful spoliation.

82. These high functionaries, General Beresford and Lord Proby, acted with such firmness, that not only was the progress of the plunderers arrested, and much which had been seized from the public offices restored, but a general order was extorted from the French commander, enjoining the immediate restitution of all the property which had

been taken from public or private establishments within twenty-four hours. Yet so inveterate was the habit of spoliation in all ranks of the French army, from the highest to the lowest, that within a few hours after this order was issued, Colonel Delambis, Junot's chief aide-de-camp, carried off the Prince Regent's horses; a valuable collection of private pictures was seized on by Junot himself; and two carriages belonging to the Duke of Sussex were appropriated, which were only got back by the threat of detaining the marshal himself as a hostage. At length, however, after vehement discussion, and a complete revelation of that extraordinary system of public and private plunder which had been so long and disgracefully the characteristic of the French army, the greater part of this ill-gotten spoil was wrested from the invaders. On the 15th, the first division of the fleet sailed from the Tagus; by the 30th the whole were embarked: shortly after, Elvas and Almeida were given up in terms of the capitulation; and before the middle of October, not a French soldier remained on the soil of Portugal. Twenty-two thousand men were disembarked on the coasts of France; thirty thousand had been placed, from first to last, by Napoleon under the orders of Junot; the remainder had perished of fatigue, disease, fallen in the field, or voluntarily enlisted in the British army. The convention, though loudly disapproved of by the British people, was, on the admission of the French themselves, carried into execution with scrupulous good faith by the government.*

83. The subordinate arrangements consequent on the decisive events which had in this manner liberated Portugal were soon concluded. Such was the violence of the groundless clamour which arose in England on the subject of the convention, that all the generals engaged in it, Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir

* * That same public opinion, under the influence of a free constitution, which condemned the Convention of Cintra, enjoined to its government its faithful execution. In so far as depended on the English government, the convention was executed with honourable fidelity."—Fox, iv. 256.

Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, were obliged to return to Great Britain; where, as already mentioned, their conduct in relation to it became the subject of deliberation to a court of inquiry, which, after a long and impartial investigation, returned a report, distinguished by little ability, which, in substance, found that no blame could be attached to any of these officers. Meanwhile the army, deprived in this way for a time of the guidance of the brave leader who had in so glorious a manner

* John Moore was born at Glasgow, on the 13th November 1761. He was the eldest son of Dr John Moore, the author of *Zeluco* and other celebrated works. Young Moore was educated at the public school and university of that city, and was abroad for five years in company with his father, who was traveling tutor to the Duke of Hamilton, by which means he saw much of the world, gained a knowledge of modern languages, and acquired that suavity and elegance of manner for which he was remarkable through life. In 1776, he obtained an ensigncy in the 51st regiment, then lying at Minorca, and soon after a lieutenancy in the 82d, with which he served through all the campaigns of the American war. At the commencement of the Revolutionary contest, he was lieutenant-colonel of his old regiment, the 51st, at the head of which he was employed in 1794 in the reduction of Corsica. Subsequently he was engaged in the reduction of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, in the West Indies, in which services he distinguished himself so much that Sir Ralph Abercromby, in his public despatches, characterised his conduct as the "admiration of the whole army." During the rebellion in Ireland, in 1798, he was again called into active service; and the victory gained over the rebels in that year, at Wexford, was mainly owing to his talents and arrangements. In 1799 his valour and conduct were again evinced in the expedition to the Helles; in 1801 he led the vanguard which first landed in Aboukir Bay, and rushed with such vigour up the sandhills; and in the decisive battle of 21st March, in which he was wounded, his gallantry and conduct attracted universal notice. For these services he was made a knight of the Bath; and for some years commanded the army which occupied Sicily, until in 1807 he was sent in command of the expedition to the Baltic, from which he was soon recalled to more glorious though melancholy destinies, in the Spanish Peninsula. Brave, chivalrous, and high-spirited, no man ever more thoroughly understood the art of war, or more completely acquired the affections while he commanded the respect of his soldiers; and to the improvement of their discipline and increase of their comforts he devoted a large portion of his attention. But though second to none in personal valour, he had not the energy and vigour necessary to

led it to victory, was placed under the command of SIR JOHN MOORE,* an officer whose gallant conduct in Egypt, as well as his admirable skill in the training and disciplining of his troops, had already rendered him distinguished among all his brethren in arms. His division had landed and joined the other troops at Lisbon; while another corps, fifteen thousand strong, under the orders of SIR DAVID BAIRD,† whose gallantry and firmness had been conspicuous at the storming of Seringapatam, was as-

reinstated the military character of England after the early disasters of the Revolutionary war; and was unhappily possessed with a desponding impression as to the capability of this country to withstand the power of France on the Continent, which was very different from the fearless confidence and indomitable tenacity of Clive or Wellington. The heroism he displayed in his last moments, and the romantic circumstances attending his death, have justly secured for him a lasting place in the grateful affections of his country. — *MOORE'S LIFE*, 2 vols., by his brother, London, 1832; and *Scottish Biography*, iv. 28, 29.

† David Baird was the second son of William Baird, Esq., of the Bairds of Newbyth, in East Lothian, an ancient and respectable family. He entered the army in December 16, 1772, as an ensign in the 2d Foot, and he was ere long engaged in serious service in that regiment, when it was despatched to Madras in 1779, to take a part in the formidable war that then raged between the infant British settlements at Madras and the redoubtable forces of Hyder Ali. In July 1780 Hyder's dreadful irruption into the Carnatic took place, when seventy thousand horse threatened with destruction the little army of five thousand men, who struggled to defend the British possessions on the coast. In this terrible campaign, young Baird was at once initiated into the most perilous and animating warfare. In September 1780, after a desperate and most heroic resistance, he was made prisoner by Hyder at the head of fifty thousand infantry and twenty-five thousand horse, in consequence of the accidental blowing up of the British ammunition-wagons in the centre of their square, which deprived them of their whole reserve ammunition, after the supply which the men had in their cartridge-boxes was expended in repelling the incessant charges of the Asiatic cavalry. Even after this disaster, and when their little square, now reduced to two hundred Europeans, had no weapons for their defence but the bayonets of the men and the swords of the officers, they repelled no less than thirteen charges of Hyder's horse; and at length the few survivors were only made prisoners by being fairly pierced through and overwhelmed by the ponderous elephants and, innumerable squadrons of the enemy. Being made prisoner in this terrible con-

sembled in the British Islands, and was destined to land at Corunna, descend through Galicia, and co-operate with those which had advanced from Portugal, in the plains of Legn.

84. The two together, it was hoped, would amount to nearly forty thousand men, even after providing, in an adequate manner, for the security of Portugal, and the magazines and depots in the rear—a force which appeared, and doubtless was, if tolerably supported by its Peninsular allies, capable of achieving great things for the deliverance of Europe. Meanwhile the Spanish troops, fully five thousand strong, which had been liberated at Lisbon, were equipped anew at the expense of the British government, and despatched by sea to Catalonia, from whence the most pressing representations had been sent of the necessity of regular troops to aid the efforts and improve the discipline of the numerous peasants in arms in the province; the Russian fleet, in conformity with the treaty, was conducted to the British harbours; and a central junta was formed at Lisbon, to administer the affairs of the kingdom in the absence of the Prince Regent. The preparations for the campaign being at length completed, the British troops began their march from the Portuguese capital, for the seat of war at the foot of the Pyrenees.

85. The decisive influence of the recent successes and central position of the English army in possession of the capital and principal strongholds of the country, rendered the appointment fleet, Baird was conducted to Seringapatam, where he was chained by the leg to another captive, and confined in a dungeon for three years and a half. In July 1784, however, he obtained his release upon the conclusion of the peace with Hyder, and was promoted to the rank of major in the 71st regiment, of which he soon became lieutenant-colonel. In 1791, he took an active part in the campaign against Tippoo Saib and the storming of the intrenched camp in front of Seringapatam, and in 1793 he commanded a brigade of Europeans at the siege of Pondicherry. After this he returned for a short time to Europe, but was again sent back to India as brigadier-general, in which capacity he commanded the storming party at Seringapatam, of which an account has already been given.—*Ante*, Chap. XLIX. § 27; *Scottish Biography*, i. 82, 83.

of a central junta, and the defeat of the local intrigues everywhere set on foot in order to obtain a preponderating voice for particular men in its councils, a comparatively easy task in Portugal. But the case was very different in Spain, where jealousy of foreign interference had already risen to a most extravagant height; where the people entertained a most exaggerated idea of their own strength and resources; and many different provincial governments, elected under the pressure of necessity in different parts of the country, had opposite and jarring pretensions to advance for the supreme direction of affairs. Much division, and many dangerous jealousies, were rapidly rising upon this subject, when the junta of Seville, whose prudence and success, as well as the consideration due to the great cities and opulent province which they represented, had already invested them with a sort of lead in the affairs of the Peninsula, had the good fortune to bring forward a project which, from its equity and expedience, soon commanded universal assent. This was, that the different supreme juntas, each on the same day, should elect two deputies, who should, when united together, form the central government, to which all the local authorities were to be subject; that the local juntas should nevertheless continue their functions, in obedience to the commands of the supreme junta; and that the seat of government should be some town in La Mancha, equally convenient for all the deputies.

86. This proposal having met with general concurrence, the different provincial juntas elected their respective representatives for the central government, which was installed with extraordinary pomp at Aranjuez in the end of September, and immediately commenced its sittings. At first it consisted of twenty-four members, but their ranks were soon augmented, by the number of provinces which claimed the right of sending representatives, to thirty-five—an unhappy medium, too small for a legislative assembly, too large for an executive cabinet. Though it numbered several eminent men and

incorruptible patriots among its members, particularly Count Florida Blanca, who, though in the eightieth year of his age, preserved undecayed the vigour of intellect and cautious policy which had distinguished his long administration; and Jovellanos, in whom the severities of a tedious captivity had still left unextinguished the light of an elevated understanding and the warmth of an unsuspecting heart; yet it was easy to foresee, what subsequent events too mournfully verified, that it was not composed of the elements calculated either to communicate vigour and decision to the national counsels, or impress foreign nations with a favourable idea of its probable stability. Formed for the most part of persons who were totally unknown, at least to public life, before the commencement of the revolution, and many of whom had been elevated to greatness solely by its convulsions, it was early distinguished by that overweening jealousy of its own importance, which in all men is the accompaniment of newly, and still more of undeservedly acquired power, and torn with intestine intrigues. These too broke out at a moment when the utmost possible unanimity and vigour were required to enable them to make head against the formidable tempest which was arising against them, under the guidance of the Emperor Napoleon.

87. The central junta displayed a becoming vigour in asserting the inviolability of their privileges against Cuesta, who had arrested one of its members; but they were far from evincing equal energy in the more important duty of providing for the wants of the military force which was to maintain the confederacy. So completely had the idea of their own invincibility taken possession of the Spaniards, that they never once contemplated the possibility of defeat. All their arrangements were based on the assumption that they were speedily to drive the French over the Pyrenees, and intended to meet the contingencies which might then occur. They did not imitate the conduct of Napoleon, who, after the drawn battle at Eylau, fortified all his

strongholds as far back as the Rhine. Nothing was foreseen or provided for in case of disaster; there were no magazines or reserved stores accumulated in the rear, no positions fortified, no fortresses armed; there was no money in the treasury, no funds in the military chests of the generals. The soldiers were naked, destitute of shoes, and rarely supplied with provisions: the cavalry dismounted; the artillery in the most wretched condition; even the magnificent supplies which the generosity of England had thrown with such profuse bounty into the Peninsula were squandered or dilapidated by private cupidity, and seldom reached the proper objects of their destination. Corruption in its worst form pervaded every department of the state; the inferior officers sold or plundered the stores; the superior in many instances made free with the military chest. In the midst of the general misrule, the central junta, amidst eloquent and pompous declamation, could find no more worthy object of their practical deliberations than discussing the honorary titles which they were to bear, the ample salaries which they assigned to themselves, the dress they were to wear, and the form of the medals which were to be suspended round their necks. During the progress of this general scene of cupidity, imbecility, and vanity, nothing efficient was done, either for the service of the armies or the defence of the state. This deplorable result is not to be ascribed exclusively, or even chiefly, to the character of the members of the central junta, or the leaders at the head of the troops. It arose from the nature of things, the overthrow of all regular government in Spain, and the jarring and conflicting interests of the popular assemblages by which its place had been supplied. Democratic energy is a powerful auxiliary, and when directed or made use of, in the first instance, by aristocratic foresight or despotic authority, it often produces the most important results. But its vigour speedily exhausts itself, if not sustained by the lasting compulsion of terror or force; and the tyranny of a Committee of Public Salvation is not less neces-

sary to give success to its external operations than to restore credit or usefulness to its internal administration.

88. In the north of Europe, however, decisive steps were adopted by the British government, which had the happiest results, and succeeded in restoring to the Spanish standards ten thousand of the veteran soldiers whom the prudent foresight and anticipating perfidy of Napoleon had so early removed from the Peninsula. It has been already mentioned, that so early as spring 1807, the French Emperor had made it the price of his reconciliation with Spain, after the premature proclamation of the Prince of the Peace in the October preceding, that he should furnish sixteen thousand men to aid in the contest in the north of Europe, and that the corps of the Marquis of Romana was in consequence forwarded to the shores of the Baltic. Soon after the commencement of hostilities in the Peninsula, Castanos, who had entered into very cordial and confidential communications with Sir Hew Dalrymple, then chief in command at Gibraltar, strongly represented to that officer the great importance of conveying to the Spanish corps, which was stationed in Jutland, secret information as to the real state of affairs, which was likely to lead to their at once declaring for the cause of their country. In consequence of this advice, the English government made various attempts to communicate with the Spanish forces, but they were at first frustrated by the vigilant eye which the French kept on their doubtful allies. At length, however, by the address of a Catholic priest named Robertson, the dangerous communication was effected, and Romana was informed, in a secret conference held in Lahn, of the extraordinary events which had occurred in the Pen-

* Robertson was despatched in a boat from Heligoland, of which the English had recently taken possession, to the coast of Jutland: but the principal difficulty was to furnish him with a secret sign of intelligence, which, beyond the reach of any other's observation, might at once convince Romana of the reality and importance of his mission. This was at last fallen upon in a very singular way. Romana, who was an accomplished scholar, had been formerly intimate with Mr Frere when

insula—the victory in Andalusia, the repulse from Saragossa, the capitulation of Junot, the flight from Madrid.*

89. Violently agitated at this heart-stirring intelligence, the noble Spaniard did not for a moment hesitate as to the course which he should adopt. Robertson was immediately sent back with a request that a British naval force might be forwarded to convey away his troops, and that, if possible, the assistance of Sir John Moore and the English troops at Goteburg might be granted in aid of the undertaking. The latter part of the request could not be complied with, as Sir John Moore, with the British troops, had already sailed for England; but Admiral Keats, with the fleet stationed in those seas, drew near to the coast of Jutland, and suddenly appeared off Nyborg in the island of Funen. Romana, having seized all the Danish craft he could collect, pushed across the arm of the sea which separated the mainland from that island, and, with the assistance of Keats, made himself master of the port and castle of Nyborg. From thence he traversed another strait to Langland, where all the troops he could collect were assembled together, and publicly informed of the extraordinary events which had occurred in the Peninsula, and which went to sever them from the connection they had so long maintained with their brethren in arms. Kneeling around their standards, wrought to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the intelligence they had received, with hands uplifted to heaven and tears streaming from their eyes, they unanimously swore to remain faithful to their country, and brave all the anger of the Emperor Napoleon, in the attempt to aid its fortunes.

90. Such was the universal zeal which animated them, that one of the regiments which lay at Elbetoft having

ambassador in Spain; and one day, having called when he was reading the *Gests of the Cid*, the English ambassador suggested a conjectural emendation of one of the lines.† Romana instantly perceived the propriety of the proposed emendation; and this line so amended was made the passport which Robertson was to make use of, which at once proved successful.—SOUTHEY, *l.* 337.

† “Aun ves el horn que vos Mercesen dos tanto.”
Mr Frere proposed to read “Mercedes tanto”

received the intelligence at ten in the evening, immediately started, and journeying all night and the greater part of the next day, reached their comrades at the point of embarkation in time to get off, after having marched fifty miles in twenty-one hours. Nine thousand five hundred were brought away, and after touching at Goteburg were forwarded in transports by the English government to the coasts of Galicia, where they were disembarked amidst shouts of joy before the middle of September, in time to share in the dangers which the efforts of Napoleon were preparing for their country. The remainder, being stationed in the middle of Jutland, could not be rescued, and were made prisoners by the French troops; and as the horses of two of the regiments of cavalry which embarked could not be provided for in the English ships, they were abandoned on the beach by

the horsemen whom they had transported so far from their native plains. These noble animals, eleven hundred in number, of the true Andalusian breed, all of which were un mutilated, seemed to share in the passions which agitated their masters. No sooner were they liberated on the sands from control, than, forming into squadrons, they charged violently with loud cries against each other; and when the British fleet hove out of sight, they could still be discerned by telescopes, fighting with each other on the beach, surrounded by the dead and the dying, with all the fury of human passions.*

* This singular anecdote as to the horses which were all of the highest breed, and in the finest condition, is related by Southey on the authority of Sir Richard Keats himself, as well as in a contemporary journal, *Plain Englishman*, i. 294, on the same high testimony.—SOUTHEY, ii. 346.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XLVII.

NOTE A, p. 64.

As example of the diminution of crime in British India, within the last twenty years, the convictions for serious crimes in the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, at Calcutta, may be quoted.

Years.	Death.	Transportation.	Years.	Death.	Transportation.	Years.	Death.	Transportation.
1816,	115	282	1820,	55	324	1824,	51	145
1817,	114	268	1821,	58	278	1825,	66	128
1818,	54	261	1822,	50	165	1826,	67	171
1819,	94	345	1823,	77	119	1827,	55	153

CIRCUIT COURT OF BENGAL.					
Years.	Burglary.	Cattle Stealing.	Embezzlement.	Larceny.	
1816 to 1818,	2853	203	150	1516	
1825 to 1827,	1036	31	49	223	

LOWER AND WESTERN PROVINCES OF BENGAL.					
Years.	Sentenced.	Years.	Gang Robberies.	Murders.	
1820,	13,869	1807,	1481	406	
1827,	8,075	1824,	234	30	

—MARTIN, ix. 322, 329.

NOTE B, p. 64.

Table exhibiting the increase of committals in the British Islands from 1805 to 1837.

Years.	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	Years.	England.	Ireland.	Scotland.
1805,	4,605	2,644	59	1832,	20,829	16,056	2451
1807,	4,446	2,890	114	1834,	22,451	21,381	2711
1820,	9,318	12,476	1486	1836,	20,984	23,982	2852
1825,	9,904	15,515	1876	1837,	23,612	24,458	2922
1830,	18,107	16,192	2063				

—See MOREAU'S *Statist. de la Grande Bretagne*, ii. 289, 297; *Parl. Paper Commons*, 1812, and *Parl. Returns of Crimes in 1834-6*, PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, i. 1837, 144, 145, and vii. 122, 140.

Contrast the decrease of crime in different provinces of India, during the same period, with the deplorable increase of offences of the same description in the British Islands.

ENGLAND AND WALES.—Cases of Shooting, Stabbing, and Poisoning.

1826,	47	1828,	72	1830,	86	1832,	132
1827,	82	1829,	81	1831,	104	1833,	138

WESTERN PROVINCES OF INDIA.

Affrays with loss of Life.		Homicides.		Violent Depredations.	
1821-23,	232	1818-20,	377	1818-20,	1000
1827-28,	118	1827-28,	165	1827-28,	512
Violent Affrays in Kishennagar.		Gang Robberies in Do.		Bengal Chre its Court, Sentenced.	
1807,	482	1808,	329	1822-24,	2170
1824,	33	1824,	10	1825-27,	1524

Criminal cases tried, &c., in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, in three years ending 1832.

Years.	Offences.	Persons committed.	Do. convicted.	Property Value.	Do. recovered.
1830,	2330	3556	625	136,383	4,854
1831,	1804	1256	675	123,714	33,828
1832,	1329	2023	718	62,981	6,793

—ROBERTSON'S *Civil Government of India*; and MARTIN, ix. 326, 335.

Sentences for Crime in Lower and Western Provinces of Bengal, in two periods of two years.

Lower Provinces.		Murder and Robbery.		Do. with torture or wounding.		Do. with Violence.		Murder.		Homicide.		Violent Assault.	
1824 and 1826,		165		233		360		358		303		86	
1827 and 1828,		96		104		221		196		218		47	
Western Provinces.		Murder and Robbery.		Do. with torture or wounding.		Do. with Violence.		Murder.		Homicide.		Violent Assault.	
1824 and 1826,		460		901		83		311		311		180	
1827 and 1828,		271		512		34		252		185		118	

—MARTIN'S *India*, ix. 326.

Contrast this with the increase of serious crime, tried by jury, in Glasgow, during the last fifteen years, and in Ireland in the same period.

GLASGOW, 1822-37.			IRELAND, 1822-37.		GLASGOW, 1822-37.			IRELAND, 1822-37.	
Years.	Tried by Jury.	Ratio of serious crime to whole Population in each year in Glasgow.	Committed.	Years.	Tried by Jury.	Ratio of serious crime to whole Population in each year in Glasgow.	Committed.	Years.	Tried by Jury.
1822,	98	1 to 1540	15,251	1831,	258	1 to 843	16,192	1822,	98
1823,	114	.. 1366	14,632	1832,	272	.. 768	16,036	1823,	114
1824,	118	.. 1361	15,258	1833,	341	.. 633	17,819	1824,	118
1825,	160	.. 1087	15,515	1834,	267	.. 838	21,381	1825,	160
1826,	188	.. 909	16,318	1835,	748	.. 633	22,367	1826,	188
1827,	170	.. 1041	18,031	1836,	329	.. 741	23,891	1827,	170
1828,	212	.. 873	14,683	1837,	392	.. 645	24,458	1828,	212
1829,	239	.. 790	15,271	1838,	454	.. 556	25,683	1829,	239
1830,	271	.. 710	15,794					1830,	271

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, i. 145. *Combination Committee Evidence*, 1838, 267.

NOTE C, p. 65.

In Holkar's country alone the number of villages rebuilt and repeopled was,—

Years.	Holkar's country.	Dhar.	Dewar.	Bhopal.
1818,	260	28	35	362
1819,	343	68	106	249
1820,	508	52	72	267

—MALCOLM'S *Central India*, Appendix.

NOTE D, p. 65.

The following is a statement of the wages of labour under the Peishwa's government in 1814, and the British in 1828:—

	1814—Peishwa. Rupees monthly.	1828—British. Rupees monthly.		1814—Peishwa. Rupees monthly.	1828—British. Rupees monthly.
Carpenter,	12—40	15—45	Bricklayer,	15—20	25—35
Sawyer,	8	15—22	Tailor,	6	9—11
Smith,	10—20	15—30	Camel-man,	5	7—9
Tileman,	12	15—18	Palanquin-man,	10	15—16

No change in the value of money during this period.—COLONEL SYKES' *Bombay Statistics*, *Lords' Committee*, 1830; and MARTIN, ix. 352.

NOTE E, p. 66.

The following table shows the rapid increase in the export trade from Britain to India within the last twenty-five years, and illustrates both the advancing opulence and comfort of the inhabitants of Hindostan, and the incalculable importance of this branch of commerce, if established on principles equitable both toward the East and West, to the inhabitants of the British Islands.

Years.	Exports— Official value.	Years.	Exports— Official value.	Years.	Exports— Official value.
1814,	£1,874,690	1822,	£3,444,448	1830,	£4,087,311
1815,	2,505,761	1823,	3,416,575	1831,	4,105,444
1816,	2,589,453	1824,	3,476,213	1832,	4,235,483
1817,	3,338,715	1825,	3,173,213	1833,	4,714,619
1818,	3,572,164	1826,	3,471,552	1834,	4,614,313
1819,	2,347,083	1827,	4,036,190	1835,	5,456,116
1820,	3,037,911	1828,	4,467,673	1836,	6,750,842
1821,	3,544,395	1829,	4,100,002	1837,	5,876,241

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, i. 193, 195; and *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 102.

NOTE F, p. 69.

The following was the Revenue of India in the year 1831-2:—

Land Revenue,	£11,071,188	Brought forward,	£17,188,460
Professions and Ferries,	213,072	Mint Receipts,	60,518
Salt and Licenses,	2,314,082	Stamps,	328,300
Customs,	1,380,000	Judicial Fees and Fines,	70,469
Opium,	1,446,070	Lay and Akbaraw,	764,759
Post-office,	108,501	Marine and Pilotage,	45,974
Tobacco,	63,048	Calcutta Excise,	19,100
Carry forward,	£17,188,460	Total,	£18,477,586

—*Parl. Papers*, May 1831; and MARTIN, ix. 113.

CHAPTER LIII.

NOTE G, p. 342.^t

BUDGET OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR 1808.

WAR INCOME.			
Malt and Pension duties, . . .	£3,000,000	Brought forward, . . .	£33,279,987
Bank advances, . . .	3,500,000	Exchequer bills, . . .	4,500,000
Surplus of consolidated fund, . . .	4,226,876	Do. for East India Company, . . .	1,500,000
Surplus income of 1807, . . .	2,253,111	Exchequer bills charged on . . .	
War taxes, . . .	20,000,000	1809, . . .	1,161,100
Lottery, . . .	900,000	Loan,* . . .	8,000,000
Carry forward, . . .	£83,279,987	War income, . . .	£48,441,087
PERMANENT INCOME.			
Customs, . . .	£7,462,380	Brought forward, . . .	£38,302,366
Excise, . . .	17,890,145	Hackney coaches, . . .	26,455
Land and assessed taxes, . . .	4,458,735	Hawkers and pedlars, . . .	10,325
Post-office, . . .	7,078,530	Total permanent, . . .	£38,339,146
Pension tax, . . .	1,277,538	Add war, . . .	48,441,087
Do. . .	62,685	Grand total, . . .	£86,780,233
Do. . .	71,353		
Carry forward, . . .	£38,302,366		
WAR EXPENDITURE.			
Navy, . . .	£17,406,047	Brought forward, . . .	£43,219,807
Army, . . .	19,439,189	East India Company, . . .	1,500,000
Ordnance, . . .	4,534,571	Swedish subsidy, . . .	1,100,000
Miscellaneous, . . .	1,750,000	Vote of credit, . . .	2,500,000
Carry forward, . . .	£43,219,807	War expenditure, . . .	£48,319,807
PERMANENT EXPENDITURE.			
Interest of public debt, . . .	£20,771,871	Brought forward, . . .	£34,511,735
And charges, . . .	210,549	Miscellaneous charges, . . .	787,262
Sinking fund, . . .	10,188,606	Total permanent, . . .	£35,298,997
Interest of Exchequer bills, . . .	1,616,502	Add war, . . .	48,319,807
Civil list, . . .	1,638,677	Grand total, . . .	£83,618,804
Civil government of Scotland, . . .	85,470		
Carry forward, . . .	£34,511,735		

The increased expenditure arising from the Spanish war, which was not foreseen in the budget, raised the charges to £84,797,000.—*Parl. Deb* xi. 1-15; *Parl. Papers*, and *Ann. Reg* 1808, 103-105.

* It was afterwards by the vote of credit extended to L.10,100,000.

END OF VOL. VII.

